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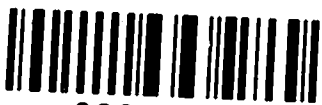
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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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BOOK XXX.

From the Year 1708, to the Year 1712.

CHAP. I.

Designs of the next campaign.—Ghent and Bruges taken by the French.—The battle of Oudenard.—Lisle invested.—Bold attempt of a French officer.—Battle of Wynendale.—Elector of Bavaria's design upon Brussels.—Duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene pass the Scheld.—Citadel of Lisle taken.—The French army separates, and Ghent and Bruges are retaken.—Campaign in Italy and in Spain.—Conquest of Minorca.—Differences between the emperor and the pope.—Campaign in Germany.—Affairs in Hungary and Poland.—Casimir's wife destroys the galleons.—The Russian ambassador arrested.—Death of prince George of Denmark.—The duke of Marlborough's interest with the queen declines.—

29. ANNE.

THE advantages gained by the French, the last year, prompted them to entertain several projects, and to make still greater efforts to recover their former superiority. And indeed their forces this year seemed to be more numerous than ever, especially in the Netherlands, where it was believed the elector of Bavaria and

1708. The prince of France sent to the armies in Flanders.

1708. and the duke de Vendoſme would have again commanded. But an unexpected alteration was ſuddenly made, and the French king declared the duke of Burgundy generaliſſimo of his forces, appointing the duke de Vendoſme to ſerve under him; and he was to be accompanied by the duke of Berwick. The pretender (who was returned from his unſucceſsful expedition to Scotland) went with them, without any other character than that of the chevalier de St. George. The elector of Bavaria was to command on the Rhine, with the duke of Berwick under him, the marſhal de Villeroy being recalled, and appointed to command in Dauphiné. These proceedings of the French king ſurprized every one; but he conceived great hopes from theſe alterations of his generals. The credit with relation to money was ſtill very low in France. For, after many methods taken for raiſing the credit of the mint-bills, they were ſtill at a diſcount of forty per cent. No fleets came this year from the Weſt-Indies, and therefore they could not be ſupplied from thence.

Deſigns of the campaign are concerted. Brodrick. Mil. Hiſt. Burnet.

On the 12th of April, there was a great conference between prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, the deputies of the States for private affairs, and penſionary Heinſius, in the chamber of Triers, the uſual place of conferences in the States apartment; which was pitched upon to avoid the trouble of the ceremonial; for otherwiſe it muſt have been at the duke of Marlborough's, as ambaſſador extraordinary; whereas prince Eugene had no character, his credentials importing only, "that his imperial majeſty had ſent his firſt "counſellor, preſident of the council of war, and general "lieutenant, prince Eugene, to concert the operations of "the campaign, in whom the States were deſired to put an "intire confidence." As ſoon as they were entered the room, the duke of Marlborough took prince Eugene by the hand, and led him to a ſeat above his own; after which the States deputies placed themſelves, without obſerving any precedency among them. Prince Eugene opened the conference with a ſpeech, wherein he gave a particular "account of the emperor's forces in Naples, Lombardy, and "Piedmont, and of thoſe deſigned for Spain, and having "mentioned the troops which his imperial majeſty intended "to employ in Germany, he gave, in very modeſt terms, "his own opinion of the operations of the next campaign, "both on the Upper-Rhine and the Low-Countries; con-"cluding, that he had inſtructions from his imperial ma-"jeſty to uſe his endeavours to engage the queen of Great "Britain and the States-General to approve the ſcheme he

"had

had propoſed, and to ſecond, on their parts, his imperial 1708.
majeſty's efforts, both to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to reſtore his brother king Charles III. to the whole monarchy of Spain."

After prince Eugene had ended his ſpeech, the duke of Marlborough acquainted the aſſembly with the inſtructions he had received from the queen his miſtreſs, in relation to the buſineſs before them; and at laſt mention was made of a ſeparate army to be commanded by prince Eugene. This conference, which laſted above an hour, was but a kind of preliminary; for the deputies of the States were not impowered to make any anſwer, either to prine Eugene's, or the duke of Marlborough's propoſals, but only (according to the uſual methods obſerved by that republic) to receive them, and to report the ſame to their high mightineſſes; which they did on the 16th.

Several other conferences were held, though more privately, between the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States; the reſult of which was (as afterwards appeared) 'That moſt of the imperialiſts employed the year before on the Upper Rhine, with the Saxons and Heſſians in the pay of Great Britain and Holland, and the troops which the elector Palatine was to furniſh, in conſideration of his imperial majeſty's reſtoring him to the poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate, with the prerogatives enjoyed by his anceſtors, ſhould march into the Netherlands, to act there, under prince Eugene, in concert with the Britiſh and Dutch forces, commanded in chief by the duke of Marlborough, and under him, by veldt-marſhal Auverquerque.' Whether prince Eugene, who took Hanover in his way to the Hague, then communicated the ſcheme to the elector of that name, and found him averſe to it, or propoſed other meaſures to his electoral highneſs, is not known; but it was thought fit, that prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough ſhould now both wait on that prince, in order to obtain his concurrence to the reſolutions taken at the Hague, and engage him to return to command the army on the Upper Rhine.

The duke of Marlborough intended to have gone back to England, before the opening of the campaign; but prince Eugene was very earneſt with him to meet him at Hanover; and the States having repreſented to the queen of Great-Britain the neceſſity of his preſence on that ſide, and how uncertain the winds might make his timely return, the ſea-

The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene go to Hanover.

1708. ſon being ſo far advanced, he reſolved upon the journey to the court of Hanover. Prince Eugene, having finiſhed his negociations at the Hague, ſet out the 20th of April N. S. arrived the 22d at Duſſeldorp, and, having ended his buſineſs, the next day, with the elector Palatine, and ſent an expreſs to Vienna, purſued his journey towards Hanover. The duke of Marlborough met him the 26th two German miles from that place, and, arriving there the ſame evening together, they alighted at the Britiſh envoy's. The duke went firſt to court, and was followed thither ſoon after by prince Eugene, where the ſeveral audiences of ceremony, which they had of the electoral family, being over, they had together a long conference with the elector, who gave orders for their being accommodated at his own palace. Their conferences were continued the three following days, the count de Rechteren aſſiſting on the part of the States General. They met with ſome difficulties at firſt, which were removed by the dextrous and prudent management of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough; and his electoral highneſs, though he was ſenſible, that, by this ſcheme for making vigorous efforts in Flanders, the army, which he was to command himſelf on the Upper Rhine, muſt be extremely weakened, and he ſhould be obliged to ſtand on the defenſive; yet, at length, he conſented to part with ſeveral regiments, and, being ſatisfied with the laurels he had already gained, chearfully ſacrificed to the common cauſe the glory he might have reaped by acting offenſively. But tho' it was agreed, that prince Eugene ſhould come into the Netherlands, yet it was induſtriouſly given out, that he was to act with a ſeparate body on the Moſelle, which obliged the enemy to ſend a conſiderable number of forces that way under the command of the duke of Berwick.

Prince Eugene goes to Vienna,

On the 29th of April, prince Eugene ſet out for Leipſic to confer with king Auguſtus, who was come thither on purpoſe, two days before, from Dreſden. On the prince's arrival he finiſhed his negociations in a few hours, and purſued his journey the next day to Vienna.

and the duke of Marlborough to the Hague.

The duke of Marlborough made no long ſtay after prince Eugene at Hanover; for he ſet out from thence the day after, and arrived the 3d of May at the Hague, where he communicated to the States General the reſult of the conferences held at Hanover; and, having concerted with their high mightineſſes further meaſures for opening the campaign, he went to Ghent, where having reviewed the Britiſh forces, he proceeded

ceeded to Bruſſels (a). The duke having conferred with 1708.
ldt-marſhal d'Auverquerque, who, notwithſtanding his in-
rm ſtate of health, preſerved a vigorous mind, and ſeem-
d reſolved to die, like a hero, in the field, gave orders to
e march to Andernach near Bruſſels, where the
Dutch, Ruſſians, and Hanoverians, began to form the ar-
my the 23d of May. The 26th they marged to Billingen,
where the duke of Marlborough took up his quarters in the
abbey of that name; and the veldt-marſhal fixed his at
Hall, a little town, which lay in the front of the firſt line.
The Britiſh forces repaired to this camp likewiſe with all
poſſible expedition, as did alſo a conſiderable body of troops
in the ſervice of the States General from their reſpective
garriſons in Flanders. And, laſt of all, the field-deputies
of their high mightineſſes arrived there, who behaved them-
ſelves this campaign with ſo much prudence and reſolution,
that they contributed very much to the ſucceſs of it.

Upon notice of theſe motions, the duke de Vendoſme aſ-
ſembled his army, on the 25th of May, between Mons and
St. Ghiſlain, and took up his head-quarters at St. Simpro-
nien, from whence he marched the next day to Soignies,
poſting his right at Naiſt, and his left at Canchie Notre
Dame, within three leagues of the confederate camp. He
was joined the ſame day by the duke of Burgundy, who had
the chief (at leaſt titular) command of the army, together
with the duke of Berry, his brother, and the pretender.

(a) Here the duke was hon-
oured with a letter from the
queen, dated May 6, by the
manner of which, as the du-
cheſs of Marlborough obſerves
in the account of her conduct,
p. 255, her majeſty ſeemed ſtill
to have retained a great degree
of regard for Mr. Harley. After
complaining to the duke of being
ſo tired that day with importuni-
ties from the whigs, that ſhe had
not ſpirits left to open her afflict-
ed heart ſo freely and fully as ſhe
intended, ſhe goes on to ſay,
that ſhe was entirely of his opi-
nion, thinking it neither for her
honour nor intereſt to make ſteps
(meaning the firſt ſteps) towards
a peace, as the duke had been
preſſed to do abroad; and aſſures
him, that, whatever inſinuations
her enemies might make to the
contrary, ſhe would never give
her conſent to a peace, but upon
ſafe an honourable terms.
She begs the duke to be ſo juſt
to her, as not to let the miſre-
preſentations made of her have
any weight with him; adding,
that it would be a greater trou-
ble to her than could be expreſ-
ſed; and concludes with theſe
words; 'I cannot end without
'begging you to be very care-
'ful of yourſelf, there being
'nobody, I am ſure, that prays
'more heartily than her, who
'will live and die moſt ſincerely
'yours, &c.'

1708. On the 29th of May, the confederate army, which conſiſted of [illegible] hundred and eighty ſquadrons of horſe, and a hundred and twelve battalions, made a motion from Bellinghen, advancing the right to Herfelingen, the left to Lembecy, and fixing the head-quarters at St. Renelle, in hopes of bringing the enemy to an engagement, which, by their bold march to Soignies, they ſeemed rather to ſeek than decline, being ſuperior, at leaſt, in number, to the allies; for their army conſiſted of a hundred and ninety-ſeven ſquadrons, and a hundred and twenty-four battalions. The ſame day the enemy received their heavy baggage from Mons, but ſent it back thither on the 31ſt, which ſtill gave the confederates hopes they ſhould come to an engagement; and thereupon, the duke of Marlborough ordered the troops to be in a readineſs to march at an hour's warning. The ſame evening the duke received intelligence, that the enemy's heavy baggage, having received a counter-order, was returned to the camp, and that they had foraged for two days; whence it was reaſonably concluded, that they would not march the next day as the deſerters had reported. The duke of Marlborough, having adviſed with the other generals, reſolved to ſend the horſe to forage the next morning; and they went out, before break of day; but they had not been out an hour, before advice came, that the enemy had begun the night before, at ten, to ſend their heavy baggage to Mons, and decamped without any noiſe at eleven, marching towards Nivelle. The foragers were immediately recalled, and to avoid all loſs of time, the infantry marched firſt of all about noon from St. Renelle, and were followed by the cavalry. About four they formed four columns, intending to incamp the right towards Anderlech, and the left to Lake; but upon farther notice, that the enemy had not incamped at Nivelle, but had continued their march by Bois Signieur Iſaac to Braine la Leu, the duke judged, that they could not have any other deſign, than to poſt themſelves on the bank of the Deule, to hinder the allies from paſſing that river, and to ſeize Louvain; being the very ſame project, which the duke de Vendoſme had formed the laſt year, but miſcarried in it. To prevent the enemy, there was no other remedy, but to continue marching all night; ſo that, on the 3d of June in the afternoon, the army of the allies arrived at the camp of Terbank, very much fatigued, as well by this long march as by the continual rains, which had fallen for four and twenty hours together. The French, having received intelligence of this expeditious march of the confederates,

federates, did not venture to advance farther than Genap, but incamp'd their Right to that place, and their left to Braine la Leu. Upon which the duke of Marlborough took up his quarters in the abbey of Terbank, and monſieur d'Auverquerque in the ſuburbs of Louvain. On the 4th, ſeveral bridges were laid on the Deule, between Havre and Louvain; and, on the 5th, almoſt the whole confederate army foraged in the neighbourhood of their camp. The 6th being appointed by the duke as a day of thankſgiving for the paſt ſucceſſes of the arms of the allies, and to implore a bleſſing upon the preſent campaign, it was religiouſly obſerved throughout the whole army. 1708.

The enemy continuing quiet in their camp, the duke of Marlborough took that opportunity of reviewing his troops, which he began to do the 7th, and continued for eight or nine days following, when he had the ſatisfaction to find, that the reſpective bodies were all very complete, the men in the moſt excellent order, animated with their former victories; and eager to engage an enemy, that were deſpicable in their eyes. In this camp it was, that the electoral prince of Hanover (his preſent majeſty king George II.) came to the army, and was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect and diſtinction by all the general officers.

It was now plain, that the enemy had no inclination to engage the confederates. They had indeed in view the recovery of the places they had loſt in the year 1706; but it was by their uſual method of ſurprize and treachery. Nor were their hopes altogether vain, for the elector of Bavaria, who had gained ſome intereſt in the provinces of the Netherlands, among people of all ranks, by his profuſeneſs and popular behaviour, with the aſſiſtance of count Bergeyck, a perſon of great credit, and no leſs activity and other friends of the houſe of Bourbon, eaſily found means to practiſe upon the levity and reſtleſs ſpirits of the chief inhabitants of the cities of Ghent (b), Bruges

(b) Ghent is a very large city and caſtle, one of the principal of the Low-countries, the marquiſate of the earldom of Flanders, and territory of Ghent, a biſhopric under the archbiſhop of Mechlin. It was ſurprized by, or rather betrayed to the French the beginning of this campaign; but beſieged and recovered by the duke of Marlborough towards the end of the year. It ſtands on the river Scheld and Lys (which divide it into twenty-ſix iſlands) twenty-ſeven miles almoſt ſouth-weſt of Antwerp, thirty north-weſt of Bruſſels, ninety-four almoſt ſouth of

1708. ges (c), and Antwerp, who promiſed to open their gates to the troops of France and Spain, as ſoon as they could find a fair opportunity (d). The truth was, the Dutch were ſevere maſters

of Amſterdam, and an hundred and fifty-four north-eaſt of Paris.

(c) Bruges is a fair, ſtrong, and noble city of the Low-countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the head of the territory of Bruges, a biſhopric under the archbiſhop of Mechlin. This town made its ſubmiſſion to the duke of Marlborough after the famous battle of Ramillies; the French ſurpized it, or rather had it betrayed to them the beginning of this campaign, but abandoned it upon the approrch of the confederates, towards the end of December, the ſame year. It ſtands twenty-four miles north-weſt of Ghent, eleven eaſt of Oſtend, thirty-four north-eaſt of Dunkirk, and forty weſt of Antwerp.

(d) Dr. Hare, in his thankſgiving ſermon beſo e the houſe of commons, on Thurſday February 17, 1708-9, tells us, p. 11. 'That there was a conſpiracy 'to have all the Netherlands be-'trayed to the enemy by the 'intereſt of that unhappy prince, 'who has ſuffered ſo much in 'their cauſe. When we ſaw the 'ſons of France come into the 'field, we could not but ſuſpect 'there was ſomething more than 'ordinary in agitation. It was 'not enough to think they came 'to learn the art of war in an 'army, that aims at nothing but 'inaction, or to give courage to 'their troops, which their great-'eſt general had not been able 'to do, though fetched from 'Italy on purpoſe, at a time 'when he leaſt could have been 'ſpared; for the [illegible] has 'ſhewn, he brought no more 'courage with him than he left 'behind him; nor could it be 'expected, that their bare pre-'ſence ſhould make a ſtarved 'and naked army act with as 'much vigour, as if they had 'been warmly clothed and well 'paid. No, we were ſure it 'muſt be ſomething elſe they 'came for, not to gain any 'honour in the field, but to reap 'the mean glory of ſome ſuc-'ceſsful treachery, and ſo it 'proved. A deſign, we found, 'had been formed ſome time to 'ſurprize Antwerp; all was a-'greed, and every thing within 'a day or two ripe for execu-'tion, when the princes joined 'the army; but the plot, which 'was more than they knew, 'was then actually diſcovered; 'and this was a deſign of ſuch 'importance, we were inclined 'to think it was the whole they 'aimed at. But the ſequel 'ſhewed the treachery was deep-'er laid; and, while we were 'waiting the forces from the 'Rhine, another part of it ſuc-'ceeded better. Had both ta-'ken effect, what condition had 'our affairs been in? We had 'then, it is likely, without a 'blow loſt all the fruits of the 'Ramillies campaign; and the 'conſequence of that had been, 'not only putting the war two 'or three years back; it is more 'than probable the conſterna-'tion it would every where have 'raiſed, would have ſoon fright-'ened the allies into an ill peace;

maſters and the Flandrians could not bear it. Though the French had laid heavier taxes on them, yet they uſed them better in all other reſpects. Their bigotry, being wrought on by their prieſts, diſpoſed them to change their maſters. The duke of Marlborough reſolved not to weaken his army by many garriſons; and therefore put none at all into Bruges, and a very weak one in the citadel of Ghent, reckoning, that there was no danger, as long as he lay between thoſe places and the French army. The two armies had lain about a month looking on one another, ſhifting their camps a little, but keeping ſtill in ſafe ground; the confederates, for their parts, being in expectation of prince Eugene's taking the field, with an army compoſed of Pruſſian and Heſſian troops, ten thouſand Palatines and ſome imperialiſts. The motion of this body was retarded by ſeveral difficulties about the march of the Palatine forces; of which the French getting intelligence, they concluded, that the confederates would hardly venture to force them in the paſſes and defiles they were poſſeſſed of, and therefore commanded a detachment to march towards Ghent and Bruges, to ſurprize thoſe towns; which was effected in this manner:

1708.

Bruges and Ghent taken by the French.

On the 5th of July, a party of the enemy's troops, commanded by the brigadiers la Faille and Paſteur, advanced before break of day towards Ghent, and, at the opening of the gates between five and ſix in the morning, half a dozen foot-ſoldiers, with two or three troopers, who were ſent before, pretending to be deſerters, were admitted into the town by the watch of burghers, who were no more in number than themſelves. When they were going to be carried to the main-guard, ſome of them pretended a weakneſs, and ſetting themſelves down on the ground, deſired ſome beer to refreſh them; which being brought, they drank with the burghers, and amuſed them with a ſtory of the march of the French army, and their own deſertion. Soon after another ſmall party of pretended deſerters came, and entertained the watch with the like frivolous ſtories, till brigadier la Faille, who not long before had been high-bailiff of that city, and had ſtill a conſiderable intereſt there, coming in perſon, commanded the burghers, who guarded the gates, to lay down their arms, and admit the French troops. They began at firſt to make a ſhew of reſiſtance; but the pre-

' peace; or the ſucceſs of the Italian league, which then could not have miſcarried,

' might in another year have ' forced them to it.'

tended

1708. tended deſerters, riſing up at once, preſented their bayonets, and ſtopped them. Reſiſtance would now have been to little purpoſe; ſo the brigadier's commands being immediately obeyed, he left ſome of his men there, and with the reſt marched directly into the town. It being early, they only met with a few labourers in the ſtreets, ſome of whom took them for deſerters, and others they quieted with gold. In this manner they advanced to the gate of Bruges, which they ſeized with little or no reſiſtance, as they did likewiſe the bridge of Meuleſtede. In the mean time, monſieur Grimaldi, who followed monſieur de la Faille at a diſtance, entered the town likewiſe, and marched with the reſt of the detatchment to the market-place. All the gates being ſoon after ſeized, about ten, monſieur de la Faille marched to the town-houſe, and, having aſſembled the magiſtrates and chief burghers, he cauſed a pardon to be read to them, ſigned by the elector of Bavaria, and underneath by the count de Bergeyck; upon which they readily ſubmitted.

The enemy, being thus become maſters of the town, ſummoned the governor of the caſtle to ſurrender; but monſieur de Labene, major of Sir Richard Temple's regiment of foot, who commanded in that fortreſs with about three hundred men, expecting either to be reinforced by major-general Murray, or relieved by the approach of the confederate army, anſwered, "That he would defend it to the laſt extre-"mity." The French began to prepare for attacking the caſtle; and major-general Murray, who was poſted at Marienkirk with two Engliſh regiments of foot, and one of Spaniſh dragoons, in vain attempted to throw a reinforcement into the place. Major Labene, having been ſummoned a ſecond time, and being wholly unprovided for defence againſt ſo powerful an army, obtained an honourable capitulation.

Some hours after the enemy had ſurprized Ghent, count de la Motte appeared with a ſtrong detachment before Bruges, which ſurrendered the next day, without making the leaſt reſiſtance, or putting the enemy to the trouble of firing more than three pieces of cannon. There was indeed a ſort of capitulation agreed upon, in which the ſieur Briel, receiver of the contributions, and Mr. Volmar, his comptroller, were included; but it appeared by every circumſtance, that this was a thing of form only, and that the articles had been long before ſettled by other perſons than they that pretended to grant and accept them.

This

This done, count de la Motte marched immediately to Damme, hoping to meet with the ſame ſucceſs there; but as this place was fortified and garriſoned, the governor opened the ſluices, and put the whole country under water, which obliged the count to retire. From thence he marched to Haſſendahl, a little fort on the canal, which leads from Bruges to Oſtend, and is a ſecurity to the communication of thoſe two places. The officer, who commanded in it, refuſed to ſurrender; upon which the count attacked and took it ſword in hand. 1708.

Major-general Murray, having found it impoſſible to reinforce the caſtle of Ghent, retired to Sas van Ghent, where he found the deputies of the States-General for the affairs of Flanders, and concerted with them the neceſſary meaſures for putting the frontiers in a poſture of defence, and ſecuring thoſe poſts, which were moſt expoſed.

The duke of Marlborough, who was yet in camp at Terbank, received advice, that a conſiderable detachment was marched towards Tubize, and, in the night, that their whole army had followed at nine in the evening. The duke gave immediate orders for the confederate army to be in readineſs to march. Accordingly, about three in the morning, the 5th of July, they marched from the camp at Terbank, paſſed the canal in four columns, and incamped with the left at Anderlech, and the right at the mill of Tomberg. Here the duke got intelligence of the enemy's deſign on Ghent, and that the detachment they had made for that end was advanced as far as Aloſt, and had broken down the bridge over the Dender: he thereupon ordered major-general Dopmar, with four regiments of horſe and dragoons, to paſs over at Dendermond, in order to obſerve the enemy, and to prevent their deſign upon Ghent; but he came too late. The confederate army march from Terbank.

The ſame day the French paſſed the Senne at Hall and Tubize, and were paſſing at the mill of Goicke till night, within a league of the right wing of the allies; which coming very late into the camp, and the army having made a very long march through difficult ways, it was not thought practicable to attack the enemy that night. However, the greateſt part of the horſe and foot having been brought to the right during the night, in order to engage the enemy, the whole army was formed the next morning early in order of battle; but their deſign was fruſtrated by the French, who were employed the whole night, with all poſſible expedition in paſſing the Dender through the town of Ninove, and diligence.

1708. and over several bridges built near that place for the same purpose; so that the detachment, sent to attack their rear-guard, came too late to find any thing but their small baggage, which was attended by a strong guard. These major-general Schulemberg and Sir Richard Temple, with ten squadrons and five battalions, supported by major-general d'Veyne, with ten squadrons more, soon defeated, put them to flight, and took a great deal of baggage.

Prince Eugene comes to the army.

The confederate army incamped the same night at Asche, where prince Eugene of Savoy, having made a quick march from the Moselle, and left his cavalry at Maestricht, resolving to be present as soon as possible, at whatever action might happen, though his troops should not come up in time, arrived that evening with major-general Cadogan, whom the duke of Marlborough had sent to attend him. The arrival of prince Eugene, and the approach of his troops, not only revived the spirits of the soldiers, but was very acceptable to the generals themselves, after the ungrateful news they had received that very day of the French having surprized Ghent. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, from the very moment they met, acted with the most perfect unanimity. The next day a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to regulate the march of the army according to the motions of the enemy; and the pioneers were sent on every side to make ways; the resolution, which the duke had before taken of bringing the enemy, if possible, to an engagement, being again confirmed. And so eager were the generals for it, that it was determined, if a fair opportunity offered, not to wait the arrival of the imperial troops. In the afternoon prince Eugene went to Brussels to pay a visit to his mother, the countess of Soissons; and the day following the duke of Marlborough being much indisposed and feverish, the orders were given at monsieur Auverquerque's quarters; and, according to these orders, four battalions marched to reinforce the garrison of Brussels, and eight battalions were ordered, with major-general Cadogan, and the quarter-masters, to make the ways.

The small advantage, which the enemy had in surprising Ghent, proved the occasion of their own much greater loss; and the governor of that castle not delivering it, till the 8th of July, had this good effect, that it amused the enemy two or three days in their camp from above Alost to Schilebille on the Scheld. This delay proved fatal to them; for the French generals receiving intelligence, that prince Eugene was bringing a reinforcement of about thirty thousand men,

with

with all expedition, from Germany into Brabant, bethought themſelves of retiring towards their lines and ſtrong towns, before the conjunction of the confederate troops, in hopes, that being reinforced with a good body of troops, which were coming to join them from Alſace (though not with ſuch ſpeed as the Germans, who were remarkably expeditious on this occaſion beyond their uſual cuſtom) under the command of the duke of Berwick, they might afterwards be a match for the confederates, or, at leaſt, might preſerve their late eaſy conqueſts. They likewiſe imagined, that they might ſurprize or reduce Oudenard, the only paſs the allies had on the Scheld, ſince the taking of Ghent, before the allies could be in any readineſs to prevent it; and to this end, count de Chemerault having broke down all the bridges on the Scheld, and intimidated all the leſſer places in thoſe parts, they cauſed Oudenard (e) to be inveſted on the 9th of July early, and intended to have taken poſſeſſion of the advantageous camp at Leſſines. 1708.

Oudenard inveſted by the French.

Monſieur de Sigterman, who commanded in Oudenard, fearing that the inhabitants might be treacherous, as it was ſuſpected it had been in other places, immediately called a council of war, to conſider of means how to keep them within the limits of their duty, if they ſhould be otherwiſe inclined. It was reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and to declare to the townſmen, that it was hoped they would contribute all that lay in their power to that end; but that, if they offered to make the leaſt attempt towards ſurrendering the place, they would ſet fire to it in every part, and reduce it to a heap of aſhes. The inhabitants made all poſſible proteſtations of their fidelity, and of their power in putting the town in the beſt poſture of defence.

The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having either information or ſuſpicion of the enemy's deſign, ordered brigadier Chanclos to throw himſelf into Oudenard,

(e) Oudenard is a rich and very ſtrong town of the Low-Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquiſate of the territory of Oudenard: it ſurrendered to the duke of Marlborough in 1706. The French laid ſiege to it in the beginning of this campaign; but the approach of the confederate army made them abandon the place, and engaged them in a battle near it, which proved a fatal overthrow to them. It ſtands on the river Scheld, thirteen miles ſouth of Ghent, thirteen north-weſt of Aeth, thirty-ſix weſt of Bruſſels, and thirty-ſeven almoſt north of Mons.

with

1708. with seven hundred men, detatched from Aeth, Courtray, and Mening; and Walef's dragoons, which was performed accordingly. This proved a great disappointment to the enemy; for, if they could have secured this place, they would have cut off the communication of the allies with Mening and Courtray.

The same day Oudenard was invested, the confederate army (which was encamped at Asche) marched in four columns, the earl of Albemarle being left, with all the grenadiers of the army, and thirty squadrons, to make the rear-guard, in case the enemy should have made any motion towards Brussels. The ways being in good repair, the army marched with the greatest expedition, and advanced as far as Herselingen, above five leagues from Asche, before eleven in the morning. Here the duke of Marlborough gave orders for the army to pitch their tents, fronting towards the enemy; who being far from expecting, that the confederate army could possibly make so swift a march, did not beat the general till three in the afternoon, thinking themselves sure of the camp of Lessines, in order to cover the siege of Oudenard, for which they had their artillery ready at Tournay. Prince Eugene having rejoined the army at Herselingen, the duke of Marlborough detatched major-general Cadogan about four in the afternoon, with eight squadrons, and as many battalions, to take possession of the camp of Lessines. Accordingly, eight hundred men of this detachment entered the town of that name, about midnight; and the rest having passed through, at four in the morning, posted themselves on this side the river Dender. On the other hand, the retreat, which was the signal for striking the tents, being beat at seven, the evening before, in the camp at Herselingen, the whole army marched immediately, and, moving on all night, began, the 10th, about eleven in the morning, to pass the Dender over the bridges laid by major-general Cadogan, and continued their march to the camp of Lessines, on the other side; the chief strength whereof consists in the rivulet, which falls below it into the Dender. The enemy, perceiving themselves disappointed of this camp, altered their march towards Gavre, in order to pass the Scheld there.

Motions of the allied army.

The 11th in the morning, upon intelligence, that the enemy had quitted Oudenard, and were pursued by brigadier Chanclos with Walef's dragoons, Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to make the ways and bridges at Oudenard. The army began to march at eight o'clock

6 clock by the left, ſtill in four columns, as they had in- 1708
camped; and after the news came, that the enemy were ſtill
paſſing at Gavre, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eu-
gene reſolved to endeavour to bring them to an engagement.
In order to this, the army continued their march with ſuch
ſpeed and diligence, that, at two in the afternoon, the front
was at the bridges, over which Cadogan's ſixteen battalions
were then paſſing. Eight ſquadrons, and part of the former
detachment, with the quarter-maſters, and major-general
Rantzaw at the head of them, were poſted behind a rivulet
that runs into the Scheld, where they obſerved, that the
French army were partly marching, and partly drawn up in
order of battle. They took notice likewiſe that the enemy
had thrown ſeven battalions into the village of Heynem
(which is ſituated on the banks of the Scheld) and the neigh-
bouring plains, which confronted that ſmall village, were filled
with the troops of the houſhold, who were drawn up exactly
oppoſite to the eight ſquadrons under major-general Rant-
zaw, no obſtacle but a ſmall rivulet dividing them. Behind
the village were moraſſes, woods, and defiles; ſo that an
army had no other way to march, but through the high-
road. This diſpoſition of the French made it uncertain,
whether their real deſign was to hinder the duke of Marl-
borough paſſing the Scheld, or to gain their own lines be-
tween Liſle and Tournay, which they thought they might
eaſily have done, not imagining, that ſo conſiderable a bo-
dy, as that of the confederates, could march five leagues in
a cloſe country abounding in paſſes and defiles, have their
roads levelled, croſs a great river, and make an attack upon
them the ſame day.

The deſign of the duke de Vendoſme in placing the ſeven
battalions in the village of Heynem, and the ſquadrons,
which the confederates had diſcovered on the plain, which
were to the number of twelve, was to have advanced to-
wards the bridge, over which the allies were paſſing, to a
certain diſtance, in order to have waited there till half their
troops were paſſed, and then to have attacked them with
all the advantage which his ſuperiority of number could
have given him, not doubting but he ſhould eaſily have
defeated them, before the other half of their army could
come to their aſſiſtance. It was with this intent, theſe troops
were advanced, and the duke would ſoon have followed with
the whole army; but the duke of Burgundy did not approve
of this project. He had all along ſhewed an inclination to
retire towards Ghent; and this propenſity appeared now

1708. ſtronger than ever; he ordered the troops to ſtop ſhort in their march at Gavre in the greateſt perplexity, not knowing which way to move. He even recalled the ſquadrons, which were in the plain, and prepared to retire; and to this the French attribute their misfortune, which enſued.

It would have been eaſy for the French, either to have cut off the detachment of the allies, which had advanced and laid bridges over the Scheld, or, at leaſt, to have deſtroyed thoſe bridges, before the whole confederate army could come up; and if then they had ſupported their left at Heynem, poſted their horſe behind the caſtle of Beveren, towards the mill of Oycke, and placed their center on the height between Wertigem and Heurne, they would undoubtedly have had all the advantage, which the moſt difficult ground could give; and perhaps the choice would have been on their ſide, whether to engage in a general action or not. But the dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme, who had been at variance for ſome days before, what courſe they ſhould take, ſtill differed in their opinions, and were both yet ſtrangely at a loſs, what meaſures they ſhould reſolve upon, and what diſpoſitions to make. This irreſolution laſted till three in the afternoon, when moſt of the young commanders in the French army, to make their court to the duke of Burgundy, contradicted all that was adviſed by the duke of Vendoſme, and declared loudly for an engagement, which in a great meaſure determined the duke of Burgundy; and the duke of Vendoſme was obliged to ſubmit.

The battle of Oudenard. July 11. N.S.

Major-general Grimaldi was therefore ordered by the duke of Burgundy, with the horſe of the king's houſhold, to begin the attack on the right, and diſlodge major-general Rantzaw from the eminence, on which he was poſted. But when they came to the rivulet, and found it marſhy, they were diſcouraged from attempting the paſſage, and retired towards their own right, though their army had twelve thouſand men more in number than the confederates, and ſeveral other advantages. This attack the duke of Vendoſme diſapproved of; and therefore ſent monſieur Jennet, his aid de camp to the left, to attack the allies on that ſide. But the duke of Burgundy countermanded it, upon information, as it was ſaid, that there was an impaſſable moraſs on that ſide, which, however, the duke of Vendoſme had paſſed over but an hour before. Upon this Cadogan, who had paſſed the river with twelve of his ſixteen battalions between three and four o'clock, attacked the village of Heynem, with ſuch reſolution (brigadier Sabine's with his brigade, being at the

the head) that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of it, and took three of the ſeven battalions intire, making many of the officers and private men priſoners that belonged to the other four. Immediately after, major-general Rantzaw, with the eight ſquadrons, and the quarter-maſters, paſſed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the French horſe had been drawn up, between the villages of Singhem and Mullen. Several of their ſquadrons of their rear-guard being ſtill paſſing through the plain, the eight ſquadrons, with the quarter-maſters attacked them with great vigour, and drove them into the cloſe ground and the high-way, which led into the march of their own army. 1708.

Here it was, the electoral prince of Hanover, his preſent majeſty of Great-Britain, gave diſtinguiſhing proofs of his early valour. He charged, ſword in hand, at the head of a ſquadron of his father's dragoons *: his horſe was ſhot under him, and colonel Luſchky, who commanded the ſquadron, was killed fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-general Schulemberg, and ſeveral other volunteers, behaved with great reſolution, and led up the ſquadrons. The French regiment of la Breteche, and ſeveral other regiments, were intirely broken; and the colonel himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken, together with a great many other officers, and twelve ſtandards and kettle-drums. The electoral prince of Hanover diſtinguiſhes himſelf.

* Bulau's.

The confederate army continued, in the mean time, to paſs the bridges with all imaginable diligence. The Pruſſian horſe formed themſelves upon the right in the ſame plain, where the advanced guard was; and the reſt of the horſe, as they paſſed, followed the Pruſſians through the village of Helpre, into the plain; but the foot, becauſe of the length of the march, came later to the bridges; ſo that none but the fifteen battalions were there till five o'clock.

The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene being at the head of the horſe, which were forming in the plain, and obſerving the great want there was of infantry, ſent orders to the foot, which had been employed in the attacking the village to leave their poſt, and throw themſelves into the hedges on the other ſide of the plain, whither the enemy ſeemed to be marching with great diligence. On that ſide of the plain were no more than two battalions of major-general Collier's and brigadier Grunkau's; which were attacked with great fury; but they maintained their poſt with equal bravery, till more foot came up to their aſſiſtance. The duke of Marlborough ſent repeated orders to the foot, to preſs their march, the enemy being then form-

1708 ing, and ready to attack the infantry, which was already there, with very unequal numbers. In the interim, the duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which were ſcarce poſted, when the French attacked them very briſkly, and drove ſome Pruſſian battalions from their poſts; but notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, about ſix in the evening, they retook it ſword in hand. By this time count Lottum was coming up, to ſuſtain this attack, with the remainder of the foot of the right; and the duke perceiving, that the great ſtreſs of the battle would lie on the right, ſent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing arrived ſomething later than the right, and having paſſed their horſe through Oudenard, and their foot on bridges below the town, had formed themſelves in two lines, with the village of Moreghem behind them.

The ſucceſs, which the confederates had already obtained in the ſeveral engagements near the villages of Heynem, Mullem, and Heurne, made the French generals ſenſible, they ſhould ſoon be attacked on all ſides. They therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of making a ſtand; to which end, they poſted their foot very advantageouſly before the villages of Wanigen, Lede, and Huyze, having in their front ſeveral defiles, fenced with incloſures of hedges, ditches, or thickets, and placed moſt of their cavalry on their right, near the villages of Oyke and Wintigen.

As ſoon as the confederate foot arrived, they formed themſelves in two lines before the horſe, and then attacked, in very good order, the incloſures and villages in their front, where the French were poſted; ſo that about ſeven o'clock the fire grew general, both on the right and on the left; and, though the enemy gave way in moſt places, yet, being ſuſtained with freſh troops, the action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after.

There was before the left of the left wing a kind of opening, through which run a road, that led into the plain, or the top of the hill, and which the prince of Orange-Naſſau, at the head of the Dutch foot, cleared with great vigour and reſolution. At the ſame time the duke of Marlborough diſpatched orders to the velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque and the count de Tilly, who were on the top of the hill near Oycke, to preſs the enemy as much as poſſible on that ſide. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed; and Auverquerque ordered major-general Weeck to march with the brigades of Waſſenaer and Oudenbergh; which being ſupported by count Tilly with the Daniſh cavalry under his command, paſſed

paſſed through a narrow defile into a field where all the French houſhold were drawn up. 1708.

The confederate troops no ſooner approached, than the French, who did not in the leaſt apprehend being attacked on that ſide, retired, and endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves under the hedges between Wirtigem and the caſtle of Beveren towards the main body of their army, where the fire was very hot; but the prince of Orange-Naſſau, with count Oxenſtiern, coming up with four brigades of infantry, led them on with great gallantry, paſſed ſome defiles, attacked the enemy in the flank, and obliged them to give way. Thoſe, who were thus retiring, were forced back into incloſures in great diſorder; and it growing dark, many battalions and more ſquadrons being in the utmoſt confuſion, ſome were cut in pieces, and others deſired to capitulate for their whole regiments.

While this happened on the left, the duke of Marlborough, who till then had been the whole time in company with prince Eugene, viſiting the field of battle, leading on, poſting, and ranging the reſpective bodies of troops; but thinking now it would be more advantageous to ſeparate, and direct in different places, arrived there, having left the care of the right to prince Eugene, who ſhewed great ſatisfaction in leading on the Engliſh troops, whom he ſaw perform wonders; ſo that at laſt the enemy finding themſelves charged and borne down on all ſides by the confederate forces, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving great numbers of priſoners behind them. Their dragoons favoured their retreat, and, to ſave the troops of the houſhold, received ſeveral diſcharges from the confederate infantry, and were moſt of them either killed or taken.

Night coming on, and the fire being directed ſo many ways at once, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from enemies, the confederate generals gave poſitive orders to their troops to give over firing, and to let the routed enemy eſcape rather than to venture putting themſelves into diſorder. This put an end to the ſlaughter, and ſaved the remainder of the enemy's army; for, had there been but two hours more of day-light, in all probability their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horſe, would have been intirely cut off, they being ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide.

During this memorable action, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene gave their orders with ſo much compoſedneſs of mind and clearneſs of judgment, as ſeemed pecu-

1708. liar to thoſe two great men. They expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers, when neceſſity required it; and yet had both the good fortune to eſcape unhurt. The electoral prince of Hanover had alſo a great ſhare in the glory of the day. At the head of his father's cavalry, he charged the celebrated troops of the French king's houſhold, bearing down all that oppoſed his career. The young prince of Orange-Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friſeland, and father of the late prince of Orange, diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe by his martial ardour, bravery, and conduct. The brave veltmarſhal d'Auverquerque, though worn out with the fatigues of above thirty campaigns, and in a languiſhing condition, exerted his expiring vigour, and was on horſe-back at the head of his troops, in the hotteſt of the fire. Count Tilly, the prince of Wirtemberg, lieutenant-generals Rantzaw and Nutzmer, major-generals Webb and Cadogan, brigadier Sabine, and, in ſhort, all the generals and officers animated the ſoldiers every where by their own example.

The different troops, of which the confederate army conſiſted, fought with ſuch emulation of each other, that it was difficult to determine, which deſerved the greateſt applauſe; yet it was obſerved, that the Pruſſian gens d'arms ſignalized themſelves in ſeveral vigorous charges, which they made and ſuſtained againſt the French cavalry, in which they loſt near half of their number.

If we may believe ſome of the French writers, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the pretender, had a great ſhare in this battle; but, if the Dutch accounts are to be credited, they, or at leaſt the two latter, only beheld the engagement from the ſteeple of an adjacent village, and conſulted their ſafety by a timely retreat. As for the other generals of the enemy's army, they committed ſeveral groſs errors, as well before as during the action, either for want of unanimity or judgment: but, for their troops, it muſt be acknowledged, that, in general, they fought better at this time than they had done upon any other occaſion.

The victory indiſputable on the ſide of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene.

The French endeavoured by their partial relations to palliate their defeat, and make a drawn battle of it (f); for which they had the only pretence of having ſaved their baggage. Now that could not be otherwiſe, ſince they left it behind

(f) All that father Daniel ſays of it is in theſe words: 'Prince 'Eugene and the duke of Marlborough being arrived at Oudenard by long marches, they 'paſſed the Scheld with their army,

they did likewiſe their artillery, having only made uſe of four or five pieces of cannon during the whole action. But the field, where the battle was fought, of which the confederates remained maſters, with ſix or ſeven hundred of the enemy's officers, and about ſeven thouſand private ſoldiers, who were made priſoners, together with ten kettle-drums, and above one hundred ſtandards and colours taken, were all evidences of an indiſputable victory on the ſide of the confederates. 1708.

The enemy retired in the night, by the road which leads through the village of Huyſe from Oudenard to Ghent. The duke of Vendoſme propoſed to the duke of Burgundy, that they ſhould halt, in order to form their troops, and give their march, at leaſt, the air of a retreat; but his advice was unregarded; for of all the general officers preſent, only the count d'Evreux was of his ſentiment. Obſerving therefore, that nothing was to be done with men terrified out of their ſenſes, he gave the word for a retreat, which was no ſooner done, than the generals, as well as private men, threw themſelves into the road of Ghent with the utmoſt precipitation. The duke of Vendoſme looked with grief and ſhame on this ſcandalous behaviour: finding, however, twenty-five ſquadrons of his beſt troops, and about the ſame number of battalions unbroken, he formed with theſe a rear-guard, and ſo preſerved the army from a ſecond defeat, The French make a good retreat.

army, which they drew up in order. The French army arriving there at the ſame time, gave the battle, gave the charge. The onſet was furious, and laſted from four in the morning till night came on, which put an end to the fight. The army of France retired toward Ghent: the left, which made the rear-guard, remained upon the field of battle till it was broad day, and then marched off in good order, under the conduct of the chevalier du Rozel, lieutenant-general, the enemy, who attacked them not being able to do them any miſchief.' The marquis de Feuquieres, in his memoirs, obſerves thus: 'Since 'we made no diſpoſitions for 'the encounter, our loſs of men, 'though very great, is not to 'be conſidered as a deciſive e-'vent: and indeed the confu-'ſion, as well as our extraordi-'nary loſs, happened in the re-'treat we made in the night, 'when the troops were neither 'ſenſible where they fled, nor 'by whom they were conducted. 'In a word, the diſpoſitions for 'their engagements, and the 'motives which induced us to 'undertake it, ought never to 'be repeated in any future con-'juncture.'

1708. which would certainly have proved more fatal than the first.

The confederates, in the mean time, continued under arms, hoping to renew the engagement again the next morning, and impatient, in the mean time, for day, that they might have a true information how far this victory had extended, of which the darkness of the night left them in ignorance. To this end, as soon as it was light, the duke of Marlborough ordered forty squadrons from the right, commanded by the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, with a considerable body of foot, to follow and attack the enemy's rear guard, which they did with great vigour. But several companies of French grenadiers, being advantageously posted along the highway leading to Ghent, killed and wounded several of the officers and private men of the confederates, and obliged them to leave off the pursuit, there being but one road, secured by hedges and ditches, lined with the enemy's grenadiers; but no place for the confederate cavalry to form themselves in. On this occasion several officers of the grenadiers, commanded by major Erwin, were killed or wounded; and general Meredith received a shot in the cheek; but the enemy, on their side, were much greater sufferers. The regiment of Risburg, which closed their rear, was intirely ruined, and two whole companies taken prisoners; as was likewise brigadier Pourienne, who commanded the hindermost brigade, with several other officers.

As to the killed and wounded on either side, the allies reckoned among the slain major-general Berensdorf; the colonels Adercasz and Bolzen, count Rantzaw, and Sir John Matthews, with captain Dean of the British guards, and about eight hundred private men; and, among the wounded, lieutenant-general Natzmer, major-generals Gaudecker and Berner; the colonels Groves, Pennyfather, and four others; a hundred and sixty other officers, and about two thousand private soldiers; which loss was abundantly repaired by deserters and prisoners, Germans, Swiss, and Savoyards, who listed themselves voluntarily in the service of the allies. The French endeavoured to conceal their loss with all possible industry; but that it was much greater than that of the allies, is evident from several very authentic accounts (g); from which it appears, that the number of prisoners

(g) A letter from the field-deputies of the states general to the states-general:

High

m the enemy amounted to ſeven thouſand 1708.
hom were two lieutenant-generals, two ma-
jor-

ighty lords,
the ſhortneſs of
only let your
know yeſter-
ged the ene-
the afternoon.
ourſelves the
your high-
dvice, that
marched on
Aſche, took
Leſſines, in order to
the Dender at that place,
oppoſition from the e-
whom we had prevented
ſudden march; and, arri-
there on Tueſday evening,
underſtood, that the enemy
marched from Aloſt to-
Gavre, where they cauſed
nade, in order to
Scheld; which made
deſigned to poſt
on the height of
and hinder us from
the Scheld. And, tho'
was very much fa-
by the foregoing march,
reſolved to proceed on
yeſterday, and, if
to prevent the enemy.
therefore ſixteen
the night, to take
other ſide of the
Oudenard, and to
neceſſary for our
yeſterday morning a-
we received advice,
enemy had paſſed the
Scheld, and were marching to-
wards Oudenard, which made
us haſten our march as much as
poſſible, for fear our detach-
ment, that was ſent over, ſhould
be defeated, and ourſelves pre-
vented in our deſign of paſ-
ing the Scheld. But, by that
time the enemy were come near
Oudenard, they ſaw we had al-
ready taken poſt over the Scheld,
which made them reſolve to
ſtrike off to the right; but, to
cover their march againſt ours,
they thought fit to throw troops
into the hedges and into a vil-
lage upon the Scheld below Ou-
denard. About three in the af-
ternoon, as ſoon as our foot be-
gan to come up, it was judged
adviſeable to attack the village,
and thereby oblige the enemy
to go no farther, but ſtop their
march. This attack was made
with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs,
that the enemy were immediately
driven out of the village, our
men falling upon them with their
bayonets on the muzzles of their
muſkets, and not firing a piece;
ſo that they preſently threw down
their arms, and a whole brigade,
together with a brigadier, ſur-
rendered priſoners. The few
horſe, that had paſſed with the
detachment, attacked likewiſe
the French ſquadrons poſted be-
hind the village with ſo much
ſucceſs, that they were put into
diſorder and puſhed, our men
taking from them eight or ten
ſtandards, and ſome horſes.
Hereupon the enemy were forced
to face about to us, and form
themſelves about four o'clock,
when, moſt of our foot being
over, and formed, the general
engagement began, firſt on the
right, and afterwards on the left
wing. The fight was properly
between the foot, and was ob-
ſtinate; but our men got ground,
and drove the enemy from one
hedge

1708. jor-generals, five brigadiers, about thirty colonels, above a hundred Officers of the ſtate-major, and four hundred ſubalterns,

hedge to another, till night put an end to the combat. The horſe, who, by reaſon of the broken ground, could not act, were detached to the right and the left wing, and advanced ſo far, that they attacked the enemy in flank and rear; which, when they perceived, they fell in the night into the utmoſt confuſion; and part of them retired, with their baggage and artillery, towards Ghent and Deynſe; another part towards the road of Courtray; and, according to computation, ſix or ſeven thouſand ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, with three or four hundred officers at their head; among whom are ſeveral dukes and general officers. Had not the night come to their aſſiſtance, we believe they would have ſaved very little of their army. We therefore congratulate your high mightineſſes upon this compleat victory, which God Almighty has ſo graciouſly vouchſafed, and which gives us an opportunity, with this victorious army, and that of prince Eugene, who was preſent at this action, to extend the frontiers further, and bring the enemy to reaſon. Each general made ſo good a diſpoſition, and every regiment attacked the enemy ſo well, and with ſo much intrepidity, that it was impoſſible for any one to diſtinguiſh themſelves in a particular manner. Our loſs, God be thanked, is ſo ſmall, that there is not, as we know of, one regiment out of a condition to make the reſt of the campaign. Among the horſe our loſs is nothing at all. Nor do we yet know, that we have loſt any head-officer of the ſtate. With which, high and mighty lords, &c.

Oudenard, July 12, 1708. Signed,

Ford. Van Collen,
G. Van Roſſum tot Ardenbroeck,
S. Van Goſſinga,
Count of Rechteren,
B. Van Vanvelde,
Adr. Van Borſelle tot Geldermalſen.

P. S We thought, conſidering the importance of this affair, we ſhould not do amiſs in ſending this to your high-mightineſſes by the head-officer Cock, who may have the honour of informing your high-mightineſſes of more particulars.

Velt-marſhal d'Auverquerque's letter to the greffier Fagel.

On Monday laſt, at ſeven o'clock, we broke up (as I have already had the honour to acquaint your lordſhip) with the army from Herſelinghen near Enghien. We marched the whole night, and the next day paſſed the Dender at and above Leſſines towards Oudenard, where we arrived about noon. We had received intelligence, that the army broke up on Tueſday from the neighbourhood of Aloſt, and were incamped at Gavre, and that they alſo paſſed the Scheld yeſterday at that place; which indeed we found to be true, perceiving, upon our arrival at

Ou-

ther, with ſeventy or eighty ſtandards or co- 1708.
largeſt liſt, on the ſide of the allies, make the loſs

enemy upon a wards Tournay. ridges over the fight, and our troops paſſed the river with an unſpeakable ſpeed and courage. About two o'clock the greateſt part of our army had paſſed, with which the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene formed the right wing near Broan-Caſtle, about half a league from the town, and began to engage the enemy in a battle. In the mean time I marched likewiſe with the troops of the ſtates, which compoſed the left wing, in order to attack the enemy, which I did about five o'clock, having been obliged to make a great round to come at them. and God has been pleaſed ſo to bleſs the arms of the hat we have en- the enemy, and to retire in great me towards Cour- rs towards Ghent. elf the honour to their high-mighti- this important vic- hall endeavour all e our advantage of my will have much their army into the yearin a good con- loſs of the ſlain on their ſide is very conſiderable, beſides a good number of officers (ſome of them of diſtinction) and common ſoldiers, priſoners. We have alſo taken ſeveral ſtandards and colours, of which I will ſend their high-mightineſſes a liſt by the next courier.

The bravery and wiſe conduct of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene cannot be enough commended, nor the zeal and courage of the other generals of the ſtates, who did all which their duty and regard for the ſervice required of them. All the officers and troops, without diſtinction, did all that could be expected from brave men and good ſoldiers. We ſent out a body of horſe and foot this morning to purſue the run-away enemy, and ſcatter them yet more, but they were got too far off by the favour of the night. I remain,

Your lordſhip's

Humble and

From the camp of Oudenard, July 12, 1708. obedient ſervant,

AUVERQUERQUE.

Mr. Cardonnel's letter to Mr. Cole at Venice.

Camp at Oudenard,

SIR, July 12, 1708.

As ſoon as the enemy had an account, that our army had paſſed the Dender at Leſſines, they recalled their troops that were come to inveſt Oudenard, and marched with their whole army to Gavre, where they began to paſs the Scheld yeſterday morning, and continued paſſing till about four in the afternoon. And as my lord duke was reſolved to purſue them, in order to engage them to a battle, major-general Cadogan was ſent away very early with a ſtrong detachment,

to

1708. loſs of the enemy to be nine thouſand eight hundred priſoners, officers included; four thouſand two hundred killed and

to paſs the ſame river through this town, and to make bridges for the whole army, which followed with all poſſible diligence, to prevent the enemy's paſſing the Lys, or their retreat towards the lines. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon, the detachment, with the head of our army, began to attack the enemy in their march; and, in a little time, brigadier Sabine, at the head of his brigade, beat ſeven of the enemy's battalions, of whom he killed a great number, and took moſt of the reſt priſoners. The enemy then formed their line, and the battle began about five, and laſted with great firmneſs till near ten at night, it being chiefly the foot that were engaged, the enemy ſtill retiring; ſo that, beſides a great ſlaughter, we made a great number of priſoners. We cannot yet give the particulars of this great victory; but ſome thouſands of priſoners, and, among them, ſome general officers are already brought into town. Forty ſquadrons of horſe, with twenty battalions of foot, are in purſuit of the reſt of their army, which is retiring towards Ghent. My lord duke, with the prince of Savoy, and monſieur d'Auverquerque, continued on horſe-back the whole night, to animate our troops, and to give the neceſſary orders for the purſuit. I am, &c.

H. CARDONNEL.

P. S. Since the writing of this, we have an account of about ſix thouſand priſoners brought into the town, beſides near five hundred officers, of which ſeveral are of note. I heartily congratulate with you on this great and glorious victory, &c.

Letter from the duke of Marlborough to the earl of Manchester.

Camp at Werwick,
My lord, July 15, 1708.

I return your lordſhip many thanks for the favour of your letter of the 22d of laſt month, and am glad to ſee your lordſhip was like ſoon to have juſt ſatisfaction from the republic of Venice. You need not doubt then, but the queen will readily grant your deſire of returning home. We are in great expectation of Sir John Leake's being ſailed for Catalonia, where the ſuccours from Italy will have been very much wanting. We hear the duke of Orleans perſiſted in the ſiege of Tortoſa, notwithſtanding the loſs of his proviſion ſhips taken by our fleet. Your lordſhip will have heard with concern the enemy's having taken the city of Ghent, by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants. But the good news that will ſoon have followed of our defeating, on Wedneſday laſt, part of their army near Oudenard, and obliging them to retire behind the canal between Ghent and Bruges, will have made ſome amends. We took between ſix and ſeven thouſand priſoners, beſides about ſeven hundred officers, of which ſeveral are of note, and a great number of ſtandards and colours. Our army lay on their arms that night, and on Thurſday incamped on the field of battle: on

Friday

and wounded; two thouſand four hundred deſerted; in all nineteen thouſand four hundred: taken beſides, ten pieces of cannon, 1708

Friday we reſted, the troops having need of ſome eaſe, after their great fatigue; and about midnight we detached forty ſquadrons and thirty battalions towards the enemy's lines, between Warneton and Ypres. The whole army followed by break of day, and incamped at Helchin, whence we purſued our march to-day to this camp cloſe to the lines, which we found our detachments had forced, and taken five hundred priſoners, the only guard the enemy had left for their ſecurity. We do not think, that their army is marched from behind the canal, which, with their poſſeſſing of Ghent, will be a great obſtruction to our bringing up our heavy cannon and other artillery; ſo that I fear we ſhall be obliged to retake that place, before we can make any farther progreſs.

Extract of an intercepted letter from a French officer, who was in the battle.

I can only ſend you an unwelcome relation of the particulars of the battle, which happened yeſterday about two in the afternoon near Oudenard. It will prove a great blow to France; for, without exaggerating the matter, we had above ten thouſand men killed, wounded, or taken. The action was very ill managed on our ſide; for, inſtead of attacking the enemy when they began to paſs the Scheld near Oudenard at eleven in the morning, we let them come over the river quietly, which they never would have adventured to do, had we, in any tolerable manner offered to diſpute their paſſage; but ſeeing us ſtand ſtill, they were encouraged to proſecute their firſt deſign, and began to paſs over two bridges, which they had laid. As faſt as their horſe and foot came over, they ranged themſelves in order of battle againſt us; and while our generals were in ſuſpenſe what reſolution to take, whether to venture an engagement or not, the enemy's army continued coming over the river, and ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome villages and hedges; ſo that, at laſt, our generals were compelled to endeavour to diſlodge them. Accordingly, our infantry advanced, and the ground was diſputed two or three hours, with a terrible fire and great obſtinacy on both ſides; but our foot being tired with charging the enemy five or ſix times, and being diſheartened to ſee themſelves not ſupported by our horſe (who could not act, becauſe the ground was full of incloſures) and preſſed hard by the enemy, were, at length, forced to retire, and quit the ground to them. We dragoons were obliged to endure the continual fire of the enemy's foot and cannon, without daring to ſtir, becauſe we were on the right of the king's houſhold, who ſuffered as much as we. Towards the evening we were fallen upon by a great number of the enemy's horſe, to hinder us from ſuccouring the reſt, who were put to the route, and of ſeven regiments of dragoons we loſt above half. At laſt, we had no

1708. cannon, fifty-six pair of colours, fifty-two ſtandards, eight pair of kettle-drums, four thouſand five hundred horſe. On the

no other expedient left, than to force our way through the enemy; but firſt we ſent to ſee whether we could be aſſiſted in that deſign by any of our forces. In the mean time night came on apace, and we were informed, that the king's houſhold (whoſe retreat was covered in ſome meaſure by us) were at too great a diſtance. Things ſtanding thus, our reſolution of breaking thro' the enemy ſunk, and, ſome of the enemy's adjutants ſummoning us to yield ourſelves priſoners of war, we ſubmitted to it, ſeeing no other way to ſave our lives. At leaſt forty of our regiments are reduced to a wretched condition, the greateſt part of them being killed or taken; ſo that it will be long before they can be re-eſtabliſhed. Of four regiments of the king's houſhold, at leaſt half are taken priſoners, and among them are ſeveral perſons of note. The chavalier de Longueville and fifteen other officers were mortally wounded, and two of them are dead ſince the battle. The regiments of Pfiffer and Villars are quite ruined, and almoſt all their officers are taken, with all their baggage, &c. Amongſt the priſoners were above ſeven hundred officers, viz, a lieutenant-general, four major-generals, five brigadiers, fourteen colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, nine majors, two hundred and ſix captains, one hundred and forty ſeven lieutenants, ninety-ſix coronets, one hundred and eighty-ſix gens d'armes, Chevaux Legers, or lifeguards, and forty ſeven quarter-maſters. The marquis de Ximenes, colonel of the regiment of royal Rouſillon, and the ſieur de la Betrache, colonel of horſe, with a great number of other officers, were killed.

A letter written by one of the duke of Vendoſme's confidents, ſuppoſed to be monſieur Capiſtron, the duke's ſecretary.

Away with your conſternation, Sir, and do not betray in yourſelf the weakneſs common to your nation, who never light of a misfortune, but preſently all is loſt. I tell you, in the firſt place, that the reports you hinted to me are falſe, and the duke of Vendoſme laughs at them. As for the three marches which he ſuffered to be ſtolen from him, and his not guarding the Denders, every body knows, the duke of Vendoſme was for diſputing the paſſage of that river; and that, after three days conteſt, he was forced to ſubmit to the ſentiments of thoſe, who, to avoid an engagement, voted for paſſing the Scheld. However it was then, that they were obliged to own, what that duke had foretold them, viz. That, whenever prince Eugene underſtood they had a mind to avoid fighting, he would force them to do it, whether they would or no.

As to what they ſay, that the duke of Vendoſme ought to have attacked the van of the enemy's army, in their paſſing the Scheld, he knew better things. For as

ſoon

the other hand, the loweſt computation amounts together to fourteen thouſand ſeven hundred killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, without mentioning deſerters; and the loweſt calculation, given by the French themſelves, allows their loſs to have been above ten thouſand men. 1708

The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, with the pretender, reached Ghent the morning after the battle, by five o'clock; and about nine, the duke of Vendoſme, who brought up the rear,

ſoon as he received advice from the marquis of Biron, that part of the enemy's army was over, he was for attacking it, while he ſaw the duſt made by the columns of that army on the other ſide of the river, about half a league from Oudenard; but he was ſingle in his opinion, and conſequently not hearkened to. This was at ten in the morning. At four in the afternoon major-general Grimaldi was ordered, without the duke of Vendoſme's knowledge, to begin the attack; which, however, when he ſaw, he was for continuing it. Accordingly he ſent monſieur Jenet, his aid de camp, to the left, with orders for them to engage, but he was killed in his return. Theſe orders were not executed, ſome officers inſinuating mal à propos to the duke of Burgundy, that there was a quagmire and an impracticable morais; whereas the duke of Vendoſme's and the count d'Evreux had paſſed an hour before.

As to the retreat, the duke of Vendoſme was not for it; but, as he was backed in his opinion by the count d'Evreux only, he was again obliged to ſubmit. No ſooner therefore had he given the word for the army to retreat, but all got on horſeback, and with aſtoniſhing precipitation fled to Ghent; and there were not wanting thoſe, who adviſed the princes to ſet out poſt from thence for Ypres.

The duke of Vendoſme, who was obliged, for a good part of the time, to make the rear-guard with his aid de camp, did not reach Gent till almoſt nine in the morning, when he made a firm reſolution to poſt the army behind the canal, which goes from that place to Bruges, though againſt the advice of all the general officers, who threatened for three days together to abandon him; and ſaid, they ought to endeavour to join the duke of Berwick. That firmneſs ſaved the king's army, and France itſelf; for the fright the army was in would have cauſed a greater diſgrace than that of Ramillies. Whereas the duke of Vendoſme, by poſting himſelf behind the canal, has covered Ghent and Bruges, which is the eſſential point, and thereby revived and put courage into the troops, and given the officers time to recollect themſelves, and to know the country. In a word, he has thrown the enemy out of action; and if they attack any of our ſtrong places, as Ypres, Liſle, Mons or Tournay, the duke of Vendoſme will take Oudenard, make himſelf maſter of the Scheld, and ſo puzzle them. This, Sir, is the very truth, and the ſame the duke of Vendoſme has ſent to the king, &c.

1708 rear, arrived there alſo. As they were apprehenſive of being purſued by the whole confederate army, the duke immediately commanded his troops to march through Ghent to Lovendegen, on the canal, not far from that city; where, for their greater ſecurity, they caſt up intrenchments, and planted upon them their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. In this camp they recovered themſelves out of their firſt conſternation; but the former miſunderſtandings revived among their generals, eſpecially between the dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme, who, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the court, could never be brought to a reconciliation (h).

While the French were intrenching themſelves behind the canal between Ghent and Bruges, the confederate troops being returned to their camp (which was the field of battle) they reſted two days. Mean time the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, monſieur Auverquerque, and the ſtate deputies, debated in a council of war, how they might beſt improve their late ſucceſs. The reſult was, That the duke of Marlborough's army ſhould immediately march to Menin, paſs the Lys, level the French lines between Ypres and Warneton, and hinder any detachment from getting into Ypres, or the French army from retiring that way; and that prince Eugene, with a detachment of the grand army, ſhould march, at the ſame time, towards Bruſſels, to aſſemble his forces, obſerve the motions of the duke of Berwick, and hinder likewiſe the enemy's army near Ghent, from retreating through Brabant the ſame way they came. According to theſe reſolutions, count Lottum, general of the Pruſſians, marched, the 13th of July, at night, with thirty battalions, and forty

(h) Burnet obſerves, Vendoſme took ſo much upon him, that the other officers complained of his neglecting them; ſo they made their court to the duke of Burgundy, and laid the blame of all his miſcarriages on Vendoſme. He kept cloſe to the orders he had from Verſailles, where the accounts he gave, and the advices he offered, were more conſidered, than thoſe that were ſent by the duke of Burgundy: this was very uneaſy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, though he did not ſhew the forwardneſs, in expoſing his own perſon, that was expected: he ſeemed very devout, even to bigotry; but by the accounts we had from France, it did appear, that his conduct, during the campaign, gave no great hopes or proſpect from him, when all things ſhould come into his hands: Chamillard was often ſent from court to ſoften him, and to reconcile him to the duke of Vendoſme, but with no effect. Vol. II. 509.

ſquadrons

squadrons, the next day advanced towards the French lines, and took several small places. The same day the army took their route towards Menin, passed the Lys near that place, and encamped at a small distance from the town. Whilst a detachment from the confederate army demolished the French lines between Ypres and the Lys, another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras, which struck such a terror every where that it reached the very city of Paris. 1708.

Whilst these affairs were in agitation, the confederate troops expected their heavy cannon, in order to undertake an important siege; and the French continued in their posts along the canal of Bruges, without giving the allies any disturbance. The only method they pitched upon, as most proper to be put in execution, was to harrass the Dutch Flanders with small parties. This they did, and, whilst the confederate army raised great contributions in Picardy and elsewhere, the French plundered a few boors under the government of the states. Their next attempt was against the forts of the Red-House, and fort Plassendale, which they made themselves masters of sword in hand. But, whilst they were endeavouring to amuse the confederates by these proceedings, several detachments of the allies plundered the countries of Picardy and Artois. Couny Tilly, the lieutenant-generals Orkney, Rantzaw, and Hompesch, the major-generals Webb, Rantzaw, and count d'Arbach, with forty squadrons, twelve battalions, and a thousand grenadiers, advanced into Picardy, to lay the same under contribution, or to put that province under military execution. This detachment fell in with eight hundred horse near la Bassee and Lens, (part of the cavalry belonging to the duke of Berwick's army) of which a considerable number were killed, and a colonel, a major, a captain, and two hundred troopers taken prisoners. The confederate troops pursued the enemy to the gates of Lens, wherein they had posted fourteen hundred foot, which abandoned the place upon the approach of the confederate infantry. After this the generals raised considerable sums in the province of Picardy, burnt the suburbs of Dourlens, and returned with hostages for the contributions they had agreed on to be paid to the allies, without any manner of opposition.

Some time after, a detachment from the French army at Lovendegen, under the command of the chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into the Dutch Flanders; but they performed little more than the other part of the army commanded by the duke of Burgundy. They fell in upon the Dutch

1708. lines of Bervliet, which they took, having no manner of guard to defend them, lieutenant-general Fagel and major-general Murray retiring before them, for want of a ſufficient force to make a ſtand; their troops not amounting to more than three battalions, and a regiment of dragoons. Afterwards the French advanced, and fell into the Iſland of Caſandt, where they plundered and burnt above a hundred houſes belonging to the country farmers and boors, and beſides, obliged the inhabitants of the iſland to pay contributions. Thus they finiſhed their expedition, without putting any thing farther material in execution, and retired back to rejoin their main body.

This invaſion of Dutch Flanders did dot occaſion any alteration in the meaſures that had been concerted for a conſiderable ſiege; in order to which a great train of artillery, and a vaſt number of waggons laden with warlike ſtores, had, with all poſſible expedition, been provided at Bruſſels. Prince Eugene's army from Germany had now joined the confederates; and the French foreſeeing the ſtorm, and rightly conjecturing, that Liſle was the place, which the allies intended to bend their main force againſt, had made proviſions ſuitable to the greatneſs of the danger they apprehended. For, beſides the preſence of the marſhal de Boufflers, governor of all French Flanders, and of the lieutenants-general de Surville, Lee, and other Officers of diſtinction, they threw into the place twenty-one battalions of the beſt troops of France. But notwithſtanding the difficulties, that muſt naturally attend the ſiege of ſo ſtrong and ſo well-provided a place, beſides others occaſioned by the confederates being cut off from their magazines in Antwerp and Sas van-Ghent; all which made the duke of Vendoſme ſay, "That he did "not think ſo wiſe a captain as prince Eugene would ven-"ture upon ſo raſh an enterprize;" yet nothing was able to deter the confederate generals from their reſolutions. So that, having brought a great convoy of proviſions, amunition, and other warlike ſtores from Bruſſels to Menin, Liſle (i) was inveſted on the 13th of Auguſt, N. S. on one ſide

Liſle inveſted.

(i) Liſle is a large, rich, and ſtrong city, the capital of French Flanders, and, next to Paris, was reckoned the chief place of the king of France's dominions. The allies inveſted it Auguſt 13, 1708. The town was ſurrendered to them, October 23, and the citadel, December 11. It ſtands among the pools and marſhes, fifteen miles weſt of Tournay, twenty-eight north of Doway, thirty-ſix ſouth-weſt of Ghent, thirty-ſeven ſouth-eaſt of Dunkirk, and thirty-eight almoſt weſt of Mons.

by

by the prince of Orange-Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friſeland, in the following manner; the artillery being arrived at Pottes, and all things concerted for the ſiege, the prince of Orange-Naſſau was detached with thirty-one battalions, to take poſt at Marquet upon the Deule, within half a league of Liſle, and lieutenant-general Wood, with thirty-four ſquadrons, marched to Potteghem. The grand army marched likewiſe from their camp at Werwick to Helchin; and, the ſame day, prince Eugene, having paſſed the Marque at Pont-a-Treſſin, inveſted the town between that place and the Upper Deule, whilſt the prince of Orange-Naſſau did the ſame with his detachment between the Upper and Lower Deule; by which mean the enemy were ſhut up, and could put no further reinforcements into the place. The duke of Marlborough took upon him to cover the ſiege; and to that end incamped at Helchin, where he had a conveniency from time to time to reinforce the troops imployed in the ſiege, or to march and fight the enemy, as occaſion ſhould require. 1708.

This important ſiege was to be carried on with fifty battalions; ſix Imperialiſts, nine Palatines, five Heſſians, and thirty from the grand army; and, all matters being put into a proper poſture for a vigourous ſiege, the trenches were opened on the 22d of Auguſt, between ſeven and eight in the evening, on the right and left of the Lower Deule; the right againſt the gate of St. Andrew, under the direction of monſieur des Roques, and the other againſt St. Magdalen Gate, under the care of monſieur du Mey. Four thouſand workmen were commanded for this ſervice, covered by ten battalions of the Imperial, Palatine, and Heſſian troops, commanded by lieutenant-general Wilke, and major-general Vylkerſhoven. Ten battalions and ſix hundred horſe were ready to ſuſtain them; but the trenches were carried on with ſo good ſucceſs, that the allies had above two hours time to cover themſelves, before they were perceived by the enemy; who made a terrible fire from the town, though with ſo little execution, that the confederates had not above three or four men killed, and about fifteen wounded. On the 23d, lieutenant-general Pettenſdorf, in the ſervice of the elector Palatine, and the major-generals Sacken and Soble, relieved the trenches with four Imperial and ſix Heſſian battalions, and one thouſand workmen at each attack. But Pettenſdorf going from one attack to the other, and miſſing his way in the night, had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, and carried into the town. The 24th, lieutenant-general Spaar relieved the trenches, with major-general Collier,

1708. lier, the brigadiers Wassanaer and Keppel, and the British battalions of Godfrey and Ingoldsby, two Prussian, the Danish guards, and the battalions of Orange, Bellem, Swarts, and Mey. The same night, three hundred and twenty grenadiers were commanded to attack the chapel of St. Magdalen, wherein the enemy had a hundred and twenty grenadiers, with two captains, and some subaltern officers, who having lost one of their captains, and about twenty men, the rest surrendered. The besiegers had, in this action, near thirty men killed and wounded; some officers and monsieur du Mey (director of the attacks) received a small contusion. The 26th the besieged retook the chapel, having made a sally with most of the grenadiers and two squadrons of dragoons. But the prince of Orange-Nassau being in the trenches, caused two battalions to advance, who retook it, and caused the enemy to retire with precipitation, into the counterscarp. The 27th in the morning, the besiegers fired fifty pieces of cannon, and twenty mortars upon the town with so good success, that they beat down one of the enemy's batteries. On the 29th early in the morning, the confederate troops stormed a fortified mill on the right near the gate of St. Andrew with three hundred grenadiers, beat the enemy from that post, and took several prisoners; but, at the same time, the enemy made so terrible a fire from the ramparts, that the besiegers were obliged to quit it. The next day three hundred grenadiers were commanded to retake that mill, but the enemy set it on fire, and abandoned that post. On the last of August the prince of Holstein-Beck relieved the trenches, and each battalion was ordered to furnish six waggons, to carry stones near the batteries, to throw the same with mortars into the enemy's works. The 1st of September, at night, the Imperialists relieved the trenches, and the besiegers carried on the sap towards the saliant angle of the counterscarp of the horn-work, within fifty paces of the pallisadoes; and a vast quantity of fascines and gabions were prepared for making their lodgment on the counterscarp. At the same time the breach being very wide, and the ditch almost filled up with the ruins of the walls, marshal Boufflers was apprehensive, that the town would fall into the confederates hands, and therefore ordered several of the largest pieces of cannon to be removed into the citadel. On the 4th the prince of Holstein-Beck relieved the trenches; as did also lieutenant-general Spaar the next day; and the approaches were carried on so successfully, that it was judged, the counterscarp would

would be stormed the same evening; but that enterprize was deferred till the 7th. 1708.

Whilst the siege of Lisle was thus vigorously carried on, the dukes of Burgundy, Vendosme, and Berwick, made two or three feint advances, as if they designed to attack the duke of Marlborough; who, upon those motions, gave orders for his army to be ready to march upon the first occasion; and in the mean time detached the earl of Athlone, with fifteen hundred horse, to observe the enemy. The earl advancing towards Leuse, his van-guard fell in with an hundred horse, detached from the duke of Berwick's army, whom they charged, defeated, and took thirty prisoners. The enemy made several marches and counter-marches, whereby it was apparent, that they designed to attempt the raising of the siege. The duke of Burgundy likewise sent a spy, to endeavour to get into Lisle, and acquaint the marshal Boufflers, that, their army being on this side Tournay, he might depend upon being relieved; but that messenger happened to be discovered and seized by the allies. Upon this, the duke of Marlborough, in expectation of an engagement, ordered the confederate army, on the 5th of September, to march to the ground marked out for them, in order to give the enemy battle; and, being reinforced by prince Eugene, with seventy-two squadrons and twenty-six battalions from the siege (with which troops came also king Augustus and the landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers); and lieutenant-general Fagel having marched with incredible speed out of Dutch Flanders and Brabant, and joined the confederate army with seven battalions and as many squadrons, they continued till ten o'clock in order of battle. But the enemy declined coming to an engagement; so that the confederate generals ordered the tents to be pitched again, and the detachment of prince Eugene returned to the camp before Lisle, except some imperial and Hessian squadrons. The generals concluding that the enemy had no other design than to give them frequent alarms, to retard the siege, and streighten them in their forage, without venturing an engagement, one hundred men out of each battalion were ordered to cast up an intrenchment in the front of their army, which would both secure the troops from any sudden surprize, and leave the besiegers at liberty to carry on their attacks without interruption.

The French in vain attempt to relieve Lisle.

The confederates, thus finding it impracticable to bring the enemy to a battle, thought fit to storm the counterscarp of Lisle, which had been delayed by these movements; and, on

The counterscarp is attacked and taken.

1708. on the 7th of September in the morning, they made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for that enterprize, having received a reinforcement from the grand army of ſeven hundred grenadiers, and the like number of fuſileers, and ſix hundred workmen. Eight hundred grenadiers, ſupported by the like number of fuſileers, thirty carpenters, and two hundred workmen, were commanded for the attack of the right, between the Lower Deule and the gate St. Andrew, under the direction of the ſieur des Roques; and ſixteen hundred grenadiers, ſupported by the like number of fuſileers, thirty carpenters, and two thouſand workmen, were commanded for the attack of the left, between the river and the gate of St. Magdalen, under the direction of the ſieur du Mey. The batteries of the confederates made a continual fire before the attack, on all the baſtions to diſturb the enemy; and after the ſignal of three guns, and a general diſcharge of all the artillery, the attack was made with ſo much order and courage on the part of the officers and ſoldiers, that the counterſcarp was taken in a ſhort time, notwithſtanding it was defended by two hundred men of each regiment in the garriſon; and the beſiegers lodged themſelves in the covered way. But the enemy made ſuch a terrible fire from their out-works with their cannon, mortars, and ſmall arms, and ſprung three mines in the covered way, that there were no leſs than one thouſand men wounded and ſlain.

The confederates, having made themſelves maſters of the counterſcarp, endeavoured to perfect their works with all poſſible application. In the night, between the 9th and 10th, the enemy made a ſally, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. On the 11th, the Imperialiſts relieved the trenches; and an adjutant came from the grand army, to acquaint prince Eugene, that the French were advanced within ſight of the intrenchments, and ſeemed to have a deſign to attack them. Whereupon the prince marched with fifteen battalions, and the cavalry, to reinforce the duke of Marlborough. The duke being at dinner, received advice, that the French foragers were advanced within a quarter of a league of the confederate camp, and were ſuſtained by ſeveral regiments: lieutenant-general Wood, who happened to be at table, deſired his permiſſion that he might charge them with two battalions only. The duke granted his requeſt; and, having detached the regiment of Sir Richard Temple, and another Engliſh battalion, for that enterprize, they fell upon the enemy, whom they repulſed as far as Ennevelin, where they had poſted ſome forces in a caſtle, which was ſur-

rounded

rounded with ditches. The Engliſh endeavoured to diſlodge them from thence, and charged the French with great bravery: but the duke of Vendoſme cauſed all his grenadiers, and the piquet of ſix brigades, which were incamped in the front of his army near Pont-a-Marque, to ſupport his troops in the caſtle. Whereupon the two battalions were obliged to retire, after a very ſtout reſiſtance, and retreated in good order, with the loſs of about ſix or ſeven officers, and near two hundred men killed or wounded. The next morning the French troops began to be in motion; and, about two in the afternoon, the allies ſaw the head of their army, conſiſting of ſeveral battalions and ſquadrons, with their workmen, who levelled the ground between them and the allies intrenchments. The confederate generals now thought the enemy were reſolved upon an attack, ſo that the troops were immediately ordered to their arms, and the regiments commanded to their reſpective poſts, behind the intrenchments. Prince Eugene likewiſe joined the army; and, at the ſame time, orders were ſent to the earl of Albemarle (who was then between Oudenard and Menin, with thirty ſquadrons, to guard a convoy from Bruſſels) to return to the camp with the utmoſt expedition; and accordingly the earl, on the 12th, by break of day, arrived with his detachment. About four in the afternoon, the enemy began to cannonade the confederate camp, directing their fire chiefly againſt the village of Entiers (where the brigadiers Evans and Wertmuller were poſted with two brigades of foot) and were anſwered by the artillery, planted on the intrenchments, which continued till it was dark. The confederate troops, which lay upon their arms all night, were the next day formed in order of battle; and early in the morning, the enemy renewed their cannonading with between thirty and forty pieces, moſt twenty-four pounders, and the allies did the like with almoſt equal execution on both ſides. At length the enemy withdrew their heavy cannon; and the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene perceiving that they had no other deſign than by frequent alarms to delay the ſtorming the out-works of Liſle, the troops were ordered to encamp in ſuch a manner, as to be immediately ready to receive the French, provided they ſhould make any farther attempts; and the works about the village of Entiers were repaired, and enlarged for the greater ſecurity of that poſt. Prince Eugene being ſatisfied that the confederate camp was ſufficiently ſecured, he returned, on the 13th of September, with his troops, to the ſiege. 1708.

1708. In the mean while the French generals were contriving means to diſtreſs the confederate army in ſuch a manner, as to oblige prince Eugene to raiſe the ſiege; and, in order to this, they at laſt found an opportunity of engaging ſome of the inhabitants at Aeth in a conſpiracy to deliver up that town; while, on the other hand, they were indefatigable in concerting meaſures for cutting off the convoys, of which the camp before Liſle ſtood in need. The former ſcheme failed; for, before the conſpiracy at Aeth was ripe for execution, it was diſcovered: but, in the latter part of their deſign, they ſucceeded. For, after various motions of both armies, they began to throw up lines for ſecuring the paſſes of the Scheld, and worked at them ſo hard, that they appeared rather like the fortifications of a town, than intrenchments thrown up in haſte, notwithſtanding they were ſeventy miles in length. On theſe they laid cannon, and poſted the greateſt part of their army upon them, ſo that they did effectually ſtop all communication by the Scheld. Upon which the ſtates ordered all that was neceſſary, both for the army and for the ſiege, to be ſent to Oſtend. And if the French had begun their deſigns, with the intercepting this way of conveyance, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed, for want of ammunition to carry it on.

Bold attempt of a French officer. Mill. Hiſt.

The duke of Burgundy was very uneaſy for want of intelligence from Liſle; which put Dubois, a captain in his army, on one of the boldeſt enterprizes, which perhaps was ever undertaken by a ſingle man. He determined to attempt getting into the city, notwithſtanding the ſtrict guards kept by the beſiegers. He undreſſed himſelf, and, having tied his cloaths, ſwam over ſeven canals and ditches, and ſo got into the town. Marſhal Boufflers having provided him with cloaths, conducted him to both the attacks, ſhewed him the condition all things were in, and, having written a letter to the duke of Burgundy, he rolled it up in wax, which the captain put in his mouth. He then returned the ſame way he came, with the intelligence the duke of Burgundy wanted; by which it was ſaid, marſhal Boufflers acquainted him, that if one of the allies convoys could be intercepted, the ſiege would be raiſed; and that he would undertake the place ſhould hold out till the 6th or 10th of October.

On the 12th of September, about nine in the morning, the beſieged came out of the town in great numbers, with four colours, and attacked the trenches on the left in ſix different places, having, at the ſame time, another body of troops in the covered way, ready to ſuſtain them. But before

fore they could do any other damage than the overturning a few gabions, they were engaged by the next battalions in the trenches, and obliged to retreat in great diſorder, having had above ſixty men killed, and among them ſeveral officers; and, of the confederates, fourteen men were killed, and near thirty wounded. Lieutenant-general Arnam continued that night in the trenches, which were relieved, the night between the 13th and 14th, by the prince of Holſtein-Beck; but the works were not advanced very much, becauſe the troops, which had joined the grand army with prince Eugene, were not returned to their reſpective poſts. However, they arrived the 14th, a little before break of day. The ſame night the trenches were relieved by lieutenant-general Spaar, with ten battalions, as uſual; and the beſiegers began to work upon ſome mines, in order to fill up the ditch of the tenaille, and they placed a great many gabions on the paliſadoes. On the 15th, prince Eugene thought fit to alter the former diſpoſitions for relieving the trenches, and ordered, that all the lieutenant-generals of his army ſhould roll according to their turns; that one of them ſhould mount the trenches every day with a major-general; that the former ſhould take his poſt at the attack on the left, and the latter on the right; and that twelve battalions, inſtead of ten, ſhould mount the trenches, five Imperialiſts, Palatines, and Heſſians, and ſeven detached from the troops of the prince of Naſſau. Accordingly, on the 17th in the evening, lieutenant-general Wilks relieved the trenches with twelve battalions; and the ſame night, director du Mey attacked, with fifty grenadiers, and the like number of fuſileers, a traverſe in the covered way, from which he beat the enemy with conſiderable loſs. From the 17th to the 20th, the beſiegers made their advances with all poſſible diligence. The aſſault was intended to be made on the 20th in the evening; but the enemy having burnt the galleries and bridges, which were to be made uſe of therein, it was for this reaſon put off to the 21ſt in the evening. About half an hour after ſix, the trenches were relieved by lieutenant-general Wilks, major-general Saiken, and Sir Richard Temple, with the uſual number of battalions; the ſignal being given by a general diſcharge from the batteries, and the mines on the right and left ſprung with good ſucceſs. The grenadiers marched out with great intrepidity, mounted the breach of the tenaille on the right, obliged the enemy to retire into the retrenchment of that work, and made there a good lodgment. On the left, they had ſtill greater ſucceſs, for they poſſeſſed 1708.

them-

1708. themſelves of a place of arms on the counterſcarp of the tenaille, and drove the enemy out of the counterſcarp before the grand breach, ſo that here they made two lodgments; but on a ſudden, the enemy came down in ſuch numbers, that the officer who commanded this party of the allies, with a conſiderable number of his men, were preſently killed, the lodgments ruined, and the reſt of the grenadiers obliged to retire. Prince Eugene ſeeing this, and believing that his preſence would re-animate the grenadiers, came out of the trenches; and, as the French accounts ſay, rallied them thrice, advancing at their head, till he received a wound by a muſket-ſhot, which, grazing over his left eye, beat off his hat. The prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who was near him, took his own hat, which was likewiſe ſhot through, and put it upon prince Eugene's head, who was prevailed on to retire, in order to have his wound dreſſed. This action coſt the allies near a thouſand men, to ſupply which, the duke of Marlborough ſent the next day a reinforcement of four hundred Britiſh and Pruſſian grenadiers from his army to the ſiege. The ſame morning the duke and king Auguſtus went to make prince Eugene a viſit, and, finding him ready to mount on horſeback, they prevailed on him to continue a few days in his chamber, till he was perfectly recovered: during which time the duke ſuſtained the weight of the command, both of the ſiege and his own army; for he immediately went into the trenches, viſited the works, and performed all that prince Eugene would have done, had he not been prevented by his wounds.

On the 22d, major-general Cadogan ſet out for Oſtend, to view a conſiderable number of troops, which were landed there from England, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle, and to concert the neceſſary meaſures for ſecuring a great convoy they expected from Oſtend. Theſe troops had been embarked on board the fleet for ſome time, made a feint of landing in Boulogne bay, and afterwards alarmed the French coaſt of Normandy, to the great terror and expence of the inhabitants; and at length returning to their own coaſt, the duke of Marlborough deſired they might be landed at Oſtend; and they proved a very ſeaſonable reinforcement to the grand army in that critical conjuncture. The ſame day the four hundred grenadiers, who were detached from the duke's army, and five and fifty fuſileers, were to poſt themſelves that evening in the tenaille on the left; but the grenadiers arriving too late, the attack was deferred till the next day; ſo that, on the 23d, all things being

being in readineſs, the duke of Marlborough, who was in the trenches, cauſed a ſignal to be given for the ſtorm to begin, which was carried on with all imaginable ſucceſs. The troops drove the enemy quite from the tenaille on the left (that on the right being taken the 21ſt at night) and made a great lodgment along the covered way, without any conſiderable loſs, except ſome engineers and officers, who were wounded. It was obſerved on this occaſion, that the enemy did not defend theſe poſts with the ſame vigour, which they had formerly exerted; from whence it was conjectured, that either the garriſon had been much weakened in the hot diſputes which they had ſuſtained, or began to want ammunition, which afterwards proved very apparent. For the ſiege having been protracted to an unuſual length, and the garriſon having ſuſtained ſeveral aſſaults, and made all the while prodigious fire marſhal Bouffliers found means to acquaint the duke of Vendoſme, that he had ſcarce ammunition ſufficient for four days; which preſſing neceſſity obliged the enemy to venture upon a bold attempt of ſupplying the place. In order to that, the duke of Vendoſme detached the chevalier de Luxemberg, and under him monſieur de Tournefort, with a body of horſe and dragoons, to endeavour to ſupply the beſieged, each man having a bag of forty pound weight of powder behind him. They advanced, the 28th at night, along the cauſey from Doway to Liſle, and were met by an out-guard of one hundred horſe, commanded by count Schlick, who had been incamped at Pont-a-Treſſin, with thirty ſquadrons. This out-guard challenged them; and they declared that they belonged to the allies grand army, and were conducting ſome priſoners to the camp. But a ſubaltern officer, having a miſtruſt, advanced to examine them, who, thinking it impoſſible to conceal themſelves any longer, rode full gallop along the cauſey, and got into the line of circumvallation. The guard and centinels having fired at them, the camp in general took the alarm, and ſeveral Palatine dragoons, getting on horſeback with the utmoſt expedition, fell upon the enemy, and purſued them to the barrier of the town, which the beſieged were at firſt cautious of opening, and left their men for ſome time expoſed; by which means a great many were killed, and ſeveral returned back into the confederate camp, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by favour of the night. The infantry made ſeveral diſcharges at them; and the powder they had in their bags taking fire, did great miſchief. Thoſe who made their eſcape, threw away their powder, which was ſet on fire by their

1708.

1708. their horſes ſtriking againſt the pavement. The allies took ſeven officers and about forty priſoners; but what numbers were killed and blown up, could not eaſily be known (k).

Whilſt

(k) The hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel gave the following account of this affair to the States General.

High and mighty lords,

Yeſterday towards the evening we heard a great blow, which we ſuppoſed to be a mine; half an hour after another crack was heard, and at midnight ſuch a blaſt, that the ground ſhook with it. This alarmed the whole army. I went to the right, from whence the noiſe came (having firſt given order to all the cavalry under my command to ſaddle and mount) and found that a great detachment of the enemy, coming from Doway, had endeavoured to break through at the aperture of the line of circumvallation, on the highway between Doway and Liſle, where the Palatinate horſe are incamped. Part of them having paſſed, and our men putting themſelves in a poſture to oppoſe them, the bags of powder, which moſt of the French horſe and dragoons had behind them, of about fifty pound weight each, took fire, which made a terrible noiſe. The foremoſt of them, upon this accident, rode full gallop towards the town: nevertheleſs, before they could reach it, the ſame diſaſter befel them a ſecond time, juſt as they came up to the barrier, which might in all probability be occaſioned by the horſes ſhoes ſtriking upon the pavement, or by the ſparks of the firſt fire that fell upon their men, who were not aware of it. It is ſaid, that at leaſt an hundred men periſhed in this manner near the gate; and it is likely this is the laſt noiſe we heard. Between fifty and ſixty troopers were killed upon the place, where they paſſed the line; and it was a dreadful ſpectacle to ſee the way ſtrewed with dead carcaſſes, horſes, heads, arms, and legs, half burnt. The others, who were behind, retired as faſt as they could. I cauſed them to be purſued, but it was impoſſible to overtake them. They found, however, upon the road, for two leagues beyond the camp, ſacks of powder, ſwords, piſtols, and looſe powder, which ſhews the precipitation with which they made their retreat. Our Heſſian huſſars ſet fire to a great many ſacks, which they found in the road, as they returned from the purſuit. We reckon that about three hundred men got into the town, but carried too little powder with them to balance their loſs. On the other hand, it is plain, that ammunition, which is ſo neceſſary for their defence, begins to fall ſhort in the place.

Your high mightineſſes will, no doubt, have had direct advice of the advantage which the troops, lately arrived from England, ſuſtained by thoſe general Cadogan carried with him from the army, have obtained near the canal, that goes from Oſtend to Newport, over the duke of

Berwick's

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting before Liſle, the duke of Marlborough, who, on the 25th of September, returned to the camp at Lanoy, was employed in making detachments, and taking other meaſures for ſecuring a great convoy of ammunition that was expected from Oſtend. The duke had ordered ſix battalions and eight hundred horſe under brigadier Lanſberg, ten ſquadrons under brigadier Starkerberg, and ſix battalions under general Els, to guard the convoy. But having received advice, that the Engliſh troops under lieutenant-general Erle had advanced to Leſſingen, on the canal between Bruges and Newport, and that the count de la Motte had been reinforced with ſeveral brigades from the French army to intercept him; he concluded that the detachment, he had ordered, would not be ſufficient to oppoſe the enemy. And therefore major-general Webb, and brigadier count Naſſau-Woudenburgh, ſon to the veldt-marſhal d' Auverquerque, marched the 26th, by break of day, with twelve battalions more, to join the detachment on the road between Menin and Oſtend, and were ordered to advance as far as Itchtegem, in the country called le Franc de Bruges, about four leagues from Leſſingen. Major-general Cadogan marched in the mean time, with a detachment of horſe and foot, to meet the convoy upon their paſſing the canal of Bruges. Notwithſtanding it was impoſſible to take other precautions for ſecuring that convoy, than thoſe which were taken, yet the confederates were under great uneaſineſs for it, upon advice that the body of troops, which the enemy had about Bruſſels, were marched by Ninove to Ghent, to join the count de la Motte; and that the intercepting of that convoy was judged ſo important, that the duke of Berwick was gone to Bruges to command the army aſſembled there. The French having concerted all the neceſſary meaſures for diſturbing the allies, and depriving them of any ſupplies, the count de la Motte marched from Ghent with about twenty-two thouſand men, and came up with ſix thouſand of the confederate troops that were ordered to guard the convoy; which occaſioned one of the moſt glorious and remarkable actions recorded in hiſtory: of which there cannot be a better relation than what was preſented by major-general Webb to the queen, on the 6th

1708.

The French endeavour to intercept the convoy from Oſtend.

Berwick's troops that attacked them. The great convoy is arrived at Menin. I congratulate your high mightineſſes upon both theſe accounts, and am, &c.

From the camp before Liſle, Sept. 29, 1708.

FREDERIC, prince of Heſſe.

of

1708. of October, and afterwards publiſhed by authority, in the following manner (l):

Battle of Wynendale.

After that the detachments, which were ſent to cover the march of the waggons from Oſtend to the ſiege of Liſle, had joined at Turout, the 27th of September, general Webb, who, as eldeſt major-general, commanded in chief, received advice, that major Savery, of the regiment of Gethem, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the poſt at Oudenburgh; whereupon he ſent ſix hundred grenadiers, under the command of colonel Preſton; a battalion of Orkney's, under the command of colonel Hamilton, with that of Fune, commanded by colonel Voogt; the whole under the direction of brigadier Landſberg, to reinforce that poſt. The 28th, at eight in the morning, all the horſe, under the command of major-general Cadogan, were ordered to Hoglede, to wait the arrival of the convoy there, except a hundred and fifty horſe, which were ſent the night before, under the command of count Lottum, to Oudenburg, with orders to the two battalions and ſix hundred grenadiers, to guard the convoy to Cocklaer, and afterwards to rejoin the foot at Turout. About noon, count Lottum returned to Turout, with advice, that in his way to Ichtegem, he met with an advanced guard of the enemy, which he puſhed into the plain, where he obſerved ſixteen ſquadrons mounting in great haſte, on the alarm which their advanced guard gave them: whereupon he thought it neceſſary to return in all haſte to give the general an account of it. On this advice all the foot, conſiſting of twenty-two battalions, count Lottum, with his hundred and fifty horſe, making the advanced guard, with the quarter-maſters and grenadiers that were not detached, were ordered to march immediately to gain the village of Ichtegem, by the way of Wynendale (m). As ſoon as the advanced guard got to Wynendale, they perceived the enemy in the opening of the plain; whereupon the quarter-maſters

(l) The London Gazette of the 20th and 23d of September, having, from a wrong and partial information, tranſmitted by Mr. Cardonnel, the duke of Marlborough's ſecretary, given the honour of the action to major-general Cadogan, without ſo much as mentioning major-general Webb, to whom it was entirely due; the latter, reſenting the affront, left the army in diſguſt, came over into England, and gave the queen a true relation of the affair of Wynendale.

(m) Wynendale is an inconſiderable place in Spaniſh Flanders, adjoining to a wood, called the wood of Wynendale, eleven miles ſouth-weſt of Bruges, and twenty-eight north of Liſle.

and

and grenadiers were drawn up in order of battle. Major-general Webb and count Naſſau-Woudenburg, at the head of the hundred and fifty horſe, advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, giving orders at the ſame time to the foot to advance, and form themſelves as faſt as poſſible in the plain. The horſe were left at the opening of the plain, under the command of count Lottum, to amuſe the enemy; and, to embarraſs them the more, the quarter-maſters and grenadiers were poſted in a low coppice on that ſide of the plain, where the enemy were expected to paſs. As ſoon as our troops paſſed out of the defile into the plain, major-general Webb drew them up in order of battle, poſting them in the opening, between the wood of Wynendale and the coppice, on the other ſide, where the quarter-maſters and grenadiers were poſted. We had ſcarce got ſix battalions into the opening, when the enemy began to cannonade us with forty pieces of cannon, whereof ten were of three bores. But, notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy, the hundred and fifty horſe kept their ground; which produced the deſired effect, in giving the general time to form his foot in two lines. The left wing was extended beyond the low coppice, as well to prevent the enemy from paſſing that way, as to cover our flank. On our right wing was poſted, in the wood of Wynendale, the regiment of Hukelom; and on our flank on the left, the regiment of the hereditary prince of Pruſſia, commanded by colonel Rhador, with orders not to diſcover themſelves, nor fire till they could take the enemy in flank. Some platoons of grenadiers were advanced forty paces upon the right and left, with the ſame orders; and the quarter-maſters were alſo poſted in a road on the left, that croſſed through the forementioned low coppice. The enemy, after three hours cannonading, advanced towards us on the plain in twelve lines, whereof ſix were foot, and ſix horſe. Whereupon count Lottum was ordered to retire, and poſt himſelf three hundred paces behind the foot, which he did in very good order. The French continued to march ſtrait up to us with forty battalions and ſixty ſquadrons; but the general perceiving they extended themſelves to their right in the coppice, he ſent count Naſſau to obſerve their motion, who immediately ordered thither the regiment of Grumkau, commanded by colonel Beſchefer; and brigadier Eltz, being come up with the laſt regiment, was poſted on the right, in the wood of Wynendale. About half a quarter of an hour before the engagement began, brigadier Landberg, with the two battalions and ſix hundred grenadiers 1708.

1708. diers that had been detached, having advice that the enemy advanced to attack us, rejoined us juſt time enough to form a third line. Some minutes after the enemy began the attack, marching within a hundred and fifty paces of our flank on the right, where the battalions, who hid themſelves according to the general's orders, and who were not to fire till the French flank came oppoſite to them, gave them ſuch a warm fire, that their left wing gave into the center; and the regiment of the hereditary prince, who was poſted on the flank on our left, much about the ſame diſtance, did not miſs the opportunity of their diſorder, to give them a vigorous diſcharge, which put their whole line in confuſion. Nevertheleſs the enemy puſhed on, and put two of our battalions into diſorder. But the Swiſs regiment of Albemarle, under the command of colonel Hirtgell, advancing upon their horſe that were endeavouring to penetrate, engaged them long enough to give time to the general and count Naſſau, to bring up the regiments of Benſdorf, Gauvain, and Lindeboom, to ſupply the room of thoſe that were preſſed; which was done in a moment. However the enemy, ſupported by ſo many lines, made another attempt to penetrate; but our battalion rather advanced than gave way, though the general gave orders againſt advancing, fearing, leſt that might render the fire of our flanks uſeleſs. This precaution had all the deſired ſucceſs; the regiments and grenadiers making ſuch a continual fire, as forced their two wings upon their center, and obliged the whole to retire in the greateſt confuſion, notwithſtanding all the efforts their officers could make by encouragement or violence, to keep them up; ſo that they only fired at a great diſtance on our lines, which ours returned, advancing by platoons, as at their exerciſe, with all the order imaginable. Major-general Cadogan, who came up ſome time after the action began, offered to charge the enemy in their diſorder with two ſquadrons of horſe; the other four, which he had ſent for, not being arrived till near ſeven at night. But it was not thought adviſeable to expoſe ſo ſmall a number to charge the enemy, who had brought up all their horſe to favour their retreat. The battle laſted two hours, and was very hot, in which we had nine hundred and twelve officers and ſoldiers killed and wounded. But the enemy (as we were aſſured by letters from Ghent and Bruges, and by report of priſoners and deſerters) loſt between ſix and ſeven thouſand men. They made their retreat in ſo great confuſion, that they left moſt of their cannon in a wood, which they did not carry off till

the

the next day at eleven o'clock, after hearing that our convoy were paſſing Rouſſelaer. We remained on the field of battle till two o'clock the next morning, having firſt carried off all our wounded, and ſeveral of the enemy. This victory is the more ſurpriſing, that, by reaſon of ſeveral detachments, we had not above ſix thouſand in the action; whereas the enemy, by their own accounts, had no leſs than twenty-four thouſand men. 1708.

The count de la Motte, being obliged to retire, gave the convoy an opportunity to arrive the ſame night unmoleſted at Rouſſelaer, and the next day at Menin: and, as this critical action was chiefly owing to general Webb's conduct and military abilities, ſo that eminent ſervice was deſervedly acknowledged, both by the unanimous thanks of the commons of Great-Britain, and, in a particular manner, by the king of Pruſſia, who conferred on that general the noble order of Generoſity (m). The convoy arrives ſafe at Menin, Sept. 29. N. S.

On the 30th of September, prince Eugene being recovered of his wound, viſited the trenches, to the inexpreſſible joy of the confederate troops. The next day the trenches were relieved by the prince of Holſtein-Beck, major-general Sacken, and Sir Richard Temple, with five battalions on the right, and ſeven on the left; and that evening they attacked and made a lodgment on the counterſcarp, before the great breach on the right, the enemy retiring behind the traverſes on the left. On the 3d, a diſpoſition was made for attacking the ravelin on the right; and three hundred grenadiers were detached from the duke of Marlborough's army to join the troops for that ſervice. The attack began about noon, and ſucceeded ſo well, that, by half an hour after one, they made a lodgment on the ravelin, and forced the enemy behind the traverſes to leap into the water, where moſt of them were killed or drowned; ſo that the beſiegers were now maſters of both the counter-guards and the ravelin. On the 7th, the beſiegers continued to finiſh the batteries on the counterſcarp, to ruin the batteries of the Siege of Liſle proſecuted.

(m) If this great convoy of eight hundred waggons had been intercepted, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed. For the duke of Marlborough had ſent ſome ammunition from his army to carry on the ſiege, and he could ſpare no more. He began to deſpair of the undertaking, and ſo prepared his friends to look for the raiſing the ſiege, being in great apprehenſions concerning this convoy, upon which the whole ſucceſs of this enterprize depended.

1708. enemy on the courtine, and beat down the bridge of communication, which they had from a place of arms to the ravelin. They carried on two mines on the left attack, towards the ſaliant angle of the counterſcarp, over-againſt the breach; and the miners diſcovered two mines of the enemy, from which they took out the powder. On the 8th in the evening, the enemy ſallied out, and overturned ſeveral gabions about our places of arms at the left attack; and the next day was partly ſpent about repairing the works, and ſetting up the gabions again, which the enemy had overturned the night before. On the 12th, the beſiegers continued to inlarge the place of arms for the general aſſault, and finiſhed two deſcents into the ditch on the right. But on the left, the enemy mounted behind two traverſes of the covered way, behind the courtine, which hindered the advancement of the work on that ſide. On the 13th, the beſiegers ſprung a mine under the place of arms, which blew up ſeveral of the enemy's men; and, in the evening, thirty grenadiers attacked the enemy behind the two traverſes on the left, and overſet the boat, by which they would have retired; ſo that, of a lieutenant, a ſerjeant, and twenty men, three only were made priſoners, the reſt being either killed or drowned. The 15th, the beſiegers ſprung four mines in the place of arms on the right, where the enemy had caſt up an intrenchment, inlarged the places of arms for the general aſſault, and on the left made ſome progreſs in the lodgment in the covered way. The 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, the beſiegers made all the neceſſary preparations for a general ſtorm, by continuing to drain the ditch, making apertures in the walls, working on the galleries, filling up the ditch, perfecting their lodgments and places of arms, and finiſhing their batteries, which conſiſted of forty-five pieces of cannon and fifty-five mortars; to ſupply which a new convoy of twenty-thouſand weight of powder, with a great number of bombs, cannon-balls, and hand-grenados, arrived at the ſiege from Oſtend.

The French attack Leſſinghen.

The duke of Vendoſme, exaſperated at count de la Motte's ſhameful defeat at Wynendale, marched in perſon to Oudenburg, with the beſt part of the French army, and ordered the dykes between Bruges and Newport to be cut in ſeveral places, in order to lay the country under water, and hinder the communication between Oſtend and the duke of Marlborough's army. But, notwithſtanding the great inundation, major-general Cadogan, favoured by the Britiſh troops at Leſſinghen, found means to carry through the water conſiderable

ſiderable quantities of ammunition and other neceſſaries. Hereupon the duke of Vendoſme bent his efforts againſt the village of Leſſinghen, with ſeven or eight thouſand of his men (n). They intrenched themſelves, and threw up batteries againſt the place, as if it had been one of the moſt regular fortifications in the world. On the 19th of October, the enemy fired the whole day from one of their batteries with red-hot bullets againſt the houſes, wherein about four hundred barrels of powder were lodged; but, to prevent miſchief, that ammunition was ordered to be laid under water, preſerving only as much as was thought neceſſary for maintaining that poſt. On the 20th, upon advice that the duke of Vendoſme was to be that night in the trenches, it was reſolved to attack the enemy on the other ſide of the canal; and fifty grenadiers of the Dutch regiment of Vanderbeck, commanded by captain Moor, and the ſame number of the regiment of Caris, commanded by captain Clare, the whole ſupported by two hundred Engliſh, were ordered for that ſervice. Four grenadiers were ſent before, who, pretending to be deſerters, amuſed the enemy, whilſt the reſt of the troops came up, who, charging the French with great bravery, drove them from that poſt to a ſecond intrenchment, and ſeized their battery, where they continued for ſome time. The enemy loſt an hundred men in this attack, beſides forty taken priſoners, among whom were a captain and the chevalier de Croiſſi Colbert, a major general and engineer, who offered the ſoldier that took him, two hundred piſtoles and a commiſſion for his liberty, which he generouſly refuſed. On the confederates ſide, captain Clare was killed, and captain Moor received a mortal wound through his body with a bayonet; beſides which, two ſubalterns were wounded, and fifteen private men killed or wounded. On the 15th, early in the morning, the French attacked a church-yard, wherein colonel Caulfield, who commanded in Leſſinghen, had poſted an hundred and fifty men, who made but little reſiſtance, and retired into a redoubt near the canal. At laſt a great body of the enemy, conſiſting of fifty companies of grenadiers, ſupported by ten thouſand foot, poſſeſſed themſelves of the village, and obliged colonel Caul- 1708.

(n) Leſſinghen is an inconſiderable village in the neighbourhood of Oſtend, where a body of the confederate troops were poſted, in order to keep open a communication with the grand army of the allies, to the beſiegers of Liſle; and from whence the duke of Vendoſme could not drive them, without attacking it in form.

1708. field, with the reſt of his troops, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners at diſcretion.

The confederates take poſſeſſion of the town of Liſle.

This eaſy conqueſt was not an equivalent for the great loſs which the enemy ſuſtained two days after by the ſurrender of the town of Liſle. For the batteries of the beſiegers, conſiſting of about fifty pieces of cannon and twenty-five mortars, began to fire on the 21ſt of October, with ſo much ſucceſs, that, on the 22d, the garriſon beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town. Whereupon hoſtages were exchanged, and it was agreed that marſhal Boufflers ſhould capitulate for whatever related to the garriſon, with prince Eugene of Savoy; and that the magiſtrates and council of the town ſhould propoſe their own terms for themſelves and the caſtellary of Liſle, and agree about the ſame with the field-deputies of the ſtates-general; which was done accordingly. The 23d in the morning, the capitulation was concluded and ſigned, containing in ſubſtance, "That the French "ſhould that afternoon, ſurrender the Magdalen-Gate, and "all magazines of proviſions and ammunition in the town. "That all their ſick and wounded ſhould either be tranſported to Doway, or remain in Liſle till their recovery, at their "own charge. That the horſe, who had entered the town "ſince the ſiege, might be ſent to Doway, with the wives "and families of the officers and ſoldiers, &c. That "all priſoners taken during the ſiege be reſtored on "both ſides: and that the troops of the allies ſhould not enter the town before the 25th of October; by which time "the French garriſon was to withdraw into the citadel." Theſe articles being agreed on, and all things diſpoſed for the performance of the capitulation, the cavalry, which got into the place, under the command of the chevalier de Luxemburg, marched out the 25th for Doway, with the other perſons that were allowed by the capitulation; and, at the ſame time, the prince of Holſtein-Beck, who was appointed to be governor of the town, marched in with two Engliſh and thirteen other battalions, and a detachment of horſe. It is difficult to determine the loſs on either ſide, from the 13th of Auguſt, N. S. when Liſle was inveſted, to the 23d of October, the day on which the town ſurrendered. But, according to the French account, they had twelve thouſand men in garriſon, when the confederates broke ground againſt them, beſides three thouſand burghers, who did conſtant duty with the regular troops; of which four thouſand five hundred only retired with marſhal Boufflers into the citadel; and it is computed that about two thouſand more were ſick and

wounded

wounded at the time of the capitulation; ſo that the French loſt betwixt ſix and ſeven thouſand men, upon a reaſonable computation, and the allies near eight thouſand. 1708

The ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility between the town and the citadel, which was to expire the 26th, according to the articles of capitulation, was continued till the 29th; during which time the inhabitants, who were very much afraid that the French would not have ſo much regard to their houſes as the allies had, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade Boufflers to capitulate. The enemy made extravagant demands of money, and pretended to march out with all their cannon; and that the allies ſhould ſet at liberty marſhal Tallard, with ſome other unreaſonable pretenſions, which the allies rejected with ſcorn. Theſe negociations being broke off, the hoſtilities began at five o'clock; but during the ceſſation, the beſiegers had caſt up intrenchments, and drawn a parallel from one end of the eſplanade to the other. They had alſo made ſeveral coupures on the wall near the citadel, to the right and left. The hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel poſted himſelf at la Baſſée, and orders were given to fortify that place. The duke of Marlborough continued at Rouſſelaer, for the more eaſy ſubſiſtance of the confederate troops. From thence he detached the earl of Stair, to provide corn for the army in the diſtricts of Furnes and Dixmuyde. That detachment had the good fortune to ſurprize four companies of French grenadiers, at the bridge between Dixmuyde and Newport. On the other hand, they met with the great mortification to have four of their ſquadrons undergo the ſame fate. Thoſe troops were all Pruſſians, and defended themſelves for ſome time with great bravery; but finding, that all the avenues were cloſed, and that there was no poſſibility of forcing their way through the enemy's troops, they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

The ſiege of the citadel of Liſle proſecuted.

While theſe matters were tranſacted, the brave veldt-marſhal Auverquerque departed this life on the 18th, in his quarters at Rouſſelaer, in the 67th year of his age; whereby the command of the Dutch troops fell of courſe to the count de Tilly, as the eldeſt general in the ſervice of the ſtates. On the 29th, about five in the afternoon, the beſieged in the citadel of Liſle began hoſtilities, by the diſcharge of five pieces of cannon, which they continued to fire the reſt of the evening, without doing the beſiegers any conſiderable damage. On the other hand, the allies contracted the lines of circumvallation, and erected batteries of cannon and mortars, which they were ready to fire upon the citadel

Monſieur Auverquerque dies.

1708. by the 11th of November. The beſiegers carried on their approaches by the ſap; and, the beſieged ſparing their ſmall ſtock of ammunition, as well as the beſiegers, the attack of that fortreſs was maintained with conſiderable loſs. On the 13th, the confederates lodged themſelves by the paliſadoes of the firſt covered way; and the next day they made themſelves maſters of the whole counterſcarp, except two places of arms, which the enemy abandoned the 15th. The allies erected two batteries on that work, but did not deſign to play their artillery from thence, till they had lodged themſelves on the ſecond counterſcarp. For which purpoſe, they prepared a great quantity of faſcines, continued to drain the ditch, made ſeveral openings into it, paſſed the ſame the 17th in the night, and lodged themſelves on the glacis of the ſecond covered way, without any loſs. Four days before the prince d'Auvergne was detached from la Baſſee, to attack the fort St. Venant upon the Lys, on the frontiers of Artois, in which the enemy had poſted a hundred men, who, upon the approach of that prince, made only one diſcharge, and retired towards Aire.

While the ſiege of the citadel of Liſle was carrying on with all the vigour that is conſiſtent with the cautious method of ſapping, both out of a juſt regard for the lives of valiant men, who had already gone through incredible fatigue and innumerable dangers, and for want of ſufficient ſtores of ammunition; the enemy thought to have taken ſuch infallible meaſures for diſtreſſing the allies, as well by their inundations between Bruges and Newport, as by their intrenchments along the Scheld, that their public miniſters in Rome and Venice boldly aſſerted, "That the confederate army was ſo "cooped up, that they would ſoon either be famiſhed, or "obliged to abandon Liſle." But the two great confederate generals being indefatigably intent upon their proper buſineſs, the duke of Marlborough in providing corn out of the country of Artois, and the diſtricts of Furnes and Dixmuyde; and prince Eugene in managing what was ſent him by the duke of Marlborough, both armies lived in parſimonious plenty; and the ſiege of the citadel was carried on with all the ſucceſs, that could be expected.

The elector of Bavaria's deſign upon Bruſſels.

The enemy opened a new ſcene; their parties made incurſions into the diſtrict of Boiſleduc, burning and ravaging part of the open country; and, at the ſame time, the elector of Bavaria approached Bruſſels with a body of ten thouſand men. But the duke of Marlborough, having concerted meaſures with prince Eugene to paſs the Scheld, immediately

ately dispatched orders for the several British and Dutch regiments to be transported from Ostend to Antwerp, and sent to monsieur Paschal, the governor of Brussels, to assure him, that he would certainly come to his relief. Upon which encouragement, the states deputies resolved to stay in Brussels; and the vigorous measures, they took with the council of state and the governor, were very instrumental in the preservation of that important place. Nor were the states general less solicitous for Antwerp, whither they dispatched some of their own members, with general Fresheim, an experienced officer, and ordered troops to hasten thither from Naerden, Heusden, Gavre, and other places. On the 22d of November, N. S. the elector of Bavaria invested Brussels (o); and, the next day, sent a trumpeter, with a summons to general Paschal to surrender, in these terms: "His electoral highness "knowing, that the commandant is not in a condition to "defend himself with the few troops he has; if he obliges "his electoral highness to begin the attack, he shall have no "capitulation for himself or his garrison. Let not the com- "mandant flatter himself, that he can retire with his garri- "son to Antwerp, if he delays to surrender; for he is to "know, that he will soon find troops posted to hinder his "retreat." The governor, who had nine battalions and a thousand horse under him, returned an answer by the same trumpeter: "That he was very unfortunate in not having the "honour to be known to his electoral highness; that he "durst assure him, he would do all that a man of honour "ought to do, and that he was satisfied with the garrison." The elector was not a little surpriz'd at this resolute answer; and, on the 26th of November, in the morning, the enemy began to fire from their batteries against the city (but with little success) and in the evening, with their small shot against the men in the outworks, and, about nine at night, they attacked the counterscarp with great fury, between the gates

1708.

(o) Brussels is a very fair, large, and noble city of the Low-Countries, the marquisate of the dukedom of Brabant in the quarter of Brussels, subject to the queen of Hungary, and the seat of her chief governor for these parts. It was abandoned by the French immediately after the memorable battle of Ramillies, and made its submission to the duke of Marlborough. The elector made several furious assaults upon it, during the siege of Lisle, but the duke of Marlborough, passing the Scheld, made him precipitately quit the siege. It is pleasantly seated on the river Senne, twenty-four miles south of Antwerp, thirty south-east of Ghent, and ninety-six south of Amsterdam.

1708. of Louvain and Namur. The fire was terrible on both ſides, and laſted till five the next morning; during which time the enemy made nine attacks, and at laſt lodged themſelves on the glacis of the counterſcarp. But about ſix o'clock the beſieged made a ſally from the covered way ſword in hand, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the enemy were driven out of their works, after a moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement. The action ceaſed the 27th, about ten in the morning, and the allies expected to be attacked a ſecond time at night; for their ſpies unanimouſly reported, that the enemy had a deſign, not only to make a general aſſault, but would alſo fire with red-hot bullets, to excite the burghers to ſedition; upon which the beſieged diſpoſed all things as well as poſſible for reſiſting the enemy's attacks. But in the afternoon, inſtead of renewing the engagement, the elector of Bavaria demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order, as he pretended, to bury the dead, and draw off the wounded; which proved but a ſtratagem to raiſe the ſiege with leſs diſadvantage. For upon the arrival of two couriers from Mons, with intelligence, that the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene had paſſed the Scheld, in order to relieve Bruſſels; his electoral highneſs ſent away his baggage, and in the night marched off with his troops, without ſound of trumpet or beat of drum, and with ſuch precipitation, that the enemy left in their camp twelve pieces of cannon nailed up, two large mortars, and about twenty barrels of powder. They alſo left about eight hundred men wounded in the adjacent villages; and the dragoons and huſſars, who, the next morning, went out in purſuit of the enemy, brought in a great many priſoners, and ſome baggage. So that it was computed, that, what with their killed, wounded, priſoners, or deſerters, this unſucceſsful expedition coſt them above three thouſand men; whereas the loſs of the allies did not amount to above five or ſix hundred killed or wounded.

For this brave and reſolute defence of the city of Bruſſels, lieutenant-general Paſchal was juſtly advanced by king Charles III, to the dignity of a marquis. However, it had not been poſſible for that general to defend himſelf much longer, with a garriſon of ſcarce five thouſand men, in ſo large and unfortified a place. The preſervation of Bruſſels was therefore principally owing to the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, who, with incredible ſecrecy and expedition, paſſed the Scheld the 27th of November in the morning, with very little oppoſition; the French, in a panic fear, abandoning thoſe lines and intrenchments, which they had

been

been caſting up for three months paſt. This affair was managed with ſo much precaution, as redounded greatly to the reputation of the confederate generals. For the duke of Marlborough being early acquainted with the extremity, which the city of Bruſſels was in, recalled the troops, which were in the diſtrict of Furnes, commanded by lieutenant-general Fagel, which joined the army at Rouſſelaer on the 22d, and alſo the detachment, which was at Lens and la Baſſée. The ſame day they received advice, that the dam which the enemy had been making near Gavre, to ſtop the courſe of the Scheld, was broke and carried away by the rapidity of the ſtream, which very much facilitated their paſſing that river. The army arrived the 25th of Harlebeck, and continued there till four in the afternoon, for giving time to prince Eugene to come up to the place appointed. 1708.

The meaſures were concerted thus: that prince Eugene's army ſhould paſs the river between Eſſenaffe and Hauterive; the duke of Marlborough and count Tilly at Kerkhoven; and count Lottum, with the earl of Orkney, between Gavre and Aſperon. Major-general Cadogan, and brigadier Evans, were ſent before to lay the pontoons over the Scheld, who not only performed orders, but paſſed the river, and poſted themſelves and their detachment on the other ſide, and put to flight a body of the French, which lay intrenched thereabouts. The confederate troops where therefore ordered to march with all poſſible expedition, and, as they paſſed the river, they formed themſelves in order of battle. Prince Eugene, having advice of theſe proceedings, paſſed directly over the river, and joined the duke of Marlborough at Kerkhoven. Upon their conjunction, they advanced to Berchem, in order to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt; but monſieur Souteron, who commanded there, retired with the utmoſt precipitation. The Dutch cavalry perſued them, and happened to fall in with a party of grenadiers, who had lined ſome hedges and ditches, in order to ſecure the retreat of the reſt. In this action the allies had about ſixty men either killed or wounded; among the latter brigadier Baldwin, in the ſervice of the ſtates, was ſhot through the body; and the earl of Albemarle, prince William of Heſſe, and count Maurice of Naſſau, had their horſes killed under them. The confederates purſued the enemy till it was dark, and incamped on the hills near Oudenard, to the joy of the whole army, who expected to have met with great difficulties in paſſing the Scheld, and to the ſurprize of the generals themſelves, who could

Meaſures concerted for paſſing the Scheld.

1708. could not have imagined, that the enemy would have ſo eaſily abandoned poſts ſo advantageous to nature, and which they had fortified with ſo much application and labour. In the ſeveral purſuits, the confederate troops took great part of the enemy's baggage, their bread-waggons, ſeveral colours, ſtandards, and two or three pair of kettle-drums, and killed and made priſoners near a thouſand men (p).

The duke of Marlborough, upon his arrival at Oudenard, took the neceſſary meaſures for advancing towards Bruſſels, and, in his march, he was informed at Aloſt, and the elector of Bavaria, upon the firſt notice of the paſſage of the Scheld, had quited the ſiege with great precipitation, leaving all his artillery and wounded men behind him. The duke came to Bruſſels on the 29th of November in the morning, to take proper meaſures for ſending a ſupply of ammunition and ſtores to the ſiege of the citadel of Liſle, and to thank the garriſon of Bruſſels for their vigorous defence. He was received with great acclamations of joy, and complimented by the ſtates of Brabant, and the magiſtrates of the city, upon their deliverance, which they juſtly attributed to his

(p) Burnet ſays, The duke of Marlborough, hearing the duke of Bavaria was going to attack Bruſſels, made a ſudden motion towards the Scheld; but, to deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he deſigned to march directly towards Ghent, and this was believed by his whole army, and it was probably carried to the enemy; for they ſeemed to have no notice nor apprehenſion of his deſign on the Scheld: he advanced towards it in the night, and marched with the foot very quick, leaving the horſe to come up with the artillery: the lines were ſo ſtrong, that it was expected, that, in the breaking through them, there muſt have been a very hot action: ſome of the general officers told me, that they reckoned it would have coſt them at leaſt ten thouſand men; but to their great ſurprize, as ſoon as they paſſed the river, the French ran away without offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and they had drawn off their cannon the day before. Our men were very weary with the night's march, ſo they could not purſue; for the horſe were not come up, nor did the garriſon of Oudenard ſally out; yet they took a thouſand priſoners. Whether the notice of the feint, that the duke of Marlborough gave out of his deſign on Ghent, occaſioned the French drawing off their cannon, and their being ſo ſecure, that they ſeemed to have no apprehenſions of his true deſign, was not yet certainly known: but the abandoning thoſe lines, on which they had been working for many weeks, was a ſurprize to all the world: their counſels ſeem'd to be weak, and the execution of them was worſe; ſo they, who were ſo long the terror, were now become the ſcorn of the world.

conduct

conduct and expeditious march. The day before, prince Eugene, with his troops, and a detachment of eight battalions and thirty squadrons from the grand army, returned to Liſle, and the ſixteen battalions under count Lottum marched back to the camp. But, the ſame morning, lieutenant-general Dompre, with forty ſquadrons, advanced towards Aloſt, being ordered to incamp between that place and Aſche, in order to relieve Bruſſels. The duke of Marlborough, with king Auguſtus, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, having been entertained at dinner by general Paſchal, and given the neceſſary directions, returned in the evening to his camp at Aloſt, where the troops reſted the 30th. The day following, the confederate army removed from thence, and incamped with the right at Oudenard, and the left near Bierleghiem. At the ſame time, lieutenant-general Dedem was ordered to advance with twenty battalions, and to paſs the Scheld at Oudenard, where he incamped on the other ſide of the river, to aſſiſt at the works that were ordered to be made for the ſecurity of that place, and to be near at hand to join lieutenant-general Hompeſch, who, with thirty-eight ſquadrons and eight battalions, were incamped near Menin; by which diſpoſitions a communication was maintained with prince Eugene's forces at Liſle. 1708.

The ſiege of the citadel at Liſle was all this while carried on with great diligence; and, in the abſence of prince Eugene, the beſiegers had lodged themſelves on the ſecond counterſcarp, and began, on the 1ſt of December, to raiſe batteries thereon; which being finiſhed in ſix days, the prince ſent a ſummons to Boufflers, offering him an honourable capitulation, if he would ſurrender before the batteries had begun to fire; otherwiſe to expect no other terms, than for him and his garriſon to be made priſoners of war. The governor, whoſe ſtock of ammunition was almoſt exhauſted, and who was informed, that the communication between Bruſſels and Liſle was free and open, thought fit to prevent the conſequences of a breach being made in the body of the citadel, by beating a parley the 8th of December, N. S. hoſtages being exchanged, the articles were ſigned the day following; and, on the 10th, the marſhal, with the whole garriſon, marched out with all the uſual marks of honour, and were conducted to Doway (q). The ſiege of the citadel of Liſle continued. The citadel ſurrenders.

If

(q) The prince of Orange the ſtates-general on this occaſion wrote the following letter to

High

1708. If the difficulties of an enterprize increaſe the glory of it, the taking of Liſle muſt be one of the moſt glorious actions that ever was known (r). The place itſelf was as ſtrong as art could make it, on the fortifications whereof the celebrated monſieur de Vauban had exerted his utmoſt ſkill. It was defended by a numerous garriſon, under the command of

High and mighty lords,

All the lodgments before the citadel having been joined, and all things being ready to make the deſcents into the covered way, and to finiſh the batteries on the left, in order to batter in breach; the enemy beat a parley yeſterday morning at ſeven o'clock. The hoſtages on both ſides being exchanged, prince Eugene went with thoſe of the French to the abbey of Iſoos; but the capitulation was not ſigned till this day at four in the afternoon; and I thought it my duty to ſend it by major Thilo van Thilau, my adjutant-general. I moſt humbly congratulate your high mightineſſes on this new conqueſt, which is ſo much the more conſiderable, becauſe the enemy had been obliged to ſurrender in a ſeaſon of the year ſo far advanced, and that we have not on our part fired a gun, and have loſt very few men. I pray God to bleſs more and more the arms of your high mightineſſes, and thoſe of your allies; ſo that after a ſeries of glorious and happy ſucceſſes, there may reſult from thence a firm and laſting peace; and that the luſtre and glory, which this ſtate has attained to, by the particular favour of the Almighty, under the moſt wiſe government of your high mightineſſes, may be long preſerved. I am, &c.

From the camp before Liſle, December 9, 1708.

J.W. Friso, prince of Orange and Naſſau.

(r) Dr. Hare, in his thankſgiving-ſermon above-quoted, obſerves, that Liſle was looked upon by the French as impregnable, 'it being the maſter-piece of the ableſt engineer that 'kingdom has produced; and 'the great king had added ſuch 'beauty to its ſtrength, as ſhewed, he thought no body would 'dare to touch a place, which 'he had been at ſo much charge 'to make his own; and he was 'juſtified in thinking ſo by an 'undiſturbed poſſeſſion of more 'than forty years. In truth the 'very ſlender knowledge our 'beſt engineers had of it is a 'ſufficient proof, that never 'dreamt of ſeeing that glorious 'day, when a confederate army 'ſhould be able to come againſt 'it: It was ſo great an enterprize in the judgment of the 'enemy, that they could not 'believe we really meant it, 'when it was plain we could 'mean nothing elſe—they 'thought it was a feint only to 'draw them from the poſts they 'were intrenched in, or pretended to think ſo, to colour 'their ſtaying ſo long ſit them 'to ſo little purpoſe, or to excuſe

of a marſhal of France, and ſeveral other experienced generals; provided with all manner of neceſſaries, and encouraged 1708.

'cuſe their not endeavouring to
'prevent our artillery from com-
'ing up. But, when it was too
'late to diſſemble their concern,
'then what confuſion were they
'in! what a noiſe was there,
'that they would and muſt raiſe
'the ſiege, coſt what it will!
'how many councils were there
'held! what furious motions
'did they make, or rather what
'not! ſometimes they threaten-
'ed a powerful diverſion, that
'they would beſiege this place
'and that, and a third, and a
'fourth, and give us ſufficient
'reaſons to repent ſo raſh an
'enterprize: ſometimes nothing
'would do, but they would
'fight us; and once they ven-
'tured nearer than they would
'have done, when we had by
'intrenching helped them to a
'decent pretence for not attack-
'ing us, and they were aſſured
'we ſhould not attack them.
'But in their cooler thoughts
'they were content to ſit down
'with a deſign to ſtarve us; a
'poor deſign, had not the ſiege
'been drawn out into an unex-
'pected length; and, to com-
'paſs it, there was no action ſo
'mean, they did not condeſcend
'to; no faith ſo ſacred, they
'did not violate. Once indeed
'they had the courage to try a
'braver part, and with a great
'body of troops marched to
'intercept a convoy, without
'which they knew the ſiege
'could not be carried on; but
'the event ſoon ſhewed, it had
'been better for them to have
'lain ſtill, their attempt having
'ſerved to nothing elſe, but to
'make another place famous by
'a freſh defeat of them. Wynen-
'dale will be always named a-
'mong the ſucceſſes of this me-
'morable year, where a ſmall
'body of foot, under the com-
'mand of a member of this ho-
'nourable houſe, maintained
'themſelves againſt near thrice
'their number, though ſupport-
'ed by a good number of horſe,
'and provided with a numerous
'artillery; and, after a brave
'defence, obliged them to a
'ſcandalous retreat. Thus we
'have the fulleſt proof even from
'the enemy, that the right
'uſe was made of our firſt
'ſucceſs, and that a more fa-
'tal blow could not have been
'given them; but we want not
'the voice of enemies or friends
'to witneſs the importance of
'this enterprize, by the ſucceſs
'of which not only their fron-
'tier is broke into the moſt de-
'ſirable part, and a fair advance
'made towards penetrating into
'the heart of France; but,
'what the great monarch owes
'more to than his ſword, his
'treaſure alſo is extremely af-
'fected by it; it loſes him a
'great revenue, which at this
'time he can very ill want;
'it makes a mighty interruption
'in traffic and commerce thro'
'his own kingdom, and almoſt
'cuts off the greateſt advantage
'he had by an open trade with
'our allies. In ſhort, taking
'Liſle is cutting a nerve in the
'body politic, one of the largeſt
'and moſt uſeful nerves; from
'whence his greateſt armies re-
'ceived their nouriſhment, from

whence

1708. raged to a vigorous defence by the approach of a powerful army, which was as numerous, if not ſtronger, than the forces

whence his Flanders-forces were always paid. —— Could we not have formed that ſiege, little had remained of our victory, but the glory of regaining by the ſword what ſurprize and treachery had taken from us; but a ſiege, much leſs ſo great a one, we could not undertake without artillery; and to have artillery, while the enemy were in poſſeſſion of Ghent, every body, I believe, will own they thought impoſſible, till he who has a genius equal to all difficulties, ſhewed the way, and contrived the means; which were executed with that wonderful dexterity and diligence, that the greateſt train, that perhaps was ever brought ſo far by land, was provided in a little time, and conducted between two armies of the enemies, without the leaſt diſturbance, ſafe to us. After this ſucceſs, which might juſtly be eſteemed a ſecond victory, there ſeemed to be little to do, but to attend quietly four or five weeks the iſſue of the ſiege; but, by ſetting out wrong at firſt, our engineers ſoon came to want, what of all things was hardeſt to be ſupplied; and the ſlow progreſs, that was made afterwards, put the ſiege in the utmoſt danger of miſcarrying, and the army of ſtarving. And thoſe unpromiſing appearances made not a few wiſh the weather would give us a pretence to raiſe the ſiege we ſeemed unable to go through. Never ſure had covering army ſo much work, never had commander ſo great a trial of all the qualities, that go to make a conſummate general. To hinder ſo long the junction of the enemy, to prevent their diſturbing the ſiege, or making a diverſion, to keep for ten weeks a communication with Bruſſels, and, when that was ſtopped, to open another with Oſtend, and after that ſtill to find out new reſorts, and ſubſiſt a great army thrice the time that was expected, in an enemy's country, that we ſeemed to have eat up, even before we were perfectly confined to it; theſe are difficulties nothing could ſurmount, but a mind that cannot be puzzled or diſmayed. But this is not all; while we were beſieging, we were beſieged ourſelves, the enemy had hemmed us in on every ſide, and for ten weeks together intrenched the Scheld with all the diligence they could, reſolved, it ſeems, we ſhould not paſs on any terms. But, when the ſiege they had laid to Bruſſels made the trial neceſſary, neither river, nor army, nor intrenchments availed any thing. We ſurpriſed the enemy, at a time, when they were moſt concerned to be upon their guard; and, what is beyond all belief, paſſed the river they had been ſo long fortifying, without the loſs of one man; and by that happy paſſage their ſiege was raiſed before it was well begun. Theſe are ſuch difficulties, as greatly inhance

the

forces of the allies. And yet the allies, without having any communication with their own territories, ever ſince the duke of Vendoſme took the village of Leſſinghen after a ſiege of eight days, reduced Liſle, found means to ſubſiſt about it till the reduction of the citadel, and got corn from the ter- 1708.

‘ the value of the ſucceſſes we
‘ rejoice in; and ſerve for ſhades
‘ to illuſtrate and ſet off the
‘ many maſterly ſtrokes, which
‘ a curious eye cannot but diſ-
‘ cern in the beautiful plan of
‘ this great and wonderful cam-
‘ paign. I might add, that the
‘ length of our ſiege made it late
‘ in December, before we could
‘ attempt to retake the places
‘ the enemy had ſtolen from us,
‘ which is itſelf ſuch a circum-
‘ ſtance, as is without example
‘ in that country; but in the
‘ end, this ſucceſs was alſo ad-
‘ ded to the reſt, and the cam-
‘ paign was happily concluded
‘ with the year.——There is
‘ nothing the interpoſition of
‘ God has more viſibly appear-
‘ ed in, than the favourable
‘ weather we were bleſſed with
‘ ſo long together; which was
‘ ſo neceſſary for us, that with-
‘ out it every body ſaw we could
‘ have done nothing; and yet
‘ ſo extraordinary, that the like
‘ has not been known in the
‘ memory of man; nor was
‘ there any thing the enemy
‘ truſted more to, than that the
‘ rains would overtake us; which
‘ had they done, had not the
‘ heavens been ſhut up in the
‘ latter ſeaſon, we muſt inevi-
‘ tably have been obliged to
‘ raiſe our ſiege, though no di-
‘ ſturbance had been given by
‘ the enemy. Had we known
‘ in December the very end
‘ of ſo much ill weather, as
‘ they commonly have three or
‘ four months before, we muſt
‘ have been content to let the
‘ enemy enjoy quietly their trea-
‘ chery, which could not but
‘ have had a very ill influence
‘ on the nex campaign. To
‘ what can we impute this, but
‘ to his good providence, who
‘ opens and ſhuts the heavens
‘ as he will? wonderful has his
‘ favours to us been in this re-
‘ ſpect, beyond our moſt for-
‘ ward hopes, beyond what we
‘ dared to wiſh for. To paſs
‘ by ſeveral very remarkable in-
‘ ſtances of this kind, the paſſing
‘ and repaſſing of the Scheld,
‘ the firſt of which was the
‘ ſaving of Flanders, and the
‘ other of Brabant, both de-
‘ pended on great marches, that
‘ were made without the leaſt
‘ diſturbance from the weather,
‘ which might eaſily have de-
‘ feated the ſucceſs of them;
‘ though the firſt was ſoon fol-
‘ lowed with a great rain the
‘ very night of the battle, and
‘ the other was preceded by a
‘ greater, which the enemy felt
‘ all the evil of, being then on
‘ their march to inveſt Bruſſels;
‘ but this weather laſted no
‘ longer, than till we were ready
‘ to make uſe of better. But
‘ there was another circumſtance
‘ in our repaſſing of the Scheld,
‘ which I cannot omit: a night
‘ march, which we were forced
‘ to make in order to it, was
‘ happily for us, by an unfore-
‘ ſeen coincidence, directed by
‘ the full aſſiſtance of the moon.’

ritories

1708. ritories of the enemy. The French thought this beyond the power of man, and therefore boaſted, that without ſtriking a blow, they would oblige the allies to abandon the ſiege. And, indeed, the difficulties, which the allies had to ſtruggle with, were ſo many and ſo great in themſelves, that the confidence of the enemy did not appear altogether unreaſonable. But what would have been impracticable by the duke of Vendoſme and other French generals, was accompliſhed by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who, after the reduction of the town and citadel of Liſle, were reſolved to crown their conqueſts, before the end of the campaign, with the recovery of Ghent and Bruges (s).

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(s) The marquis de Feuquieres in his memoirs gives the following account of the errors committed in the defence of Liſle. Marſhal de Boufflers, ſays he, governor-general of French Flanders, and of Liſle in particular, defended this place againſt the armies of the allies, who beſieged it. The place was ſtrengthened with a garriſon of near ſixteen thouſand men; and yet the beſiegers only attacked it on the ſide of Magdalen-gate, before a front of fortification, that comprehended near a thouſand fathoms in extent; and even this attack was ſeparated by the Deule; and conſequently the enemy approached the ſame front by two attacks, interſected by the river, which afforded them the only communication they had with each other. This conduct of the enemy might have induced the beſieged to think it very practicable to make ſallies under the protection of the works, either on one ſide of the attack or the other; by which means they might have deſtroyed the works of ſeveral days; and yet they only made one ſally, with above five hundred men, which did not produce any conſiderable effect.

The beſiegers, in the conduct of their works, committed a greater error, and of which the beſieged neglected to take the advantage. The error was this: their comprehenſion of this great front ceaſed in proportion as they approached the place; ſo that, when they advanced to the glacis, their grand front was ſo contracted, that it only equalled the extent of the two ſaliant angles before the tenaille of the counterſcarp: by which means the front of the attacks was more extenſive than that of the aſſailants. As the beſiegers therefore were under no neceſſity of forming ſuch a diſpoſition, but committed this eſſential error in conſequence of mere incapacity in the conduct of works, it ſeemed reaſonable to chaſtiſe them for their proceeding; and yet the beſieged wanted reſolution to attempt it, though they eaſily might have opened their glacis under the protection of the counterſcarp, and thoſe works, that were not comprehended; and they might have made ſuch lodgments on the glacis, as would have

The French generals not imagining, that the confederates would have attempted any thing after the laſt important conqueſt, eſpecially in ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year, ſeparated. 1708. The French army ſeparates.

have conſtantly inabled them to gaul the flanks of the beſiegers contracted front of the attack. The advantage was ſo much in favour of the beſieged, as the beſiegers made but one attempt to ſtorm the counterſcarp at the two ſaliant angles before the tenaille, where they only appeared with five or ſix hundred men, becauſe they could not march a greater number in the ſmall front they had formed. Moſt of theſe men were killed in their advance upon the palliſade; and this ſingle experiment ſhould have convinced the beſieged, that their capital operation for the defence of the place was to make ſuch lodgments on the glacis, as were above-mentioned, in order to multiply the fires againſt the attack, and to take thoſe, who approached, in flank, and to greater advantage, than in the covered way, which was not comprehended within the beſiegers works.

Though the want of power frequently ſilenced the beſiegers cannon, and conſequently ſuſpended the fire of the bombs; yet the beſieged did not improve that favourable opportunity in any reparation of the breaches during the night, or clearing away the ruins in the day, tho' the inhabitants of Liſle were numerous and loyal, and might have been employed in this work, while the beſiegers artillery ceaſed to batter the breaches. The guard even of the attacked work was kept with ſo little vigilance, that only one centinel was awake, and the poſt was ſurpriſed, while all the ſoldiers were aſleep, after the deſertion of that treacherous centinel, ſo that the work was carried without the leaſt oppoſition on the part of the beſieged. It would have been a very eaſy affair however to have doubled the centinels in every place, where the negligence or infidelity of one expoſed them to the beſiegers.

But the moſt ſurpriſing circumſtance of all is, that marſhal Boufflers capitulated for the city, almoſt as ſoon as that half-moon was loſt, and without waiting ten or twelve hours, to ſee the beſiegers fill up the ditch, which would have employed them, at leaſt for that time, on account of its breadth, depth of water, and quantity of ſoft ſoil on its bottom. For of what particular importance could it be to marſhal de Boufflers, whether the reſt of the proviſions and ammunition were conſumed in the defending the city ſome time longer, or in a new defence of the citadel? it was, however, a very eſſential point, to prolong the defence of the city, as much as poſſible, ſince the ſurrender of it to the enemy would afford excellent accommodations to an army, who greatly needed them in that advanced ſeaſon, when the rains are ſo frequent in Flanders, that, if they had happened during the ſiege of that city, they would certainly have rendered that great enterprize unſucceſsful.

1708. rated their army, and returned to Paris. But, all neceſſary preparations being made for the ſiege of Ghent, that city was inveſted on the 20th of December, N. S. in the following manner: count Lottum, with thirty-nine battalions, and thirty-ſix ſquadrons, were poſted between the Upper-Scheld and the Lys: the hereditary prince of Heſſe, with forty ſquadrons, and twenty battalions, between the Lys and the canal of Bruges, and from thence to the canal of Sas: the duke of Wirtemberg between Muleſtein and the Lower Scheld, with twenty-five ſquadrons, and twenty-ſix battalions: count Tilly with thirty ſquadrons, and thirty battalions, between the Upper and Lower Scheld: and the duke of Marlborough incamped at Meerlebeck, that he might be near the center of the ſeveral attacks. On the 14th, in the evening, the trenches were opened at the attack commanded by general Lottum; and two thouſand workmen, covered by ſeven battalions, and two more in reſerve, with ſix hundred horſe, were ordered for that ſervice, under the command of lieutenant-general Fagel, major-general Wecke,

Ghent inveſted.

The diſpoſitions for the defence of Liſle were very inconſiderate. The ſiege from the beginning was rendered too fatiguing to the garriſon, which was divided into two bodies, alternately upon duty, for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. This time was much too long. Half of the troops were poſted in outworks, and the reſt were ſtationed on the ramparts, and employed in the works; ſo that the garriſon had never any ſtated hours of reſt, which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the officers as well as the ſoldiers, both for the preſervation of their health, and to render them capable of defending the place for a greater length of time. The inhabitants of Liſle were numerous and well-affected; and yet they were not employed in any ſervice, either for the relief of the garriſon, or the preſervation of the place.

It was reported, that marſhal de Boufflers wanted proviſions towards the cloſe of the ſiege, and could not ſupply the citadel with a ſufficient quantity for the garriſon. This indeed is true, but the fault muſt be imputed to the diſorder and want of œconomy in the diſtribution of the proviſions, which was always equal; ſo that no care was taken to leſſen the allowments in proportion to the loſs of men. A company, that had been greatly weakened in the progreſs of the ſiege was allowed the ſame ſubſiſtence, as it received when it was much ſtronger; ſo that at the latter end of the ſiege the proviſions were diſtributed in almoſt double the quantity that was neceſſary; and this irregularity alone would have occaſioned the loſs of the place, had it been accommodated never ſo well.

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and the lord North and Grey. The men worked about half an hour before the enemy diſcovered them, and then they made ſuch a terrible fire, that the allies had near thirty men killed, and about ſeventy wounded. They carried on their works with good ſucceſs from St. Peter's gate towards fort Monterey, and finiſhed a parallel of a thouſand paces from the right to the left, within two hundred paces of the counterſcarp. On the 25th at night, the trenches were opened at the duke of Wirtemberg's attack, with four battalions and ſix hundred horſe, commanded by major-general Murray, who covered fourteen hundred pioneers, and this attack was directed againſt the caſtle. The ſame night they opened the trenches before the Bruſſels gate, between the Upper and Lower Scheld, with four battalions and ſix hundred workmen, commanded by brigadier Evans, who carried on their works with great ſucceſs, and made a communication without any loſs. But, the works on the right being very difficult, and time as well as facines being wanting to finiſh the ſame, the garriſon made a ſally with ten companies of grenadiers, who put the firſt troops into ſome confuſion; and, whilſt brigadier Evans was bringing up the next battalions to ſupport them, he was taken priſoner with colonel Grove of the lord North and Grey's regiment. They had likewiſe about twenty officers and ſoldiers killed or taken; but the enemy retired upon the firſt firing of the troops, and had not time to level the works. On the 26th the batteries began to fire upon the Red Fort, and the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The following days the approaches were carried on with a great deal of ſucceſs; and, the batteries being ready to fire, on the 30th at ſix in the morning, with red-hot bullets, and the mortars to throw bombs and carcaſes into the town, the count de la Motte ſent out a trumpeter to the duke of Marlborough, and demanded an honourable capitulation, which was granted him; purſuant to which, one gate of the city, and another of the caſtle, were delivered to the troops of the allies on the 31ſt of December, N. S. and two days after count de la Motte marched out with his garriſon, which conſiſted of above thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons, in order to be conducted to Tournay. The duke of Argyle, with ſix Britiſh battalions, immediately after took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel.

1708.

Ghent capitulates.

The reduction of Ghent occaſioned a great ſurprize at the French court, and was indeed in itſelf very wonderful, conſidering the ſituation and largeneſs of the place, the numerous

The French abandon Bruges.

1708. rous garriſon, the hard ſeaſon of the year, and the fatigue which the troops had already undergone in this extraordinary long and difficult campaign. The conſequence of ſurrendering that important city was the enemy's quitting of Bruges, Plaſendale, and Leſſinghen, and retiring into their own territories. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, having thus glorioufly finiſhed this campaign, and ſettled the winter-quarters for the forces of the allies, ſet out, the 9th of January, from Bruſſels for the Hague, having left all the confederate troops under the command of count Tilly, general of the Dutch forces.

A very hard winter. If Ghent and Bruges had not ſurrendered when they did, it could not have been poſſible to have kept them in the field much longer; for, within two or three days after, there was a great fall of ſnow, and that was followed by a moſt violent froſt, which continued the longeſt of any in the memory of man; and, though there were ſhort intervals of a few days of thaw, we had four returns of an extreme froſt, the whole laſting about three months. Many died in ſeveral parts by the extremity of the cold; it was ſcarce poſſible to keep the ſoldiers alive, even in their quarters; ſo that they muſt have periſhed, if they had not broke up the campaign before this hard ſeaſon.

A campaign in Italy. The miſcarriage before Toulon did not diſcourage the duke of Savoy from meditating a new irruption into France, in return for the ſiege of Turin. The preparations made by his command through Piedmont during the winter and the ſpring, his aſſembling ſo great a body of troops on his frontiers, and preparing, not only a train of field pieces, but a quantity alſo of heavy cannon, gave the French apprehenſions, not only of an incurſion, but of ſome important ſiege. And, according to the French writers, the duke never diſſembled his intentions, which were to enter Dauphine, and to extort contributions as far as Lyons. But though the bad weather could not ſuffer him to take the field till the month of July, yet the lateneſs of the campaign was ſoon made up by the rapidity of his conqueſts, which the vigilance and activity of the marſhal de Villars (whom the French uſed to call their fortunate general) could neither foreſee nor prevent. The duke, the better to cover his deſign, had firſt, with great labour and fatigue, bent his march towards Savoy, over mount Cenis, as if he intended to penetrate into Dauphine through fort des Barreaux; but, having by this feint drawn the enemy's forces on that ſide, he turned ſhort towards Sezane and Oulx, prevented Villars's

hirs's quick march, and took ſuch right meaſures, that from the 12th to the 31ſt of Auguſt, N. S. he compaſſed his true deſign, which was to make himſelf maſter of the important fortreſs of Exilles, fort la Perouſe, and the valley of St. Martin and Feneſtrella. By which conqueſts he ſecured his own dominions againſt France; and gained free entrance into the enemy's country, the French having built a ſtrong citadel at Feneſtrella, after the blowing up of the fortifications of Pignerol, in order to cover that frontier. The greateſt difficulty in taking theſe places was from the impracticableneſs of the ground, which drew the ſieges out into ſuch a length, that the ſnow began to fall by the time Feneſtrella was taken. By this means the Alps were cleared, and Dauphine was now open to him: and all things were ready for a greater progreſs in another campaign. Beſides theſe advantages, the duke likewiſe made a diverſion in favour of king Charles III, obliging the enemy to ſend a great detachment from Rouſſillon to Villars's ſupport and aſſiſtance. 1706.

The queen of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general had ſollicited the imperial court and the German princes to act with greater vigour than they had hitherto done, and particularly preſſed the emperor to give the utmoſt aſſiſtance he could to his brother in Spain, and heartily concurred with king Charles in deſiring, that prince Eugene might be ſent thither to command in chief. But this point could not be obtained (t); and, count Guido de Staremberg being appointed Campaign in Spain. Burnet. M. S. Hiſt. of Eur.

(t) This affair will be beſt explained by the following extracts of letters publiſhed by Mr. Cole in his memoirs of affairs of ſtate.

The earl of Manchester to the earl of Sunderland.

Vienna, January 7, 1707-8.

This evening count Gallas is at prince Eugene's, where the affairs of king Charles are to be under debate. I had orders from Britain, to urge their ſending prince Eugene to Spain, and alſo a letter writ by the queen to the emperor, recommending the ſame as a matter of the greateſt conſequence, but to no purpoſe. Prince Eugene is to be at hand to defend them, in caſe of need, againſt the Turks, and to ſecure them from any future inſults from the Swede, who had demanded the like liberty for the reformed to exerciſe their religion in Silеſia, as by count Wratiſlaw's convention at Alt Rayſtadt the Lutherans are to enjoy. Count Guido of Staremberg is declared general for Spain, without conſulting Britain or Holland, whether they will put their troops under his command. I have writ my thoughts pretty freely upon theſe practices, and monſieur Bruyninx had done the ſame. Prince

1708. pointed in that prince's room, he arrived at Barcelona on the laſt of April, the ſupplies demanded by king Charles being arrived there before. Great hopes were conceived of this new general, who had before commanded the imperial troops in Hungary; but it was generally believed, that the affairs in Spain would have had much better ſucceſs, if they had been managed by prince Eugene.

Burnet. The duke of Orleans ſtill continued to command in Spain; and, according to the vanity of that nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty armies in many different places, and to put an end to the war there. Great rains had fallen all the winter in all parts of Spain; ſo that the campaign could not be opened ſo ſoon as it was firſt intended. The troops of Portugal, which had lain at Barcelona ever ſince the battle of Almanza, were brought about by a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, to the defence of their own country. Sir John Leake came likewiſe over to Liſbon from England with recruits and other ſupplies, with which the queen of Great-Britain was to furniſh the crown of Portugal. When all was landed, Leake ſailed into the Mediter-

Eugene has a commiſſion to act as the emperor's lieutenant-general, which but for the duke of Savoy he had had laſt year; the emperor's lieutenant-general being to command all who may ſerve with him. I do not know how the elector of Hanover will reliſh the being commanded by prince Eugene. I believe he will not ſubmit to it; but they muſt rather let the commiſſion lie dormant this next ſummer.

The earl of Mancheſter to the earl of Sunderland.

Venice, January 17, 1707-8.

I am glad, that both houſes of parliament have taken notice of the ſending prince Eugene into Spain. If any thing will prevail with the court of Vienna, I think that ſhould; but I am far from thinking, that it will.

The Dutch envoy at Vienna to the earl of Mancheſter.

Vienna, January 28, 1707-8.

We can by no means ſucceed to make prince Eugene go into Spain, and his imperial majeſty alledges reaſons for this, that ſeem to have ſome weight; but the emperor deſigns to ſend thither the count Guido of Staremberg, who is likewiſe a good general.

Earl of Sunderland to the earl of Mancheſter.

Whitehall, February 7, 1707-8.

I wiſh with all my heart, the court of Vienna would come to reaſon, in relation to the ſending prince Eugene to Spain; but that matter ſeems to be quite over, and Staremberg will be the man.

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raman to bring troops from Italy, for the ſtrengthening of king Charles, whoſe affairs were in great diſorder. 1708.

Soon after Staremberg's arrival in Spain, major-general Stanhope came to us (ſays the author of the manuſcript ſo often mentioned) with a commiſſion of commander in chief of all her majeſties forces in Spain, as Belcaſtle had orders to command the Dutch. All the troops marched out of their winter quarters to different camps, in the road to Cervera and Lerida. When Leake came with his fleet to Barcelona, king Charles ſent immediately for count Staremberg from the camp at Montblanc, to conſult with the generals Stanhope and Carpenter, and admiral Leake, whether he could undertake any thing for the ſervice; and, nothing being fixed, the admiral ſailed for Italy, from whence he brought both the new queen of Spain and eight thouſand men with him. But, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the court of Vienna, theſe forces came too late to raiſe the ſiege of Tortoſa; before which place the enemy came the 30th of June. Upon the news of this, a council of war was held, to ſee whether we could undertake any thing to ſave that town, which, on the ſea-ſide, was the key of Catalonia from Valencia. Count Efferen, a Palatine major-general, was ſent to command in Tortoſa, with a good garriſon. The trenches were opened on the 9th of June, and, in about a month's time, the governor, having no reaſon to expect any relief, ſurrendered upon honourable terms, and marched his garriſon to our camp at Conſtantino, in the Campo de Terragona. During the ſiege, Leake diſſipated a fleet of Tartans, ſent from France to ſupply the duke of Orlean's army, and took about fifty of them; which was a very ſeaſonable relief to thoſe in Barcelona, and which, it was hoped, though in vain, would have cauſed the ſiege to be raiſed. Tortoſa beſieged and taken by the French.

From Conſtantino the army marched for Cervera with a good train of artillery, where they were joined by all the forces from Italy, and by ſome Dutch and Spaniſh battalions from Lamſaurdan. Beſides Tortoſa, the enemy alſo took Denia, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war. But theſe loſſes were abundantly made up to the allies, by the reduction of the kingdom of Sardinia, and of the famous Port-Mahon, with the whole iſland of Minorca.

Sir John Leake having taken on board the fleet a few troops commanded by the marquis of Alcónzel, better known by his former title of Conde de Cifuentes, arrived before Reduction of Sardinia.

1708. Cagliari (u), the capital of Sardinia, on the 12th of Auguſt, N. S. and immediately ſummoned the marquis of Jamaica, the viceroy, to ſubmit to king Charles III. The marquis inſiſted at firſt upon extravagant terms: but on the throwing of a few bombs into the city, the inhabitants reſolved to compel him to ſurrender, with his garriſon, at diſcretion; whereupon both he and the magiſtrates accepted ſuch articles as the admiral was pleaſed to grant (w). The greateſt part of the Spaniſh garriſon readily liſted themſelves in king Charles's

(u) In the memoirs of affairs of ſtate, publiſhed by Chriſtian Cole, eſq; p. 545, is the following letter of Sir John Norris to the earl of Mancheſter, relating to the deſigned expedition.

Ranelagh, with the fleet bound to Cagliari, July 26, 1708.

My lord,

The 17th inſtant we arrived with the fleet and troops at Mattero, where we landed the queen of Spain, ſhe being from thence to make her entry into Barcelona. The next day our tranſports got to Barcelona, where we landed the horſe and foot in good condition. We loſt but forty horſes in the paſſage, and nineteen that were in a Genoeſe veſſel, which loſt company with the fleet, and was taken by a cruizer of the enemy. The troops have joined the reſt of the army, which all people ſay is in a good condition, and that there is a good agreement with the commanders of each nation. But from our unfortunate loſs of Tortoſa, and the accidents of this campaign, the foot we brought does but juſt make up the number we have loſt; and in that the enemy is much ſuperior; but in horſe we have the advantage, both in number and goodneſs, &c. We are under this difficulty, that the land we have there, with the iſland of Majorca, will not afford grain enough to feed the army and country; for which reaſon we are now going with the fleet, to try if we can reduce the iſland of Sardinia to the obedience of king Charles. The troops we have to do it with are our ſeamen, twelve hundred marines, and ſome unmounted Spaniſh dragoons; and, if half be true of what is repreſented to us, we ſhall ſucceed in that kingdom. We have the Conde Cifuentes with us, but he is not to meddle till the place has declared. We go directly for Cagliari, which is the ſeat of the vice-king, and the capital of the country. I am, &c.

John Norris.

(w) Sir John Norris wrote the following letter upon the taking of this city to the earl of Mancheſter.

From on board the Ranelagh, before Cagliari, Auguſt 8, 1708, O. S.

My lord,

This being the firſt opportunity of my writing to Italy ſince our

Charles's ſervice. Beſides which, near two thouſand horſes were found there, ready to be tranſported to Spain, for re-mounting the enemy's cavalry; part of which were diſpoſed of to the diſmounted dragoons, who were employed in this expedition. The marquis d'Alconzel, who was conſtituted viceroy and captain-general of that kingdom, having held an aſſembly of the deputies of the ſeveral ſtates, they gave aſſurances of their affection and fidelity to king Charles III. and, for a proof, offered to furniſh thirty thouſand ſacks of corn for that king's ſervice. This ſupply made the conqueſt of Sardinia the more conſiderable; for, in Catalonia, 1708.

our arrival before Cagliari, will plead my pardon, that I did not ſooner tell your lordſhip, that we anchored before the town the 3d inſtant in the afternoon, and ſent a ſummons to the vice-king, to render the town and kingdom of Sardinia to the obedience of king Charles, with a letter to the burghers, to aſſure them of their effects and antient privileges, in caſe they made their obedience. The officer ſent had leave to wait four hours for an anſwer, if required; at which time, being night, he returned with an anſwer from the vice-king, that it was ſo late that he could not that night get all the government together, but would do it the next morning, and ſend their anſwers. We judged it beſt to keep on the fright, and cauſe no delay, and that inſtant began bombarding, and hove that night an hundred and twenty ſhells into the town, and landed our men at the point of day; and, as ſoon as it was light, the vice-king ſent off a flag of truce, to deſire to capitulate; after which the mob took poſſeſſion of the gates, and delivered them up to us. Thus we have got a city much ſtronger than Barcelona, and that has eighty-ſeven braſs cannon mounted, and the whole iſland, without the loſs of a man. In our capitulation we obliged them to furniſh Catalonia immediately with fourteen hundred tons of corn, and to-morrow it will ſail for Catalonia, it being embarked in our tranſports.

Laſt night we received letters from the king of Spain and Mr. Stanhope, and news, that the king had appointed fifteen hundred ſoldiers under Mr. Stanhope, to go to reduce the iſland of Majorca and the fortreſs of Port-Mahon. He deſires our aſſiſtance in the ſame; on which we this morning agreed to go to that ſervice, and to-morrow we ſail for that iſland: and, though the French have a garriſon there, yet, if the weather proves good, I believe we may ſay we ſhall carry it. This will ſuit us in viſiting the pope, as we intended, for helping the pretender, till another ſeaſon. But, after this ſervice, our winter-ſhips will go to Naples, to convoy to Catalonia the troops the king expects from thence, and the reſt of our ſhips will be obliged to go home to refit for the next year, &c. I am, &c.

JOHN NORRIS.

they

1708. they were, at that time, much ſtraitened for want of proviſions.

The conqueſt of Minorca. M. S.

The conqueſt of the iſland of Minorca (x), which followed ſoon after, was intirely owing to major-general Stanhope, who was the firſt projector, and had the principal ſhare in the execution of the deſign. In the beginning of Auguſt, he received a letter from the lord-treaſurer, to acquaint him, that the admiralty had repreſented to the queen, that it was almoſt impracticable, and very dangerous for our fleet to winter in the Mediterranean, except ſome ſafe harbour were procured for it. Upon this, general Stanhope immediately fixed his thoughts upon the iſland of Minorca, which was a very great enterprize, and required a greater number of troops, than could be ſpared out of our army. He took a ſhort journey to Barcelona, to conſult the proper meaſures with the admiral; which done, he returns poſt to the camp, and acquaints Staremberg with his deſign, who much applauded it; but as to forces he could ſpare none, for we were then within four miles of the enemy, who were much ſuperior to us, and we daily expected to be attacked. However, Staremberg conſented that Stanhope ſhould take Southwell's regiment, a battalion of Neapolitans, another of Portugueſe, and a ſmall detachment of Spaniards: all which marched immediately to Barcelona. General Stanhope follows them, on the 10th, and had the good fortune of meeting there with brigadier Wade, juſt returned from London, which was a great advantage to him. The 21ſt, he embarks with this handful of men and a few dragoons. What was wanting in troops, was in ſome meaſure made up by a fine train of Britiſh artillery with mules to draw it, commanded by colonel Boreguard, with that excellent engineer

(x) Minorca (ſo called from being leſs than Majorca, another iſland about ſix leagues from it) lies in the Mediterranean. Its greateſt length is forty-five, and greateſt breadth twenty-four Engliſh miles. The chief places are, 1. Citadella on the ſouth-weſt ſide, about the middle of the iſland, in the bottom of a bay, thought to be the Jamma of Ptolemy. 2. Fort Formelli on the north-eaſt ſide, over-againſt Citadella. 3. Port-Mahon at the bottom of a large bay, which runs about three Spaniſh miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The harbour is guarded by fort St. Philip, and is accounted the beſt and largeſt in the Mediterranean. Minorca lies in lat. 39. 45. It was taken by general Stanhope in 1708, and confirmed to the Engliſh by the treaty of Utrecht; in whoſe hands it remained till the year 1756, when it was moſt ſtrangely ſuffered to be taken by the French, after a forty-nine years poſſeſſion.

brigadier

brigadier Petit, who, in that capacity, might be ſaid to have taken and defended Barcelona, for which ſervices king Charles had raiſed him to the rank of a general officer. Stanhope was here informed of the ſtrength of the garriſon of fort St. Philip, which would have damped the courage of any man that had not been ſo zealous in the undertaking. The fleet and tranſports ſailed from Barcelona the 23d, and the men landed the 26th to the ſouth-weſt of fort St. Philip, within two miles of it. As they ſailed by the fort, the garriſon was not a little intimidated to ſee a fleet with two flags (Leake and Whitaker) and ſo many tranſports, expecting no leſs than an army of ten or twelve thouſand men; and, indeed, it had the appearance of it. With the four battalions were landed about ſeven hundred and ſixty marines, commanded by colonel Lee, which made up the whole number, officers included, three thouſand two hundred and eighty four (y). This little army marched to a riſing ground over-againſt the fort, having made as great a ſhow as poſſible in their march; for it was all in ſight of the enemy, whoſe alarms were much increaſed by it; and ſtill more, when they ſaw our troops drawn up in a long line where they could be ſeen; but the beſt perſpective glaſs could not diſcover whether there was a ſecond or third line. From hence they went that evening to a camp marked out by the engineer, within leſs than two miles of the fort. The garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand Spaniards, and ſix hundred French marines, under the command of colonel la Jonquiere, an old officer, who was ſent there by way of puniſhment, for not behaving ſo well as was expected from him againſt the Cevennois. The inhabitants of Minorca were very much for us, being weary of the yoke of their king, who had taken all their privileges from them, as he had done from his ſubjects of the kingdom of Arragon, from whence they had been tranſplanted to this iſland. 1708.

Batteries were erected the next day; and, the morning after, they began to fire againſt two of the four towers, which are built at proper diſtances like little baſtions, in a

(y) Engliſh ——— ——— 751
Neapolitans ——— ——— 718
Spaniards ——— ——— 298
Portugueſe ——— ——— 757
Marines ——— ——— 760
3284

wall

1708. wall of ſtones without cement, that covers the fort a quarter of a mile from it, and that from ſea to ſea. Theſe towers were ſoon battered down by our cannon. They had four pieces of cannon in each, with room enough for cannoneers, and ammunition. General Stanhope, who wanted to induce the garriſon to a ſpeedy ſurrender, ordered a great many papers to be writ in Spaniſh and French, in which he promiſed very honourable terms to the beſieged, if they did not put him to the trouble of raiſing batteries; but, if they refuſed, he threatened that all the Spaniards ſhould be ſent to the mines, and the French be worſe uſed. Theſe papers were tied round arrows, which were ſhot in great numbers into the ſuburbs of the fort, and into the vacancy between the fort and the ſtone-wall, where ſmall parties were placed to obſerve us. It was by a ſhot from one of theſe parties that Mr. Philip Stanhope, brother to the general, captain of the Milford galley, a young gentleman of great hopes, was killed, the ball fixing in his forehead, as he was held up by two of his ſailors to look over the wall, which was nine feet high.

The arrows had a good effect, eſpecially upon the Spaniards, who dreaded the mines. After the towers were beat down, the cannon continued to fire upon the wall, and, in a ſhort time, levelled it to the ground. Through the breach general Wade marched to a redoubt, at the head of all the grenadiers and ſome marines, with ſo much intrepidity, even within reach of the enemy's fire, that it ſtruck the garriſon (as one of the officers afterwards told our author) with admiration and terror; inſomuch that the ſoldiers could not be brought to fire at them, though commanded, and the cannon could not reach them, the ground being too low where they marched. Wade took the redoubt, left ſome men in it, and returned to the camp unattacked.

The next day their panic increaſed; a battery of large cannon was fixed againſt fort St. Philip, and the firſt ball was ordered to be ſo fired, as to fall in the ditch; which it did, and was immediately taken up and carried to the governor. A council of war was inſtantly held, wherein it was reſolved, by a ſmall majority, to beat a parley. Hoſtages were quickly exchanged, and Wade was ſent to agree on a capitulation. When he came to the governor's houſe, he found the large ball on the table, which moſt of the officers had been wondering at. They were not many hours in agreeing upon the following terms: the garriſon was to march out the next day with all marks of honour, and to be

ſhipped

shipped off immediately; the Spaniards to be transplanted to a harbour in Murcia, and the French to Marseilles or Toulon: the magazines to be given up, their arms to be left in the court of the fort, and the outward gate to be delivered into our hands that evening, as soon as the capitulation was signed; which was done in a short time, and a guard was ordered to the gate. Wade returned to the general in the camp; and both were extremely well pleased with this success. 1708.

On the morrow Wade went with all the forces to see the garrison evacuate the fort; and he had not men enough to form the two lines through which the garrison was to march to the sea-side, except they were placed at an unusual distance. The enemy then saw their mistake, as well as before, when they were coming up from the camp, but it was too late. All the boats of the fleet which were come into the harbour the night before, when the capitulation was signed, were ordered to attend to carry the garrison into the transports. When the French were got into three vessels, a field-officer was sent to let them know, that general Stanhope made them prisoners of war, by way of reprisals for the garrison of Denia, which, after a brave defence, were, contrary to the capitulation, made prisoners of war by count d'Asfeld.

Fort St. Philip being in our hands, the whole island gladly submitted, except Port-Fornelli. On the 17th of August, Sir John Leake, with the Dutch, sailing for England, Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red, was left with his squadron before Port-Mahon, who, with a few men of war sailing to Port-Fornelli, and meeting little resistance, brought away the garrison, consisting of about two hundred men, prisoners of war. Thus the conquest of the whole island, with the loss only of forty men killed or wounded, was finished in less than three weeks, to the great admiration of all Europe. The besiegers found in the forts about a hundred pieces of cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence. The Spaniards were all carried to Murcia, except the inhabitants of the suburbs, who had liberty to return to their houses. As soon as they landed, the governor threw himself out of a window and died. The French marines were sent to France, except a captain, who refused to sign the capitulation, and two lieutenants, who were left to take care of the prisoners that were detained on account of the affair of Denia. When they arrived at Toulon, la Jonquiere was confined for life; and

1708. and all the captains received marks of their maſter's diſpleaſure. But the captain, who ſtood out againſt the capitulation, was promiſed a reward. General Stanhope appointed brigadier Petit governor of fort St. Philip, and deputy governor of the whole iſland. By this conqueſt our fleet had got a ſafe port to lie in and refit, and to retire to on all occaſions; for till then we had no place nearer than Liſbon (z).

Beſides

(z) The earl of Sunderland wrote the following letter to general Stanhope upon the reduction of Minorca.

SIR, Whitehall, Oct. 20, 1708.

I received on Monday the favour of your's of the 30th of September, N. S. by captain Moyſer, with the welcome news of your having taken Port-Mahon; which, though it came at the ſame time as the news of taking of Liſle, yet was not at all leſſened by it: every body looking upon our being in poſſeſſion of Port-Mahon as of the laſt conſequence to the carrying on the war in Spain; beſides the other advantages, which, if we are wiſe, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot expreſs to you the ſenſe the queen, and every body here, has of your zeal and conduct in this affair, to which this very important ſucceſs is ſo much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loſs of your brother, which indeed is a public loſs to us all, he was ſo deſerving a young man. As ſoon as we heard of your being gone upon this expedition, orders were ſent to Sir George Byng, as ſoon as he ſhould come to Liſbon, to carry with him into the Mediterranean a ſufficient quantity of ſtores for a ſquadron to winter there; and, upon the good news captain Moyſer has brought, thoſe orders are renewed, ſo that you may depend upon that being effectually provided for. I do not ſay any thing to you of what you mention in relation to the troops from Naples, becauſe you will receive, by Mr. Cragg's, the queen's approbation of what you have done in relation to it. I ſend you incloſed a letter of the queen's to the counteſs of Oropeſa, writ with her own hand. You will receive directions from my lord treaſurer, to give her, at the ſame time, from the queen, the thouſand pounds you have ſo often mentioned. I muſt not omit telling you, that the queen does intirely approve of your leaving an Engliſh garriſon in Port-Mahon, for the reaſons you mention, though ſome of them muſt be kept very ſecret. Her majeſty does approve alſo of the governor you have named, and is very well ſatisfied with your having the commiſſion you mention from the king of Spain, being ſatisfied you make no uſe of it but what is for the public ſervice. I have nothing more to trouble you with, but to aſſure you, that I am, with the greateſt truth and eſteem,

SIR,
Your moſt faithful
humble ſervant,
SUNDERLAND.

P. S.

Beſides the conqueſt of Minorca by the allies, and the taking of Tortoſa by the duke of Orleans, nothing conſiderable was undertaken during the campaign, though the armies were incamped ſome months within a few miles of one another. But the enemies would not venture to attack us, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority; and marſhal Staremberg, who was reckoned the beſt general of the age for the defenſive, was contented to preſerve what we had left in Catalonia. Our army went into winter quarters the laſt of October; and, about the middle of November, the generals Staremberg and Stanhope formed the deſign of ſurpriſing Tortoſa, which was executed with the greateſt ſecrecy, but not with the expected ſucceſs. A detachment chiefly of grenadiers went, the 22d at night, to ſcalade the town; but by the ignorance or treachery of the guides, the firſt ladders were ſet up over-againſt the main guard, and cloſe to it: ſo that the whole garriſon was immediately alarmed, and marched to Barcelona gate, where the grenadiers were endeavouring to get the baſtion that covered it, who were ſo warmly attacked, that they were forced to retire, leaving many men killed, and moſt of the reſt wounded. This put an end to the deſign, and to all the operations of the campaign (a). 1708.

Beſides

P. S. Beſides the orders that are gone to Sir George Byng, captain Moyſer carries with him orders from the prince to Sir Edward Whitaker, in relation to the ſquadron's wintering at Port-Mahon. You will receive with this packet a letter of the queen's to the king of Spain, in favour of the Conde de Salazar, at the deſire and recommendation of ſeveral Spaniſh and Canary merchants.

(a) In our return from the camp to Barcelona (ſays the author of the manuſcript account of the campaigns in Spain) I went with major-general Carpenter to view the convent of Mountſerrat, fifteen miles from it, which, for miracles and riches, is ſaid to be equal, and, by the Catalans, far to out-do, that of the Lady of Loretto. The treaſure of this chapel is immenſe in jewels and plate, and the income of the friars, who are forty Benedictines, beſides lay-brothers, is very conſiderable; and all owing to the pretended miracles of the bleſſed Virgin, whoſe ſtatue in wood, of a very curious workmanſhip, and believed to be ſent by St. Peter from Rome to Barcelona, and carved by St. Luke, is ſet up behind the great altar. The mountain, on which the convent ſtands at the half way, is exceeding high and beautiful; the very top nature has adorned with twelve high rocks at equal diſtances, in the ſhape of ſugar-loaves, which bear the names of the twelve apoſtles: in each

1708. Beſides the having a ſafe port to retire to, the conqueſt of Minorca brought a further advantage to the allies, by defeating

each a hermitage is built, little frequented, becauſe inacceſſible, but all inhabited by hermits, men of good families, and all reputed of great ſanctity. A German captain left his command, and retired into one of them, having made great intereſt to obtain the firſt vacancy; there was a hermitage ſome hundreds of years, where this magnificent convent ſtands now. Great devotions were paid to a little ſtatue of the Virgin which was worſhipped here, and abundance of miracles wrought, but none ſo wonderful as thoſe of the laſt found out ſtatue, which they tell you was diſcovered in this manner: ſome centuries ago great numbers of people of the neighbouring towns, going in a great proceſſion to this hermitage on the feaſt of the Aſſumption, in the month of Auguſt, were very much frightened, as they came to the bottom of this mountain, by a bull's coming out of a thicket, jumping and leaping in ſuch a manner, as drove moſt of the proceſſioners back, except the prieſts and ſome of the boldeſt Catalans, who were big with expectation of ſome miracle, which was ſoon wrought in their ſight; for this bull ſtopped of himſelf, after they had uſed their beſt endeavours to drive him away, about an hundred yards from the place where he came out: here he began to tear up the ground with his feet and horns, which confirmed the people in the hopes of a miracle; and, ſpades and pick-axes being immediately ſent for, they began to dig up that ſpot where this famous ſtatue was found, and carried with extraordinary devotions and rejoicings into the chapel of the hermitage. Here it was ſet up in the room of the little one, being well-cleaned and varniſhed, and provided with fine cloaths; and ſuch crouds came to this place from all the parts of the kingdom, and from all the iſlands, as not only inriched the hermitage, but the whole neighbourhood. I aſked whether the bull was not canonized? the friar anſwered me, no. But however, the bull was very well taken care of, and had in great veneration, and religiouſly viſited as long as he lived, which was to an uncommon old age. As to the miracles wrought by the lady of Mountſerrat, they out-do many of thoſe that are recorded in their legend; but I ſhall relate only that, which was the occaſion of building this famous monaſtery: one Garinus, hermit in this place, debauched a beautiful young lady, daughter of the count of Barcelona, ſovereign of all Catalonia, who came to perform her devotions at the hermitage; in her father's company, who uſed frequently to come to this mountain to hunt roebucks and wild goats, with which it abounded. After this hortid fact, the young lady was deſtroyed, and her body caſt into a very deep ditch behind this hermitage, which the hermit carefully covered up; and then begun his journey to Rome, in the night, to ſue for a pardon and abſolution from the pope. When the

count

defeating the French king's project of uniting the princes and ſtates of Italy in a league againſt the emperor, in order 1708.

count ſent for his daughter; neither ſhe nor the hermit were to be found; which cauſed a great affliction in the count's family, and many ſevere reflections againſt the young lady and the hermit, who were judged to have abſconded together. The penance impoſed by the pope on the hermit, was, that he ſhould return to the mountain in the night, ſtrip himſelf quite naked, walk upon all four, live upon graſs, and never ſtand upright before ſeven years were expired, and his lodging was to be in the hole of ſome rock; and that, during the time of his penance, he ſhould not ceaſe to put up his prayers to the lady of the hermitage, that the count's daughter might be reſtored to life. The penance was ſtrictly performed; and, in the middle of the ſeventh year, the count went, for the firſt time ſince this misfortune, to hunt on the mountain, when the dogs made up to the habitation of Garinus, and would have torn him to pieces, if the huntſmen had not made haſte to his reſcue. They were ſurpriſed to find a kind of monſter, who would not ſpeak, nor lift himſelf up, though he had the ſhape and features of a man. The count ordered him to be tied, and led to Barcelona, where he continued chained in a corner of the ſtable, without eating any human food, but herbs; and many people had the ſight of this monſter. At laſt, on the very day that the ſeven years expired, the count made a very great feaſt for his family, and others of his friends. Some of the company deſiring to ſee the monſter, he was brought to the door, when a child of five or ſix months old, ſon to one of the count's daughters, fixing his eyes upon him, ſpoke theſe words with a loud voice, Garinus, riſe up, thy ſins are forgiven thee: upon which he run back with his keeper to the ſtable, the company being all ſtruck with fear and amazement at this great miracle. He began to ſpeak to his keeper, and deſired a ſheet to cover himſelf with, and that he would go to the count to obtain leave to come into his preſence, having a very great ſecret to reveal to him. He was immediately admitted, and upon his knees confeſſed his crime; but aſſured the count withal, that, by his continued prayers to the lady of Mountſerrat, and her prevailing interceſſion, his daughter would be found living, and as well in all reſpects as ever ſhe was. The miracle of the child's ſpeaking, made the count believe, without heſitation, all that Garinus told him; ſo that he gave immediate directions for a very grand proceſſion of all the orders of friars, and others, to go to the holy mountain, for ſo it is called, to ſee the miracle that was wrought upon his daughter. When they came there, the young lady was found, and preſented to her father, in the ſame cloaths ſhe had on when ſhe went from him, and looking as freſh, as young, and as well, as if ſhe had never gone from her father's

1708. der to re-kindle war in that country: and a confederate fleet was ſeaſonably at hand to aſſiſt the Imperialiſts, who made a conſiderable progreſs in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and

houſe. The count was affected with ſo much gratitude for this ſurpriſing miracle in favour of his family, that he made a vow, before he left the place, to build and to endow that large monaſtery that is now there. This whole hiſtory is beautifully painted in the cloiſters of the convent, and for the ſatisfaction of all ſtrangers, who reſort thither in great numbers yearly, it is printed upon large paper, and upon very thin ſilk, to make it more portable, and ſold for half a crown. The lay-brother, who ſhews the curioſities of this place, is a Fleming, and ſpeaks ſeveral languages: he was lieutenant in count Noyelles's regiment, and preferred this idle life to the fatigues of an army. After we had viewed every thing, and eſpecially the treaſure, which, if all the jewels it contains be real, is beyond valuation, we were carried to the abbot's apartment, where a nice collation was provided. After we had partaken of it, I walked with the interpreter into a balcony, into which the abbot's dining-room opens; from hence he ſhewed me the hole in the rock, where the famous Garinus lived during his penance. I aſked him in French, whether he did believe it? The abbot, who was talking with general Carpenter, who ſpoke very good Spaniſh, overheard me, and in a kind of emotion told me, Yes, Sir, we believe it as much as we do the goſpel; which put a ſtop to all farther inquiries. Speaking of the richneſs and beauty of the crowns, that are put upon the ſtatue's head, eſpecially on great feſtivals, the abbot told us, that a Fleming jeweller was many years in making that of diamonds, that it is reputed worth ſixteen millions of pieces of eight, and that of emeralds, by reaſon of the bigneſs of the ſtones, is reckoned worth little leſs. That of diamonds is certainly, for the largeneſs of the ſtones, and the beautiful order in which they are fixed, the moſt excellent and richeſt piece of work of that kind now extant; and, to ſet it off the more, the top of it is a compleat ſhip, with maſts, and ſails, and cordage, &c. all of diamonds, a preſent of Iſabella queen of Arragon. And it is no wonder if this place be ſo immenſely rich, conſidering the numberleſs vows that are made by perſons in all ſickneſſes and diſtreſſes, eſpecially by women in labour, which are always very religiouſly performed. The two kings Charles and Philip made here their vows for the ſucceſs of their arms, and did offer each his preſent in perſon at the altar of the ſhrine; the firſt of a rich ſword ſet with diamonds, and the other of a gold chalice inriched with many jewels. They have in the outſide of the convent a good large houſe for the entertainment of ſtrangers, and of all the people that come to pay their vows, with very good accommodations, which brings the convent a great yearly income.

threatened

threatened to march to Rome, upon the following occaſion: 1708.

Differences between the emperor and the pope.

The emperor, and his brother king Charles, had, for ſeveral years, impatiently borne the pope's partiality, which was of great prejudice to their affairs, and, in conſequence, to the common cauſe. But the pope having openly owned his engagements with the houſe of Bourbon, and his deſigns againſt that of Auſtria, and the whole confederacy, by his proceeding in relation to the pretender's expedition to Scotland, which, if attended with ſucceſs, would have ruined the grand alliance, and given a fatal wound to the liberties of Europe; the ſame did not only moſt ſenſibly affect thoſe two potentates and the duke of Savoy, againſt whoſe juſt pretenſions in eccleſiaſtical affairs the pope had fulminated his cenſures, but was reſented, with due indignation, by her Britannic majeſty. Hereupon, the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the kingdom of Naples and dutchy of Milan, belonging to perſons reſiding out of thoſe countries, who had neglected to take the oaths to king Charles, were put under ſequeſtration by the imperial officers. And, not many days after, April 16, N. S. while the pope held a congregation about that affair, cardinal Grimani not only notified to him the diſappointment of the pretender's expedition, but, as viceroy of Naples, and a grandee of Spain, ſignified to him, that king Charles expected he ſhould ſend a nuncio to Barcelona, to acknowledge him as king of Spain, deſiring his holineſs to conſider the fatal conſequences of his delaying that recognition, and continuing to own his competitor. Beſides which, at the ſolliciſation of the court of Great-Britain, the emperor was determined, in concert with the duke of Savoy, to revive his old pretenſions to Comachio, and other places in the Ferrareſe, in order to check the pope, and oblige him to enter into ſuch meaſures, with reſpect to the rights and late acquiſitions of king Charles, as equity, and the peace and welfare of Naples and the Milaneſe, with the firm eſtabliſhment of their preſent ſovereign, neceſſarily required. The court of Rome ordered their miniſter at Vienna, to communicate to the emperor a letter from Signior Piazza, ſecretary of the memorials to the pope, wherein he endeavoured to extenuate what his holineſs was charged with, on occaſion of the late French expedition againſt Great-Britain; though whatever arts they uſed to cover their remittances of money into France, they could not palliate the pope's appointing public prayers for the ſucceſs of the intended invaſion. On the other hand, the pope's refuſal to ſend, according to king

1708. Charles's demand, a legate a latere, to compliment his royal conſort in her paſſage through Italy, and to treat her as queen of Spain, having given a freſh diſguſt to the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, the imperial troops, commanded by monſieur de Bonneval, in conjunction with thoſe of the duke of Modena, invaded the duchy of Ferrara, and took poſſeſſion of Comachio, a ſea-port town on the Adriatic ſea, Lugo, Argenta, Canale, Preſnero, Magnavacca, Condegoro, Pampoſa, Bagnecavallo, and ſome other ſmall places, on pretence of their being allodial ſtates, belonging to the duke of Modena, and fiefs of the emperor, to which the holy ſee had no lawful claim, and which were expreſly excepted in the treaty between Clement the eighth and Cæſar of Eſte. At the ſame time the viceroy of Naples forbid, on pain of death and baniſhment, the remitting any money to Rome, or any other part of the territories of the church; and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial of the pretenſions of his catholic majeſty againſt the court of Rome, which ſtruck at the very foundations of the temporal power of the pope. Upon the firſt alarm of the Imperialiſts marching into the Ferrareſe, the pope wrote a letter to the emperor, wherein he remonſtrated, "That theſe things "were attempted by the abuſe of his imperial majeſty's "name, againſt all juſtice, equity, and reverence due to "the Roman pontiff, and the rights of the church: that "they were contrary to the divine and human laws, and re-"pugnant to the title of the defender of the church, which "his famous anceſtors had taken as a great honour and "glory." The pope declared withal, "That he would af-"ſert this cauſe, though he ſhould be ſure to loſe his life "upon that account." But, before his letter reached Vienna, general Bonneval had put his orders in execution; and, when received, it rather exaſperated than allayed the reſentment of the emperor, who thereby plainly ſaw that the pope was ſo far from offering any ſatisfaction, that, on the contrary, he threatened him both with his ſpiritual and temporal arms. And, indeed, the pope reſolved to repel force by force; and, for that purpoſe, began to raiſe an army, the command of which he gave to count Marſigli, who was formerly diſmiſſed the emperor's ſervice, for not performing his duty at the ſiege of Briſac. At the ſame time the pope's miniſters revived the project, which they had ſet on foot three years before, of a league of the princes and ſtates of Italy, for their mutual ſecurity, which was defeated by the terror of the confederate fleet. Nor had his holineſs's ear-

The pope raiſes an army.

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neſt application to the French king for ſuccours better ſucceſs, that prince having, at this juncture, too much work upon his own hands, and his country lying, beſides, at too great a diſtance from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the court of Rome went on with their new levies, which were increaſed by the troops ſent from Avignon. But though the pope's ſubjects drew the firſt blood in the Ferrareſe, and forced the Germans to quit ſeveral poſts; yet the emperor, chuſing rather the way of negotiation than of the ſword, ſent orders to the marquis de Prié, a Piedmonteſe lord, to purſue his journey to Rome, to know from the pope himſelf, whether he could have peace or war? in the mean time, his imperial majeſty, and the duke of Savoy, by their interceſſion with the queen of Great Britain, ſuſpended the execution of the orders ſent to Sir John Leake for bombarding and deſtroying Civita Vecchia. 1708.

The pope's officers being exhauſted, he held a conſiſtory on the 24th of September, N. S. at which aſſiſted forty-two cardinals, whom he acquainted, "That he was obliged to "have recourſe to extraordinary means, and therefore "thought, that part of the three millions of golden crowns, "depoſited by Sixtus the fifth in the caſtle of St. Angelo, "ought to be employed in theſe preſſing neceſſities of the "church." His propoſal appeared extraordinary to ſome cardinals, who repreſented, that this treaſure was ſacred, and never to be made uſe of, but when all other means failed: that the preſent caſe of the church was indeed difficult enough, yet far from being deſperate, ſince they had to deal with the firſt chriſtian prince, who could not have in view the deſtruction of the church: that this diſpute might be made up in a pacific way, inſtead of being decided by the ſword. And therefore they exhorted the pope to conſider ſeriouſly the fatal conſequences of a raſh rupture with the emperor, and to ſtand on his guard againſt the ſuggeſtions of ſome fiery perſons, who were altogether for war, in hopes to better their fortunes during the confuſions of it. But this repreſentation had little effect upon the pope, who was too partial to hearken to any advice, that was not for the intereſt of France; and, moſt of the cardinals there preſent being of the French and Spaniſh factions, they reſolved to take out of the treaſury of the caſtle of St. Angelo five hundred thouſand golden crowns, upon a ſolemn promiſe made by the pope, that the like ſum ſhould be again depoſited in the ſame place as ſoon as the war was over. The pope was ſo highly elated with his ſucceſs in this important debate, that he declared he would not hearken to

1708. any propoſals made on the part of the emperor, nor receive any envoy or miniſter from him, till the imperial forces were withdrawn from Comachico, and other parts of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; which raſh reſolution was probably ſuggeſted to him by the marſhal de Teſſé, who was lately come to Rome
Sept. 23. N. S. with the character of the French king's ambaſſador extraordinary, in order to inflame the rupture, and encourage the pope with great aſſurances of ſupport. He was ordered likewiſe to try, whether the grand duke of Tuſcany, and the republics of Venice and Genoa, could be engaged in an alliance againſt the Imperialiſts. The emperor bore all the pope's threats with great patience, till the duke of Savoy ended the campaign, when the imperial troops, that had been commanded by that duke, were ordered to march into the pope's territories, and were joined by ſome more forces drawn out of the Milaneſe and the Mantuan. The pope's troops began the war in a very barbarous manner, for, while they were in a ſort of a ceſſation, they ſurpriſed a body of the Imperialiſts, and without mercy put them to the ſword. But, as the imperial army advanced, the Papalins, or, as the Italians in deriſion called them, the Papagallians fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the pope's territories and places were all caſt open to them. Bologna, the moſt important and richeſt of them all, capitulated, and receive them without the leaſt reſiſtance. The people at Rome were uneaſy at the pope's proceedings, and at the apprehenſions of a new ſack from a German army. They ſhewed this ſo openly, that tumults there were much dreaded, and many cardinals declared openly againſt the war. Upon this the pope declared, that he was ready to receive the marquis de Prié, who arrived at Rome on the 24th of October, N. S. however many days paſſed before the pope would admit him to his audience, upon a punctilio about the ceremonial, becauſe he had no other character than of plenipotentiary of the emperor, which, it was pretended, was not admitted at the papal court. This difficulty being at laſt removed by the pope's ſignifying to the marquis, that he would receive him with the ſame ceremonies, as were obſerved at the audience of count Martinitz, when he went through Rome for Naples, to take poſſeſſion of the dignity of viceroy of that kingdom, that miniſter went to his audience, on the 10th of November, N. S. and, in a few days after, delivered his propoſals for an accommodation, importing in ſubſtance, "1. That the pope ſhould diſband his new "levies. 2. Give winter-quarters to the imperial troops in

"his

"his territories. 3. And the inveſtiture of Naples to 1708.
"Charles III, and acknowledge him as king of Spain.
"And, 4. That he ſhould allow the Imperialiſts paſſage
"through his dominions, as often as there ſhould be occa- The pope
"ſion." The pope was amazed at theſe high terms, but ſubmits.
there was no remedy left. The ill ſtate of affairs in France was now ſo viſible, that no regard was had to the great promiſes, which Teſſé was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the princes and ſtates of Italy into an alliance for his defence. In concluſion the pope, after he had delayed yielding to the emperors demands long enough to give the Imperialiſts time to eat up his country, at laſt ſubmitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging king Charles for ſome months, though he then promiſed to do it; upon which the emperor drew his troops out of his territories. The pope turned over the manner of acknowledging king Charles to a congregation of cardinals; but they had no mind to take the load of this upon themſelves, which would draw an excluſion upon them from France in every conclave, and therefore left it to the pope, who affected delays; ſo it was not done till the 15th of January, 1709, N. S.

With regard to the campaign in Germany, the elector of Campaign in Germany. Burnet.
Bavaria had been ſent to command on the Upper Rhine. The true reaſon was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief command in Flanders. He was put in hopes of being furniſhed with an army ſo ſtrong, as to be able to break through into Bavaria. The elector of Hanover again undertook the command of the army of the empire. Both armies were weak, but they were ſo equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either ſide; and therefore, after ſome months, in which there was no conſiderable action, the forces on both ſides went into winter-quarters.

The affairs in Hungary continued in the ſame ill ſtate, in Affairs in Hungary.
which they had been for ſome years. The emperor did not grant the demands of the diet, that he had called; nor did he redreſs their grievances; and he had not a force ſtrong enough to reduce the malecontents; ſo that his council could not fall on methods, either to ſatisfy or ſubdue them.

Poland continued ſtill to be a ſcene of war and miſery. and in Poland.
To other calamities they had the addition of a plague, which laid ſome of their great towns waſte. The Party formed a gainſt Staniſlaus continued ſtill to oppoſe him, though they had no king to head them. The king of Sweden's warlike humour poſſeſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to

1708. march into Muſcovy. The czar tried, how far ſubmiſſions and interceſſions could ſoften him; but he was inflexible. He marched through the Ukrain, but made no great progreſs. The whole Muſcovite force fell on one of his generals, who had about him only a part of the army, and gave him a total defeat, moſt of his horſe being cut off.

The elector Palatine was this year reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate, with the title and rank, which had been veſted in the houſe of Bavaria by the treaty of Munſter. And the elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg was at laſt acknowledged as ſuch by the electoral college. The duke of Savoy received the inveſtiture of the Mantuan, Montferrat, and other adjacent countries; and the ban of the empire was, on the 30th of June, N. S. publiſhed againſt the duke of Mantua, which probably haſtened his death, which happened five days after. The mediation of Great-Britain did not a little contribute towards the pacifying of the inteſtine diviſions of the city of Hamburgh. But though, at the deſire of the king of Sweden, the queen had readily accepted the guaranty of the treaty of Alt-Ranſtadt; yet the reformed in Sileſia received no benefit from her majeſty's earneſt interpoſition in their favour; the court of Vienna, now freed from the dread of the king of Sweden's reſentment, pretending, that the Lutherans only, and not the Calviniſts, were included, both in that treaty, and in that of Weſtphalia.

Affairs at ſea.

Our affairs at ſea were leſs unfortunate this year, than they had been formerly. The merchants were better ſerved with convoys, and no conſiderable loſſes were ſuſtained.

Commodore Wager deſtroys the galleons.

Commodore Wager gained a ſignal advantage againſt the Spaniſh galleons in the Weſt-Indies. He had, on the 22d of December, 1707, returned to Jamaica, from the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, upon ſome advices of the arrival of monſieur Du Caſſe, with a French ſquadron of great force, in order, as it was ſuppoſed, to make ſome attempt upon Jamaica. The next day the commodore, being then with his ſquadron in Port-Royal harbour, held a council of war, to conſider of the ſeveral advices he had received. During the month of January, he ſent out ſeveral ſhips to cruize, and to get intelligence of the enemy; and, on the 5th of February, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to go over to the Spaniſh coaſt. Accordingly, the commodore ſailed in a few days after to the keys, where he was joined by ſeveral other ſhips and ſloops. Upon advice, that the Spaniſh galleons were gone from Carthagena for Porto-Bello, the commodore ſailed with ſuch

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ſhips as were ready, leaving directions, how and where the reſt ſhould join him. On the 25th they came to an anchor off the iſle of Pines. In March, the commodore received advice at two ſeveral times from captain Pudner, who was ſtationed near Porto-Bello, that the galleons, with the king's money, could not ſail before the 1ſt of May; upon which it was reſolved to return to Jamaica, but it was given out, that they were only gone to cruize. On the 6th of April, the commodore anchored at Port-Royal keys, and having taken in proviſions, he ſailed again on the 14th, and, about eight or ten days after, gave chace to ſeveral ſhips off Bocca, Chica, ſome of which eſcaped into Carthagena, and others he loſt ſight of in hazy weather. On the 23d of May, the Anne ſloop joined the commodore from the Baſtimentes, and brought a letter from captain Pudner, with advice, that the galleons, being thirteen ſail, were at ſea, coming from Carthagena. The commodore had then with him the Expedition, Kingſton, Portland, and Vulture fire-ſhip, and cruized till the 27th, in expectation of the galleons; but, not meeting with them, he began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coaſt, and were gone for the Havanna. On the 28th of May, about noon, the galleons, in all ſeventeen ſail, were diſcovered from his top-maſt-head; and, at the ſame time, they diſcovered him, but, deſpiſing ſo ſmall a force, reſolved to proceed. He chaſed them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the Baru, a ſmall iſland, which lay in their paſſage to Carthagena, reſolved to diſpute the matter there, and ſtretching therefore to the northward with an eaſy ſail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-maſt-head, in the center, the vice-admiral, with the ſame pennant at the fore-top-maſt-head, in the rear, and the rear-admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizzen-top-maſt-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ſhips between them. Of the ſeventeen two were ſloops, and one a brigantine, which ſtood in for the land; two others of them were French ſhips, which, running away, had no ſhare in the action; the reſt were Spaniards. The commodore inſtantly made his diſpoſition; he reſolved to attack the admiral himſelf; gave orders to captain Simon Bridges, who commanded the Kingſton, to engage the vice-admiral, and ſent his boat to the Portland, commanded by captain Edward Windſor, with orders to attack the rear-admiral; and, as there was no immediate occaſion for the fire-ſhip, ſhe plied to the windward. 1708.

The

1708. The ſun was juſt ſetting, when commodore Wager came up with the admiral, and then beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time (it being dark) ſhe blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the ſplinters and planks, which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blaſt. Hereupon the commodore put abroad his ſignal lights for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue ſight of ſome of the enemies ſhips; but finding, after this accident, they began to ſeparate, and diſcovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made ſail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broad-ſide into her ſtern, which did ſo much damage, that it ſeemed to diſable her from making ſail; and being then to leeward, he, tacking on the Spaniard, got to windward of him, and the Kingſton and Portland (which had by reaſon of the night, or the blowing up of the admiral, loſt ſight of the other ſhips) following his lights ſoon after, came up with him, and aſſiſting in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ſhip he ſent his boat to bring to him the chief officers; and, before the riſing of the ſun, he ſaw one large ſhip on his weather-bow, and three ſail upon the weather quarter, three or four leagues off, lying then with their heads to the North, the wind being at North-eaſt, an eaſy gale. Then he put out the ſignal for the Kingſton and Portland to chace to windward, not being able himſelf to make ſail, being much diſabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize; ſo were there no leſs than three hundred priſoners on board his own ſhip.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the north-eaſt, to the north north-weſt, and but little of it, the Kingſton and Portland had left off chaſe; but the commodore made the ſignal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of ſight, the fire-ſhip ſtill continuing with him; and he having lain by ſome time, not only to put the prize in a condition of ſailing, but to refit his own rigging, made ſail eaſtward on the 31ſt, when the Kingſton and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ſhip they chaſed was the vice-admiral, to which, as they ſaid, they came ſo near, as to fire their broadſides into her, but were ſo far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a ſhoal off Carthagena, that they were forced to tack, and leave her. This gave the commodore great uneaſineſs, and determined him to call the captains of theſe ſhips to account; but, in the mean time he

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ſent them orders to take or deſtroy a galleon of forty guns, which he underſtood by a Swediſh ſhip, that had been trading at Baru, had taken ſhelter in that iſland. She was juſt coming out of port, as the Kingſton and Portland appeared; upon which her crew ran her a ſhore, ſet her on fire, and blew her up, ſo that nothing could be got out of her, as the captains affirmed, and, as it appeared to the commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the commodore finding his proviſions and water ſhort, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in thoſe parts, reſolved to ſet the Spaniſh priſoners a ſhore, according to their requeſt, on the iſland of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly; and the Spaniſh rear-admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful ſenſe of the commodore's civility. 1708.

On the 8th of July, the Expedition, Kingſton, and Vulture fireſhip, brought the prize ſafe into Port-Royal harbour (b): here the commodore found the new act of parliament for the diſtribution of prizes; and though he had before per-

(b) The priſoners gave an account, that the admiral was a ſhip of ſixty-four braſs guns, with ſix hundred men, called the St. Joſeph, and had on board, as ſome ſaid, five millions of pieces of eight; but, according to others, ſeven millions in gold and ſilver; that the vice-admiral mounted ſixty-four braſs guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with four, or, as ſome ſaid, ſix millions of pieces of eight: and that the rear-admiral was mounted with four and twenty guns, having eleven more in the hold, and between three and four hundred men: but that, upon ſome difference between the admiral and him at Porto-Bello, orders were given, that no money ſhould be ſhipped on board her; ſo that thirteen cheſts of pieces of eight, and fourteen pigs or ſows of ſilver, which were privately brought on board in the night, and belonged to ſome of the paſſengers, was all the treaſure, which was on board, except what other might have about them, or were in trunks; of which they could give no account. This is the account, which the priſoners gave. Several relations publiſhed ſoon after that time make the riches of the admiral and vice-admiral to have been far greater, the former at leaſt thirty, and the latter twenty millions of pieces of eight. They all however agree, that the rear-admiral had no regiſtred money on board. The other Spaniſh ſhips had little or no money on board, but were chiefly laden with cocao, as the rear-admiral was, and but one of them was of any conſiderable force, being of ſeven hundred tuns burden, and having forty braſs guns, and an hundred and forty men. But the two French ſhips had about an hundred thouſand pieces of eight on board.

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1708. mitted the ſailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of parliament, and ordered captain Long to deliver up near thirty thouſand pounds worth of ſilver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to ſatisfy the ſailors of the uprightneſs of his intentions. He likewiſe took care to diſpatch intelligence to England, that ſhips might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons, that had eſcaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a court-martial on the two captains Bridges and Windſor, who were both diſmiſſed for not having done their duty in the late engagement (c).

Another ſquadron of the Britiſh fleet, under the command of Sir George Byng, carried over the arch-dutcheſs Mary Anne, married to the king of Portugal, which was performed with great magnificence: ſhe had a quick and eaſy paſſage, arriving at Liſbon on the 27th of October. This did in the ſame meaſure make amends to that crown for our failing them in not ſending over the ſupplies, that had been ſtipulated. And it was a particular happineſs, that the Spaniards were ſo weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded ſtate, in which the Portugueſe were at that time.

After this large account of foreign affairs, it is time to return to the tranſactions at home.

The Morocco ambaſſador confined. In the month of July, an ambaſſador from the emperor of Fez and Morocco arrived in Great-Britain with a preſent of ſix lions for the queen; but upon his coming to Hammerſmith near London, he was put under an eaſy confinement by way of reprizal for the reſtraint put upon captain Delaval, the queen's envoy in that country, before he reached that court; which happened upon a falſe report, that ſome ill uſage had been offered to Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas, the late Morocco ambaſſador here. But, upon better information, the captain was releaſed, as was alſo the Morocco ambaſſador. However the Britiſh envoy did not think fit to

(c) Captain Bridges of the Kingſton was diſmiſſed, becauſe he left off chaſe when within ſhot of the Spaniſh vice-admiral, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and being near the ſhoal of Salmadinas, though the pilot offered to carry the ſhip within ſhoal. Captain Windſor of the Portland was alſo diſmiſſed, for not bearing ſo near the enemy, as to keep ſight of ſome of them, when they were engaged on the 28th in the night; for leaving off chace the next day, and for ſhortning ſail on the 30th, before he came up ſo far with the Spaniſh vice-admiral near Salmadinas, as he might have done.

go in perſon to the court of Morocco, and only ſent thither, with her majeſty's letter and preſent, Mr. Corbiere, his ſecretary, who was received with great demonſtration of reſpect. 1798.

The Muſcovite ambaſſador arreſted.

About this time an indignity offered in London to count de Matucof, the Muſcovite ambaſſador, was highly reſented, not only by himſelf, but likewiſe by all concerned in the preſervation of the rights and privileges of public miniſters. Thomas Morton, a laceman in King-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, and ſome other tradeſmen, to whom the ambaſſador owed ſeveral ſums of money, amounting in the whole to about three hundred pounds, finding he had taken his audience of leave, and being apprehenſive, that he would leave the kingdom without paying his debts, though a merchant in the city, trading to Muſcovy, had ſet a day for ſatisfying moſt of them, held ſeveral conſultations together, and at laſt reſolved to arreſt him; which was done accordingly, on the 21ſt of July, in the open ſtreet, with ſeveral aggravating circumſtances. For the ambaſſador, not knowing at firſt the reaſon of his being ſeized, and imaging he was ſet upon by villains, ſtruggled in his own defence, and was ill-uſed and overpowered by the bailiffs, who carried him to a ſpunging-houſe at the ſign of the Black Raven, where he was detained till the earl of Feverſham and a merchant of the city had bailed him. The ambaſſador, incenſed at this inſult, in violation of the law of nations, applied himſelf for redreſs to the government; and the next day wrote a letter to Mr. ſecretary Boyle, wherein he urged, "That the queen, who "was ſo jealous of the reſpect due to the ambaſſadors of "crowned heads, and had ſo gloriouſly vindicated the ho"nour of the earl of Mancheſter, her ambaſſador at Venice, "and cauſed a rigorous puniſhment to be inflicted on the "officers of the cuſtom-houſe, ſome of whom were ſet in "the pillory, and others condemned to the gallies, only for "inſulting the gentlemen of his retinue, could not but moſt "juſtly revenge the affront lately put upon him by a cor"poral puniſhment. That count Zobor, who was deliver"ed up to the diſcretion of the king of Sweden for picking "a quarrel with his envoy, likewiſe afforded an inſtance of "the ſatisfaction he required, as being deſirous of nothing "with greater earneſt, than to avoid all the ill conſequences "of this affair. For, in caſe the criminals were connived "at, under any colour whatſoever, he ſhould be obliged to "take other meaſures, and retire without recredentials, "leaving the whole matter to the management of his Czariſh "majeſty,

1708. "majeſty, his maſter, as the protector of his injured honour, "and of his abuſed miniſter."

At the ſame time count Gallas, the emperor's envoy, the baron Spanheim, ambaſſador from the king of Pruſſia, and ſeveral other foreign miniſters, thinking themſelves concerned in the affront put upon their character, demanded a due reparation for the ſame: all which having been laid before the queen, who ſtill continued at Windſor, ſhe expreſſed a very great reſentment for the indignity offered to the Muſcovite ambaſſador, and commanded an extraordinary council to be ſummoned on the 25th of July on that occaſion. Mr. Morton, and ſome other creditors, with the attorney, bailiffs, and other perſons concerned in the arreſt of the ambaſſador, having been examined, were committed to the cuſtody of ſeveral meſſengers, and ordered to be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, according to law. The next day, before Mr. Boyle was returned from Windſor, the Muſcovite ambaſſador wrote to him another letter, importing, "That, "as he had not received any teſtimony of concern, or re- "gret, either from the queen, or any of her miniſters, ſince "he had ſent him his complaints in writing, he found him- "ſelf obliged to preſs for his departure; and therefore in- "treated Mr. ſecretary to get a paſſport for him as ſoon as "poſſible." Mr. Boyle acquainted the ambaſſador, "That "ſeven of the principal accomplices, in the deſperate at- "tempt upon his perſon, were committed to priſon, and "under proſecution, by order of the privy-council, who were "to meet again about that affair as ſoon as poſſible." But the ambaſſador, being impatient to leave the kingdom, wrote a third letter on the 27th of July to Mr. ſecretary, for a paſſport for himſelf and family. Mr. Boyle wrote, two days after, a letter to the ambaſſador, acquainting him, "That "he had that morning ſent him the paſſport he deſired: that "orders had been iſſued out to the officers of the cuſtom- "houſe to wait on him, to cauſe his equipages to be tranſ- "ported without any moleſtation; and he hoped, they had "already done that to his ſatisfaction: that an extraordina- "ry meeting of the queen's privy-council was to be held that "day, to inquire further into the circumſtances of that "diſmal affair: that they had made a ſtrict ſearch after thoſe, "who were any ways concerned therein; and had cauſed "ten others to be apprehended: that expreſs orders had "been given again to the attorney-general, to proſecute the "ſeventeen perſons now confined, with the utmoſt rigour;

and

" and to omit nothing, that might contribute towards the " making him the moſt ſignal reparation, that could be, ac- " cording to our law." Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, the ambaſſador refuſed the ordinary preſents made to miniſters of his character, which were offered him by the queen, and retired in diſguſt into Holland, from whence he tranſmitted a memorial, with a letter from the czar of Muſcovy to the queen, dated the 17th of September, wherein that prince demanded no leſs, than " that a capital puniſhment, according " to the rigour of the law, be inflicted on all the accompli- " ces of the indignity put upon the perſon of his ambaſſa- " dor; or, at leaſt, ſuch a one, as was adequate to the " nature of the affront, which every particular perſon put " upon the ambaſſador." Such a puniſhment being altoge- ther inconſiſtent with the laws of England, this unlucky affair gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the queen and miniſters (c). 1708.

On the 28th of October, about ten in the forenoon, died prince George of Denmark, in the 56th year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and ſome months married to the queen. He had, for many years, been troubled with an aſthma, and ſometimes ſpitting of blood, which often indangered his life; and, about three months before, a dropſical humour, with which he had been formerly afflicted, ſeized his legs and moſt parts of his body. This was attended with a ſleepineſs, cough, and an increaſe of the aſthma; and, on Saturday the 23d of October, the violence of the The death of prince George of Denmark. Burnet.

(c) Mr. Addiſon gave the following account of this affair, in a letter to the earl of Mancheſter, dated at the Cock-pit, July 23, 1708, O. S. and publiſhed in Cole's Memoirs of Affairs of State, p. 546. 'We had an 'unlucky buſineſs about two 'days ago, that befel the Muſ- 'covite ambaſſador, who was 'arreſted going out of his houſe, 'and rudely treated by the 'baſiliffs. He was then upon his 'departure for his own country, 'and the ſum under an hundred 'pounds that ſtopped him; and, 'what makes the buſineſs worſe 'he has been punctual in his 'payments, and had given or- 'der, that this very ſum ſhould 'be paid the day after. How- 'ever, as he is very well con- 'vinced, that the government 'intirely diſapproves ſuch a pro- 'ceeding, there are no ill conſe- 'quences apprehended from it. 'Your lordſhip knows, that the 'privileges of ambaſſadors are 'under very little regulation in 'England; and, I believe, that 'a bill will be promoted in the 'next parliament for ſetting them 'upon a certain foot; at leaſt it 'is what we talk of in both 'offices on this occaſion."

cough

1708. cough produced a ſpitting of blood, and an increaſe of the ſleepineſs, with an addition of convulſive motions of the tendons; which ſymptoms not yielding to the remedies adminiſtred by his own and ſeveral other phyſicians, he fell into a ſuffocation, and which neither bleeding, nor a vomit, could relieve him, ſo that he ſoon after expired. The queen, who, during the whole courſe of her marriage, had been a moſt tender and affectionate wife to him, in his laſt illneſs, which laſted ſome years, would never leave his bed, but ſat up, ſometimes half the night in the bed by him, with ſuch care and concern, that ſhe was looked on very deſervedly as a pattern in this reſpect. The prince was duke of Cumberland, lord high-admiral of Great-Britain and Ireland, generaliſſimo of all her majeſty's forces both by ſea and land, and warden of the Cinque-ports. He had ſhewed himſelf brave in the wars both in Denmark and in Ireland. His temper was mild and gentle. He had made a good progreſs in mathematics. He had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well expreſs; for he ſpoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all vice. He meddled little in buſineſs, even after the queen's acceſſion to the crown. He was ſo gained by the tories, by the act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their intereſt. He was unhappily prevailed with to take on him the poſt of lord high-admiral, of which he underſtood little, but was fatally led by thoſe, that had credit with him, who had not all of them his good qualities, but had both an ill temper and bad principles. His being bred to the ſea gained him ſome credit in thoſe matters. In the conduct of our affairs, as great errors were committed, ſo great misfortunes had followed on them. As ſoon as the prince had reſigned his laſt breath, the queen came from Kenſington to her palace at St. James's, where ſhe reſided the whole winter. On the 11th of November, the body of his royal highneſs was carried from Kenſington, to the Painted Chamber, within the palace of Weſtminſter, where having lain in ſtate till the 13th, it was that night interred in the Abbey-church, with all the pomp conſiſtent with a private funeral.

Promotions. Burnet. Hiſt. of Eng. The death of prince George occaſioned ſome alterations at court; for the earl of Pembroke was, on the 25th of November, advanced to the poſt of lord high-admiral, which he entered on with great uneaſineſs, and a juſt apprehenſion of the difficulty of maintaining it well in a time of war. He was at that time both lord-preſident of the council, and

lord-

lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The earl of Wharton had the government of Ireland (who made Mr. Addiſon his ſecretary) and the lord Sommers was made lord-preſident of the council. The great capacity and inflexible integrity of the lord Sommers would have made his promotion to this poſt very acceptable to the whigs at any juncture, but it was moſt particularly ſo at this time; for it was expected, that propoſitions for a general peace would be quickly made; and ſo they reckoned, that the management of that, upon which not only the ſafety of the nation, but of all Europe depending, was in ſure hands, when he was ſet at the head of the counſels, upon whom neither ill practices nor falſe colours were like to make any impreſſion. Thus the minds of all thoſe, who were truly zealous for the preſent conſtitution, were much quieted by this promotion, though their jealouſies had a deep root, and were not eaſily removed. 1708.

It may here be obſerved, that, notwithſtanding the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſſes this year, and the queen's kind letter to him on occaſion of his victory at Oudenard (e) his intereſt with her began greatly to decline, through the The duke of Marlborough's intereſt with the queen began to decline.

(e) The letter is printed in the account of the ducheſs of Marlborough's conduct, and was as follows:

Windſor, July 6, 1708.

I want words to expreſs the joy I have, that you are well, after your glorious ſucceſs; for which, next to God Almighty, my thanks are due to you. And indeed I can never ſay enough for all the great and faithful ſervices you have ever done me. But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as truly ſenſible of them as a grateful heart can be, and ſhall be ready to ſhew it upon all occaſions. I hope you cannot doubt of my eſteem and friendſhip for you, nor think, that, becauſe I differ with you in ſome things, it is for want of either. No, I do aſſure you, if you were here, I am ſure you would not think me ſo much in the wrong in ſome things, as I fear you do now. I am afraid my letter ſhould come too late to London, and therefore dare ſay no more, but that I pray God Almighty to continue his protection over you, and ſend you ſafe home again, and be aſſured I ſhall ever be ſincerely

Your humble ſervant.

To this the duke anſwered:

July 23, 1708.

MADAM,

I have the honour of your majeſty's letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for all your goodneſs to me. And I am ſure, it will be always my intention, as well as my duty, to be ready to venture my life for your ſervice.

1708. the intrigues of Mrs. Maſham and Mr. Harley all the ſummer (f).

At

As I had formerly told your majeſty, that I am deſirous to ſerve you in the army, but not as a miniſter, I am every day more and more confirmed in that opinion. And I think myſelf obliged upon all accounts on this occaſion to ſpeak my mind freely to you. The circumſtances in this laſt battle, I think, ſhew the hand of God; for we were obliged, not only to march five leagues that morning, but to paſs a river before the enemy, and to engage them before the whole army was paſſed, which was a viſible mark of the favour of heaven to you and your arms.

Your majeſty ſhall be convinced from this time, that I have no ambition, or any thing to aſk for myſelf or family, But I will end the few years, which I have to live, in endeavouring to ſerve you, and to give God Almighty thanks for his infinite goodneſs to me. But, as I have taken this reſolution to myſelf, give me leave to ſay, that I think you are obliged in conſcience, and as a good chriſtian, to forgive, and to have no more reſentments to any particular perſon or party, but to make uſe of ſuch as will carry on this juſt war with vigour; which is the only way to preſerve our religion and liberties, and the crown on your head. Which that you may long enjoy, and be a bleſſing to your people, ſhall be the conſtant wiſh and prayer of him, that is with the greateſt truth and duty,

Madam, &c.

(f) The duchess of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct, p. 206, obſerves, that the duke was perfectly ſenſible of the change in her majeſty towards him; and, having complained of it in a letter to the duchess, ſhe ſent that letter to the queen, incloſed in the following one from herſelf:

'I cannot help ſending your 'majeſty this letter, to ſhew how 'exactly lord Marlborough a-'gree with me in my opinion, 'that he as now no intereſt with 'you: though when I ſaid ſo 'in the church on Thurſday '(Auguſt 19, 1708,) you were 'pleaſed to ſay it was untrue. 'And yet I think he will be 'ſurprized to hear, that when I 'had taken ſo much pain to put 'your jewels in a way, that I 'thought you would like, Mrs. 'Maſham could make you refuſe 'to wear them in ſo unkind a 'manner; becauſe that was a 'power ſhe had not thought fit 'to exerciſe before. I will make 'no reflections upon it; only 'that I muſt needs obſerve, that 'your majeſty choſe a very 'wrong day to mortify me, 'when you were juſt going to 'return thanks for a victory ob-'tained by lord Marlborough.'

In anſwer to this the queen wrote the duchess theſe few words:

Sunday.

'After the commands you 'gave me on the thankſgiving-'day of not anſwering you, I 'ſhould not have troubled you 'with

At the ſame time the lord Sommers was made preſident of the council, the archbiſhop of York, the dukes of Mountague 1708.

'with theſe lines, but to return 'the duke of Marlborough's 'letter ſafe into your hands, 'and for the ſame reaſon do not 'ſay any thing to that, nor to 'yours, which incloſed it.'

Upon receiving this letter, the ducheſs wrote again as follows:

'I ſhould not trouble your 'majeſty with any anſwer to 'your laſt ſhort letter, but to explain what you ſeem to miſtake in what I ſaid at church. 'I deſired you not to anſwer me 'there, for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret, 'as if I had deſired you not to 'anſwer me at all, which was 'far from my intention. For 'the whole end of my writing 'to you ſo often, was to get 'your anſwer to ſeveral things, 'in which we differed, that, if 'I was in the wrong, you might 'convince me of it, and I ſhould 'very readily have owned my 'miſtakes. But, ſince you have 'not been pleaſed to ſhew them 'to me, I flatter myſelf, that I 'have ſaid ſeveral things to you, 'that are unanſwerable. And, I 'hope, ſome time or other you 'will find leiſure to reflect upon 'them, and will convince lord 'Marlborough, that he is miſtaken in thinking, that he has 'no credit with you, by hearkening ſometimes to his advice; 'and then, I hope, you will 'never more be troubled with 'diſagreeable letters from me; 'for I ſhould be much better 'pleaſed to ſay and do every 'thing you like. But I ſhould 'think myſelf wanting in my 'duty to you, if I ſaw you ſo 'much in the wrong, as without 'prejudice or paſſion I really 'think you are in ſeveral particulars I have mentioned, and 'did not tell you of it; and the 'rather, becauſe no body elſe 'cares to ſpeak out upon ſo ungrateful a ſubject. The word 'command, which you uſe at the 'beginning of your letter, is 'very unfitly ſuppoſed to come 'from me. For though I have 'always writ to you as a friend, 'and lived with you as ſuch for 'ſo many years with all the truth 'and honeſty and zeal for your 'ſervice, that was poſſible; yet 'I ſhall never forget, that I am 'your ſubject, nor ceaſe to be a 'faithful one.'

Through the whole ſummer after Mr. Harley's diſmiſſion, the queen continued to have ſecret correſpondence with him. And, that this might be the better managed, ſhe ſtaid all the ſulty ſeaſon, even when the prince was panting for breath in that ſmall houſe ſhe had formerly purchaſed at Windſor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then ſaid to be cool, becauſe from the park ſuch perſons, as Mrs. Maſham had a mind to bring to her majeſty, could be let in privately by the garden. 'And when, (continues the 'ducheſs of Marlborough) upon 'the death of the prince, one 'would have thought, that her 'majeſty's real grief would have 'made her avoid every place 'and every object, that might 'ſenſibly revive the remembrance

1708. tague and Montroſe, the earls of Louden, Rivers, and Eſſex, the lord Ferrers, and Mr. Peregrine Bertie were ſworn of

brance of her loſs, ſhe choſe for her place of retirement his cloſet, and for ſome weeks ſpent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and, when I ſpoke to her of it, ſhe ſeemed ſurprized, juſt like a perſon, who on a ſudden become ſenſible of her having done ſomething ſhe would not have done, had ſhe duly conſidered. But the true reaſon of her majeſty's chuſing this cloſet to ſit in, was, that the back ſtairs belonging to it came from Mrs. Maſham's lodgings, who by that means could ſecretly bring to her whom ſhe pleaſed. And that a correſpondence was thus carried on with Mr. Harley, became every day more and more manifeſt by the difficulties and objections, which her majeſty had learnt to raiſe againſt almoſt every thing propoſed by her miniſters. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. Harley and his aſſociates, when at length they had compaſſed their deſigns, and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boaſt, that they, while the queen's miniſters were aſleep, were frequently at court, giving advice in ſecret, how to perplex them in all their meaſures.

But they were much miſtaken, if they imagined, that their proceedings at the time I am ſpeaking of were ſo intirely covered. The miniſters were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently repreſented to her majeſty, what a diſcouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her ſervice, to find, thas ſhe had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counſel of others, who counter-worked them in every inſtance. Upon this ſubject I myſelf wrote and ſpoke a great deal to her with my uſual plainneſs and zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no impreſſion on her in this reſpect, but that her change towards me in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and begged to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her ſo great an alteration. This drew from the queen a letter, dated October 26, 1709, wherein ſhe charges me with inveteracy (as her word is) againſt poor Maſham; and with having nothing ſo much at heart as the ruin of my couſin. In ſpeaking of the miſunderſtanding betwixt her majeſty and me, ſhe ſays, they are for nothing, that ſhe knows of, but becauſe ſhe cannot ſee with my eyes, and hear with my ears. And adds, That it is impoſſible for me to recover her former kindneſs, but that ſhe ſhall behave herſelf to me, as the duke of Marlborough's wife, and her groom of the ſtole. This declaration ſo plain and expreſs of her majeſty's thorough change towards me was the more extraordinary, as in this ſame letter are theſe words: You have aſked me once or twice, if you had

of the privy-council; as, a little before, were chief-juſtice Holt, the duke of Queenſberry, the earls of Seafield, Scarborough, and Renelagh, and lord Coningſby. The earl of Cholmondeley was made treaſurer of the houſhold in the room of the earl of Bradford, deceaſed, Sir Thomas Felton comptroller, and Mr. Edmund Dunch maſter of the houſhold. Sir James Mountague attorney-general, and Mr. Robert Eyre ſollicitor-general, the duke of Dorſet was appointed, the 3d of December, conſtable of Dover, and warden of the Cinque-Ports. 1708.

'had committed any fault, that I was ſo changed; and I told you, no, becauſe I do not think it a crime in any one not to be of my mind. Upon the receipt of letter, I immediately ſet myſelf to draw up a long narrative of a ſeries of faithful ſervices for about twenty-ſix years paſt; of the great ſenſe the queen formerly had of my ſervices; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them; of the uſe I had made of that favour; and of my loſing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raiſed out of the duſt. And, knowing how great a reſpect her majeſty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative the directions given by the author of the Whole Duty of Man with relation to Friendſhip; the directions in the Common-Prayer-Book before the communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by biſhop Taylor upon the ſame head: and I concluded with giving my word to her majeſty, that if, after reading theſe, ſhe would pleaſe only to anſwer in two words, that ſhe was ſtill of the ſame opinion, as when ſhe wrote that harſh letter, which occaſioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the leaſt trouble upon any ſubject, but the buſineſs of my office, as long as I ſhould have the honour to continue her ſervant; aſſuring her, that, however ſhe might be changed towards me, and how much ſoever we might ſtill differ in opinion, I ſhould ever remember, that ſhe was my miſtreſs and my queen, and ſhould always pay her the reſpect due from a faithful ſervant and dutiful ſubject. I ſent from St. Albans this narrative, which ſhe promiſed to read and anſwer. And, ten days after, writing to me upon another occaſion, ſhe ſaid ſhe had not leiſure yet to read all my papers, but, when ſhe had, ſhe would ſend me ſome anſwer. But none ever came, nor had my papers any apparent effect of her majeſty, except that, after my coming to town, as ſhe was paſſing by me, in order to receive the communion, ſhe looked with much good nature, and very graciouſly ſmiled upon me. But the ſmile and pleaſant look, I had reaſon afterwards to think, were given to biſhop Taylor and the Common-Prayer-Book, and not to me.'

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CHAP. II.

The second parliament of Great-Britain meets. — Eldeſt ſons of Scotch peers incapacitated to ſit in parliament. — A Scotch peer made a peer of Great-Britain not to vote in Scotland.—Faction among the Scots in parliament. —A bill for naturalizing foreign proteſtants paſſed.—Proceedings about the Scotch invaſion.—And about the act concerning trials of treaſon in Scotland.—Act of grace.—The ſeſſion ends.—Negotiations for a peace.—The preliminaries agreed on.—They are rejected by the French.—Campaign in Flanders.—Tournay taken.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Remark on it.—Mons taken.—Campaign on the Rhine.—In Piedmont.—Battle of Caya.—Affairs in Denmark. —Admiralty put in commiſſion.

1708. THE new parliament of Great-Britain met, the 16th of November, with great advantage; for the preſent miniſtry was now wholly ſuch, as gave an intire content to all, who wiſhed well to the public affairs; and the great ſucceſſes abroad ſilenced thoſe, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to find fault and complain. The queen did not think it decent to come to parliament during this whole ſeſſion; and therefore, having granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal, appointing the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the lord-treaſurer, the lord-ſteward, and the maſter of the horſe, to repreſent her royal perſon, the commons were deſired to come up to the houſe of peers, and hear the commiſſion read. Which done, the lord-chancellor ſignified to the commons, that they ſhould immediately proceed to the choice of a ſpeaker, and preſent him the Thurſday following. The commons being returned to their houſe, the lord William Powlet moved to chuſe for their ſpeaker Sir Richard Onſlow, a worthy man, entirely zealous for the government, and very acceptable to the whigs. He was ſeconded by Sir William Strickland. But major-general Mordaunt, by way of irony, propoſed, "That they ſhould chuſe Mr. Joddrel, the clerk of the "houſe, who, having been aſſiſtant to good ſpeakers, to in- "different ones, and to the worſt, ſeemed to be as well "qualified for that ſtation as any body." But, at laſt, general Mordaunt ſupported the lord Powlet's motion, commended Sir Richard Onſlow's experience and integrity; and added, "That, being poſſeſſed of a good eſtate, he did "not

The ſecond parliament of Great-Britain meets Nov. 16. Pr. H. C. IV. 98.

" not lie open to the temptations, that might biaſs perſons, 1708.
" who had their fortunes to make againſt the intereſt of their
" country." Upon this he was led to the chair by the lord Powlet and Sir William Strickland, after he made a ſhort ſpeech, in which he modeſtly endeavoured to decline that important truſt in ſo critical a juncture of affairs, " wherein " the good or bad ſucceſs of this neceſſary war did in a " great meaſure depend on the reſolutions of that great aſ- " ſembly." The tories, upon a ſurmiſe, that the court or whig party would have been divided between Sir Richard Onſlow and Sir Peter King, recorder of London, had deſigned to have put up Sir Thomas Hanmer; but, being diſappointed in that expectation, they thought it prudent, not being able to make a majority, unanimouſly to concur with the reſt. Indeed, the tories perceived, they had ſo little ſtrength in this parliament, that they reſolved to lie ſilent, and to wait for ſuch advantages, as the circumſtances of the affairs might afford them. The ſame day, the duke of Queenſberry was introduced into the houſe of peers by the dukes of Somerſet and Ormond, as a peer of Great-Britain, and duke of Dover. After this, both houſes adjourned to the 18th, when the commons being come to the houſe of Peers to preſent their ſpeaker, the lord-chancellor, in the name of the commiſſioners, ſignified to them the queen's intire ſatisfaction in their choice of a perſon ſo well qualified for that office, both by his great abilities, and his zeal and affection for the government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion: and then he delivered to both houſes the following ſpeech.

My lords and gentlemen,

" IN purſuance of the authority given us by her majeſty's commiſſion under the great-ſeal, among other things, to declare the cauſes of her majeſty's calling this parliament; The chancellor's ſpeech to both houſes.

" We are, by her majeſty's command, in the firſt place, to obſerve to you, that the extraordinary length of this year's campaign hath obliged her majeſty to defer your meeting longer than otherwiſe ſhe would have done, that you might be informed with the greater certainty of the ſtate and poſture of the war, in order to your reſolutions for the enſuing year.

" This neceſſary delay hath now ſo far ſhewn us the ſucceſs of affairs abroad, as that, whether you conſider the

1708. "places acquired by the allies, or the farther and conti-
"nued proofs given this laſt year of their ſuperior courage
"and conduct (which, as to the future part of the war, is
"equal to all other advantages) we may, with thanks to
"God, and juſtice to thoſe he hath been pleaſed to uſe as
"inſtruments in this great work, conclude, that, upon
"the whole, we are brought much nearer than we were
"laſt ſeſſion, to the end of our undertaking this war,
"the reducing the dangerous power of France, and ſet-
"tling ſuch a peace, as may ſecure itſelf from being vio-
"lated.

"Her majeſty therefore commands us to aſſure you, ſhe
"hath not the leaſt doubt, but that this parliament will be
"of the ſame opinion with her laſt, as to the vigorous
"proſecution of this war, and the ends of it; believing it
"impoſſible, the repreſentatives of the Britiſh nation can
"endure to think of loſing the fruits of all our paſt endea-
"vours, and the great advantages we have gained (particu-
"larly this preſent year) by ſubmitting at laſt to an inſecure
"peace.

"And therefore, ſince probably nothing can hinder our
"ſucceſs abroad for the time to come, but miſunderſtand-
"ings among ourſelves at home; we have it in command,
"to conjure you, by your duty to God, and to her ma-
"jeſty, your zeal for the proteſtant religion, your love for
"your country, and the regard you cannot but have for
"the liberty of Europe in general, to avoid all occaſions
"of diviſion, which are ever hurtful to the public, but will
"more eſpecially be ſo at this juncture, when the eyes of
"all our neighbours are upon you with a very particular
"concern; and your unanimity and good agreement will
"be the greateſt ſatisfaction and encouragement to all our
"allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"You cannot but be convinced, that the ſeveral parts of
"the war, which were provided for by the laſt parliament,
"will require your ſupport, at leaſt in the ſame degree.
"But, in Flanders, the nature of the war is much altered,
"by the great advances made there towards entering into
"France, which hath ſo far alarmed our enemies, that they
"are drawing more troops daily to that ſide, for the de-
"fence of their own country. And therefore her majeſty
"hopes you will have ſo right a ſenſe of our preſent ad-

"vantages,

" vantages, as to enable her majeſty to make a conſiderable 1708.
" augmentation for preſerving and improving them, which,
" by the continuance of God's bleſſing on our arms, muſt
" ſoon put a glorious period to this long and expenſive
" war.

" As to the condition of the fleet, we have it in command
" from her majeſty to acquaint you, that the conſtant and
" remote ſervices, in which the ſhips have been employed,
" have made a greater ſum than uſual requiſite, as well
" for the extraordinary repairs, as the building of new
" ſhips. And the taking of Port-Mahon, as it hath afford-
" the means of having a part of the fleet operate with more
" readineſs and effect on the enemy, or wherever it may be
" uſeful to the common cauſe in thoſe parts, ſo the mak-
" ing ſuch proviſions, at ſo great a diſtance, as will be pro-
" per for that ſervice, muſt of neceſſity cauſe ſome extraor-
" dinary expences. All which her majeſty recommends to
" your ſerious conſideration, deſiring you to provide timely
" and effectual ſupplies for thoſe ends; and likewiſe, for
" the carrying on ſuch fortifications for the ſecurity of our
" ports, and extinguiſhing the enemy's hopes of profiting
" by diſturbances in Scotland, as you ſhall think fit.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The union is eſteemed by her majeſty to be ſo happy
" and great a part of the ſucceſſes of her reign; and her
" majeſty hath ſo much at heart the confirming and im-
" proving it, that ſhe is pleaſed to command us, to remind
" you of preparing ſuch bills, and ſhall be thought condu-
" cing to that end; and particularly to make the laws of
" both parts of Great-Britain again agree, as near as may
" be, for the common intereſt of both people, eſpecially as
" to thoſe laws, which relate to criminal caſes and proceed-
" ings, and ſettling the militia on the ſame foot throughout
" the united kingdom.

" Her majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed we ſhould alſo aſſure
" you, that if you can propoſe any means for the improve-
" ment of our trade or manufactures, or better employment
" of the poor, her majeſty will take the greateſt ſatisfaction
" in enacting ſuch proviſions; there being nothing ſhe ſo
" earneſtly deſires, as that God would bleſs her with more
" and more opportunities of doing all poſſible good to ſo
" well deſerving a people, ſo firm and affectionate to her
" intereſts.

" And

1708. "And as her majeſty doth not doubt, by God's bleſſing and your good affections, to continue to defeat the "deſigns of the pretender, and his open or ſecret abettors; "ſo her majeſty will always endeavour, on her part, to "make her people happy to ſuch a degree, as that none "(except of deſperate fortunes) ſhall enter into meaſures "for the diſturbance of her government, the union, or the "proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, without acting at the ſame time manifeſtly againſt their own true and "laſting intereſt, as well as their duty."

Both houſes immediately reſolved upon addreſſes of condolance upon the death of prince George, and of congratulation for the glorious ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign. Which addreſſes were preſented in a private way to the queen, that of the lords by the marquis of Dorcheſter, and that of the commons by ſuch members as were of the privy-council.

Partiality in judging elections. Burnet.

The proceedings in both houſes this ſeſſion were agreeable to the directions given at court; for, the court being now joined with the whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing: all elections were judged in favour of whigs, and courtiers, but with ſo much partiality, that thoſe, who had formerly made loud complaints of the injuſtice of the tories, in determining elections, when they were a majority, were not ſo much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the ſame thing: they pretended they were in a ſtate of war with the tories, ſo that in was reaſonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings: but this did not ſatisfy juſt and upright men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their friends (g).

The

(g) It was propoſed, that all queſtions at the trial of elections ſhould (if any member inſiſted on it) be determined by ballot, but it was carried in the negative. The houſe, having heard the merits of the conteſted election for the city of Weſtminſter, ſent Huggins, then high-bailiff, to Newgate, for refuſing to tender the oaths of abjuration; and voted Thomas Medlicot, eſq; who was ſet up by the tories, in oppoſition to Sir Henry Dutton Colt, to be duly elected for that city, yeas 154, noes 142. Several accidents happened to Sir Henry's diſadvantage in that conteſt, in which the whigs, for the moſt part, favoured him, though they did not much eſteem or love him, otherwiſe than as he

was

The chief buſineſs of this ſeſſion was concerning the ſupply, the Scotch elections and invaſion, the naturalization of foreign proteſtants, and the trials of treaſons in Scotland. 1708.

The ſupplies, that were demanded, were granted very unanimouſly in the houſe of commons, not only for maintaining the force then on foot, but for an augmentation of ten thouſand men more. This was thought neceſſary to preſs the war with more ſtrength, as the ſureſt way to bring on a ſpeedy peace. The ſtates agreed to the like augmentation on their ſide. The French, according to their uſual vanity, gave out, that they had great deſigns in view the next campaign: and it was confidently reported by the jacobites, that a new invaſion was deſigned both in Scotland and on Ireland. The whole ſupply, voted by the commons for the ſervice of the year 1709, amounted to above ſeven millions. The land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, and the duty on malt, were readily agreed to; but it took ſome time to find funds for the reſt, and it would have proved a very difficult matter, if the bank of England had not offered to circulate two millions five hundred thouſand pounds in exchequer bills for the government, on condition the time for their continuance was enlarged twenty-one years from Auguſt 1, 1711, and their ſtock of two millions, two hundred and one thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy-one pounds was doubled by a new ſubſcription. The commons agreed to the propoſal, addreſſed the queen to iſſue out a commiſſion under the great ſeal for taking the ſubſcriptions; which being done, the books were opened at Mercers-hall, on the 22d of February, about nine in the morning, and by one o'clock in the afternoon, the whole ſum of two millions, two hundred and one thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy-one

The ſupplies granted for the year 1709.

An enlargement of the bank. Pr. H. C.

was a man of revolution principles. Huggins is the ſame perſon, that lay lately ſo long in Newgate for a criminal caſe, in the exerciſe of the office of warden of the fleet. On the other hand, Sir Simon Harcourt having been returned for Abington, and Mr. John Hucks having lodged a petition againſt him, the cauſe was argued, and the bates continued till two in the morning, on the 28th of January, when Mr. Hucks carried it by a great majority. Sir Simon took his leave of the houſe with a ſpeech, which he began with aſſerting: 'Whatever the 'determination of this houſe 'may be, this I am ſure of, 'and it muſt be admitted, that 'I am as duly elect for the bo'rough of Abington as ever any 'man was.'

pounds

1708. pounds (at the rate of an hundred and fifteen pounds for every hundred pound) was subscribed. Such was the crowd of people, that brought their money to this new fund, that it was believed a million more would have been subscribed before night, if there had been room. This shewed both the wealth of the nation and their entire confidence in the government. It was observable, at this very juncture, the French court had a project for erecting a royal-bank for circulating their mint-bills, but the design was soon found to be impracticable, because of the great scarcity of money in that kingdom, and the almost entire ruin of their public credit. By this subscription, and by a further prolongation of the general mortgage of the revenue, the commons created good funds for answering all the money they had voted in the beginning of the session. The two third subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by the bank scheme.

The peers of Scotland's eldest sons incapacitated to sit in parliament. Pr. H. C.

The Scotch elections occasioned great debates in both houses. The commons, on the 3d of December, took into consideration that part of the act of union, which relates to the election of members to serve in that house for Scotland. The petitions and representations, concerning the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scots peers to sit in the parliament of Great-Britain, were read, and council heard upon it. The substance both of these representations and the council's arguments, was, 'That by an act of the 'Scots parliament, intitled, An act for settling the manner 'of electing sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to re-'present Scotland in the parliament of Great-Britain, which 'act was ratified by the act for uniting the two kingdoms; 'it is declared, That none shall be capable to elect, or be 'elected, to represent a shire or burgh in the parliament of 'Great-Britain for this part of the united kingdom, except 'such as are now capable to elect, or be elected, as com-'missioners for shires or burghs to the parliament of Scot-'land:' that from hence it evidently followed, that the Scots peers eldest sons could not sit in the house of commons of Great-Britain, unless it did appear, that they were capable to be elected, and sit as members of the parliament of Scotland. But, as a proof of the contrary, several instances were alledged of their being always rejected by the parliament of Scotland, and, in particular, the viscount Turbat's eldest son, in the year 1685, and the lord Levingston, in the year 1689. That the fundamental law of the union had most expresly reserved to the commons of Scot-

land

and that valuable privilege of electing their repreſentatives in parliament, from among the beſt qualified gentlemen of their own number and ſtate, in the ſame manner as they had formerly uſed to do. That, in electing members of parliament, the choice of the electors ought to be made as free as is poſſible, from the influence either of bribes or threats, and, in juſtice, ſhould only be determined by the honeſty and candour of the perſon to be choſen; and his character be ſuch, as promiſes a faithful diſcharge of ſo great a truſt; and that his inclination be accompanied with a ſufficient capacity to maintain this character; the commons there being ſurrounded with a numerous and powerful peerage, who, like ſo many ſovereigns, judge and determine within their reſpective bounds, in criminal as well as civil matters, being veſted with vaſt ſuperiorities and hereditary juriſdictions, ſo that no commoner, holding any part of his lands of a peer, or indeed being in his neighbourhood, could be reckoned at liberty to make a free election of his repreſentative: and therefore the commons of Scotland whereof, the majority of their parliament conſiſted, had invincible argument for preſerving intire to themſelves that neceſſary privilege of excluding their peers eldeſt ſons from being members of that houſe. That if the parliament of Scotland, which conſiſted of peers and commoners, ſitting together in the ſame houſe, enjoying the ſame liberty of ſpeech, and the ſame common privileges and judicative capacity, being alſo reſtricted to the ſame rules and forms, had ſo many weighty reaſons for excluding their peers eldeſt ſons; how many more arguments of greater moment might be urged in the houſe of commons of Great-Britain, who were a ſeparate and diſtinct houſe of peers, enjoying by themſelves ſo many valuable privileges and immunities, which could not be incroached upon, or ſubjected to a houſe of peers, without endangering the whole conſtitution of the houſe of commons? and, in the laſt place, That, England and Scotland being now united, and their intereſts inſeparably joined, it ought to be a maxim with all true Britons, that the liberty of the commons of Scotland will always be an advantage to thoſe of England; and that the ſlavery of the firſt cannot fail ending in the deſtruction of the latter. 1708.

Little being offered on the other ſide againſt theſe arguments, the eldeſt ſons of the peers of Scotland were declared incapable to ſit in parliament; and, three days after, the

1708. the commons ordered their ſpeaker to iſſue out his warrants to the clerk of the crown, to make out new writs for the electing commiſſioners for the ſhire of Aberdeen, in the room of William lord Haddo; and for the ſhire of Linlithgow, in the room of James lord Johnſtown, who, being eldeſt ſons of peers of Scotland, were declared to be incapable to ſit in that houſe.

Debates about the election of the peers of Scotland. Burnet.

A petition of a new nature was likewiſe brought before the lords, with relation to the election of the peers from Scotland. There was a return made in due form; but a petition was laid before the houſe, in the name of four lords, who pretended that they ought to have been returned. The duke of Queenſberry had been created a duke of Great-Britain by the title of duke of Dover, yet he thought he had ſtill a right to vote as a peer of Scotland. He had likewiſe a proxy; ſo that two votes depended on this point, whether the Scots peerage did ſink into the peerage of Great-Britain. Some lords, who were priſoners in the caſtle of Edinburgh, on ſuſpicion, as favouring the pretendery had ſent for the ſheriff of Lothian to the caſtle, and had taken the oaths before him, and upon that were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a proxy. Now it was pretended, that the caſtle of Edinburgh was a conſtabulatory, and was out of the ſheriff's juriſdiction; and that therefore he could not legally tender them the oaths. Some proxies were ſigned without ſubſcribing witneſſes, a form neceſſary by their law. Other exceptions were alſo taken from ſome rules of the law of Scotland, which had not been obſerved. The clerks being alſo complained of, they were ſent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all inſtruments or documents relating to the election. When they came up, and every thing was laid before the houſe of lords, the whole matter was long and well debated.

A Scottiſh peer, made a peer of Great-Britain, was to have no vote in Scotland.

As to the duke of Queenſberry's voting among the Scots lords, it was ſaid, that if a peer of Scotland, being made a peer of Great-Britain, did ſtill retain the intereſt in electing the ſixteen from Scotland, this would create a great inequality among peers; ſome having a vote by repreſentation, as well as in perſon. The precedent was miſchievous, ſince, by creating ſome of the chief families of Scotland peers of Great-Britain, they would be able to carry the whole election of the ſixteen as they pleaſed. It was objected, that, by a clauſe in the act paſſed ſince the union, the peers of England, who were likewiſe peers of Scotland, had a right to vote in the election of Scotland ſtill reſerved.

to

to them; ſo there ſeemed to be a parity in this caſe with that. But it was anſwered, That a peer of England, and a peer of Scotland, held their dignity under two different crowns, and by two different great ſeals: but, Great-Britain including Scotland as well as England, the Scots peerage muſt now ſink into that of Great-Britain. Beſides, that there were but five, who were peers of both kingdoms before the union; and therefore, as it might be reaſonable to make proviſion for them, ſo it was of no great conſequence; but, if this precedent were allowed, it might go much farther, and have very ill conſequences. Upon a diviſion of the houſe, the matter was determined againſt the duke of Queenſberry. 1708.

A great deal was ſaid both at the bar by the lawyers, and in the debate in the houſe, upon the point of juriſdiction, and of the exemption of a conſtabulatory. It was ſaid, that the ſheriff's court ought to be, as all courts were, open and free, and ſo could not be held within a caſtle or priſon. But no expreſs deciſion had ever been made in this matter. The priſoners had taken the oaths, which was the chief intent of the law, in the beſt manner they could; ſo that it ſeemed not reaſonable to cut them off from the main privilege of peerage, which was reſerved to them, becauſe they could not go abroad to the ſheriff's court. After a long debate, it was carried, that the oaths were duly tendered to them. Some other exceptions were proved and admitted; the returns of ſome, certifying that they had taken the oaths, were not ſealed; and ſome had ſigned theſe without ſubſcribing witneſſes. Other exceptions were offered from proviſions, which the law of Scotland had made, with relation to bonds and other deeds, which had not been obſerved in making of proxies. But the houſe of lords did not think theſe were of that importance, as to vacate the proxies on that account. After a full hearing, and a debate, which laſted many days, there was but one of the peers, who were returned, that was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning lords was brought into the houſe; the marquis of Annandale was received, and the marquis of Lothian was ſet aſide. Other exceptions were determined.

The Scots members in both houſes were divided into factions. The duke of Queenſberry had his party ſtill depending upon him. He was in ſuch credit with the lord-treaſurer and the queen, that all the poſts in Scotland were given to perſons recommended by him. The chief miniſters at court ſeemed to have laid it down for a maxim not to be A faction among the Scots in parliament. Burnet.

departed

1708. departed from, to look carefully to elections in Scotland; that the members returned from thence might be in an intire dependence on them, and be either whigs or tories, as they ſhould ſhift ſides. The duke of Queenſberry was made third ſecretary of ſtate: he had no foreign province aſſigned him, but Scotland was left to his management. The dukes of Hamilton, Montroſs, and Roxburgh, had ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to his power, and had carried many elections againſt him. The lord Sommers and the earl of Sunderland ſupported them, but could not prevail with the lord-treaſurer to bring them into an equal ſhare of the adminiſtration. This had almoſt occaſioned a breach; for the whigs, though they went on in a conjunction with the lord-treaſurer, yet continued ſtill to be jealous of him.

A bill for a general naturalization of all proteſtants.

The bill for naturalizing all proteſtant foreigners was alſo the ſubject of great debates this ſeſſion. Since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, ſo fatal to France, by the decreaſe of her trade, and the loſs of numberleſs ſubjects, England abounded with French proteſtants. They had indeed been well received, but with much more reſerve than in the United Provinces, Brandenburgh, and Pruſſia. They had however done all the ſervice they could; and the Engliſh themſelves had not behaved with more bravery and reſentment againſt France than theſe refugees. For ever excluded from their native country, they had long been ſeeking to be incorporated by an act of naturalization with a people, to whom they had fled for refuge. But their endeavours had hitherto proved ineffectual. The preſent parliament, wherein the whigs had the majority, whoſe maxim it was to countenance foreign proteſtants, at length granted their deſire. For, on the 5th of February, Mr. Wortley Montague made a motion for a bill for naturalizing foreign proteſtants, and, in a ſet ſpeech, ſhewed the advantages that would accrue to the nation by ſuch an act; alledging, amongſt other particulars, "the example of the king of Pruſſia, who had not "only invited, but furniſhed abundance of French refugees "with means to ſettle in his dominions; whereby he had "fertilized an almoſt barren country, improving trade, and "vaſtly increaſed his revenue." Adding, "That if foreigners were induced to ſettle under a deſpotic govern-"ment, where they found protection and encouragement, "they would undoubtedly be the more inclined to bring "their effects, and at leaſt their induſtry, into Great-Bri-"tain, where they would ſhare the privileges of a free na-"tion."

"tion." Mr. Compton, and ſeveral other members, ſupporting this motion, the houſe ordered the bill to be prepared and brought in. 1708.

Whilſt this bill was depending, a paper was printed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, importing, 1ſt, That the Conflux of Aliens, as would probably be the effect of ſuch a law, might prove dangerous to our conſtitution; for theſe would owe allegiance to their reſpective princes, and retain a fondneſs for their native countries; and therefore, whenſoever a war ſhould break out, might prove ſo many ſpies and enemies. And, beſides this pretence, the profeſſed enemies of our eſtabliſhed church and religion might flock over, with deſign to effect its overthrow. 2dly, That a general naturalization might undoubtedly ſpread an univerſal diſguſt and jealouſy throughout the nation; there having been many complaints and commotions in London, and elſewhere, on occaſion of foreigners. 3dly, That the deſign of inviting multitudes of aliens to ſettle here, might prove in time a further miſchief; for they would not only be capable of voting at elections, but alſo of being choſen members of parliament; have admiſſion into places of truſt and authority, which, in proceſs of time, might endanger our ancient polity and government, and, by frequent intermarriages, go a great way to blot out and extinguiſh the Engliſh race (h). Reaſons againſt it. Pr. H. C.

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(h) Several other reaſons were urged, as, 4. That anciently naturalizations by act of parliament were ſeldom or never made, but upon ſpecial reaſons, and for particular occaſions. And tho' ſome acts have given encouragement to foreign merchants and weavers to ſettle here; it was when our weaving-trade, and other manufactures, were inconſiderable to the advancement they have ſince attained: and, that from the ſettlement of the great cuſtoms in Edward the Firſt's time, in all acts of parliament for ſubſidies ſince paſſed, aliens had always been charged with an increaſe of cuſtoms above natives, and a diſcrimination kept up between them; as was particularly remarked by the learned lord-chief-juſtice Hale, in a tract againſt a general naturalization. 5. That it was more than probable, that the greateſt number that would come over, would be of poor people, which would be of fatal conſequence with reſpect to the many poor induſtrious families, who would thereby be reduced to the uttermoſt ſtraits; it being evident, that no hands were wanted to carry on our manufactures, from the great quantities that lay on hand, their cheapneſs, and the lowneſs of wages now given. What then would be the effect of ſuch an addition? For theſe aliens would altogether ſettle in places of manufacture; there being no inſtances

1708. The majority of the houſe eaſily diſcerned the fallacy of theſe popular arguments, being thoroughly convinced, both by their own obſervation, and the reaſons alledged both within and without the walls, that (as the preamble of the bill

Reaſons for it.

ſtances of any of the late refugees betaking themſelves to the ſpade, plough, or flail. And it would be a very great charge to thoſe pariſhes wherein they ſhould ſettle; there being now great numbers of French, who, for want of work, were relieved; and, in a great meaſure, maintained by the queen's bounty and charity of their churches, and other well-diſpoſed perſons, who, when naturalized, would have recourſe to their own reſpective pariſhes for an allowance. 6. That a general naturalization would, in effect, defeat the patent of the act of navigation, which had always been eſteemed to conduce to the intereſt of the nation, by the encouragement and increaſe of Engliſh mariners, and advance of trade. 7. That hereby, in proceſs of time, aliens would be advanced in riches, and her majeſty's ſubjects impoveriſhed; for thoſe beneficial trades, buying and ſelling by commiſſions, remittances, and exchanges of money, would, in a great meaſure, be ingroſſed by foreigners, by reaſon of their many friends and relations abroad. Beſides, ſuch aliens generally living in lodgings, and at little charge, frequently eſcaping public taxes and pariſh duties, would be able to underſell and undermine the native merchants. 8. That hereby the treaſure of the nation would be exhauſted and remitted into foreign parts; for it might well be ſuppoſed, that thoſe aliens, that have valuable eſtates, could not or would not tranſport the greateſt part thereof hither; and, leaving children, and their neareſt relations behind them, they would come hither only upon a deſign of getting riches, and to return home again therewith, particularly upon a proſpect of war; an inſtance of which we have in the practice of our merchants, who, when they have got eſtates abroad, conſtantly return home to enjoy the ſame. 9. That the queen's cuſtoms would hereby be conſiderably diminiſhed; for many ſtatutes, which lay a greater duty on aliens than on natives, would, as to this, be repealed. 10. That opportunity would hereby be given to merchants, to colour the goods and merchandizes of other ſtrangers beyond ſea, their correſpondents, friends, or relations, to the great detriment of her majeſty's cuſtoms, and trade of the native ſubjects; a practice which was offered to be proved before their late majeſties and the lords of the treaſury; which reaſons did influence the judgments of our anceſtors, as appears by the ſtatutes of 1 Hen. VII. c. 11. 11 Hen. VII. c. 14. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8. 11. That the duties of package and ſeavage of the goods of all merchants, as well denizens as aliens, were the indiſpenſible right and inheritance of the commonalty and citizens of London, let to farm by leaſe (wherein

bill ſet forth) 'the increaſe of people is a means of ad- 1708.
'vancing the wealth and ſtrength of a nation.' This maxim was abundantly verified, not only in Pruſſia, Holland, and other proteſtant countries, which had greatly increaſed in riches by the French refugees ſettling there, but principally in Great-Britain, where, by the induſtry of the refugees, ſeveral new manufactures had been ſet up, and others improved, to the great advancement of trade, and the total turning the balance thereof, to the prejudice of France, and the benefit of this nation. That, beſides the improvement of commerce, the French refugees had greatly contributed towards the ſupport of the revolution ſettlement, by putting the beſt part of their own ſubſtance, and of their friends and relations abroad, into the public funds; of which they had a freſh inſtance, in ſubſcribing near five hundred thouſand pounds into the bank of England; ſo that, by a modeſt computation, the refugees were reckoned to have above two millions ſterling in the government. That, as they could not be ſuppoſed to have brought one half of that money into England, ſo it was prudence to divert the thoughts they might have, upon the concluſion of the war, of carrying their vaſt gains abroad (which would very much leſſen the cur-

(wherein were about eighteen years to come) for a fine of one thouſand pounds, and the yearly rent of nine hundred and fifty pounds; and, among other things, were, by act of parliament, charged towards the raiſing of eight thouſand pounds per annum for ever to the orphans, and other creditors of the ſaid city; which duties would be wholly loſt, to the great prejudice of the ſaid city, and would render them incapable to ſupport the government of the ſame.

12. And, in the laſt place, That, the nation being now engaged in an expenſive, though neceſſary war, taxes high, trade obſtructed, great quantities of woollen, and other manufactures, lay unſold; and, as an effect hereof, the ſeveral prices of making them very ſmall, many families deſtitute of work throughout the kingdom. What then, at ſuch a time as this, muſt be the conſequence of inviting hither, by a general naturalization, multitudes of poor foreigners, who would only employ themſelves in trade and manufactures?

About the ſame time the city of London having, on the 18th of February, petitioned the commons, that they might be heard by their council againſt the bill, and their requeſt being granted, their lawyers chiefly inſiſted on the 11th of the above-mentioned reaſons; but upon examination it was found, that the duties of package and ſeavage did not, of late, yield above twenty pounds per annum, moſt of the foreign merchants having been already naturalized.

1708. rent cash and credit of Great-Britain) by granting them the advantages and privileges enjoyed by her majesty's natural born subjects; which would not only engage them to settle here, but likewise bring over such of their friends and relations, as might hope to inherit their estates. That the French refugees had at all times, in their several stations and capacities, given signal proofs of their love for our happy constitution, and of their zeal and affection for the government; and, in particular, such of them, as had military employments, which they had discharged, both in the late and present war, with distinguishing bravery and conduct. That this war had already consumed such vast number of men, that it was highly necessary to supply that loss, by inviting foreigners to come over, whether the war continued, which would still increase the scarcity of men; or whether it was drawing to a period; in which case a great number of hands would be requisite to carry on the manufactures. In short, that all the objections against a naturalization were grounded upon this false supposition, 'that 'foreigners 'would ever continue, and be looked upon as such;' which was sufficiently confuted by past and daily experience.

The bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent. Burnet.

When those who were against the bill perceived they should have no strength, if they set themselves directly to oppose it, they studied to limit strangers in the receiving the sacrament, to the way of the church of England. This probably would not have hindered many, who were otherwise disposed to come among us: for the much greater part of the French came into the way of our church. But it was thought best to cast the door as wide open as possible, for encouraging of strangers; and therefore since, upon their first coming over, some might chuse the way, to which they had been accustomed beyond sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any protestant communion. Accordingly, the bill was carried in the house of commons by a great majority, for naturalizing all foreign protestants, upon their taking the oaths to the government, and receiving the sacrament in any protestant church. All those that appeared for this comprehensive way, were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the church. Of this the bishop of Sarum had a large share; for, when the bill was brought up to the lords, he spoke copiously for it; whilst the bishop of Chester spoke as zealously against it, who seemed resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called High Church. The bill passed with very little opposition, though it was protested

teſted againſt by ſeveral lords, as prejudicial to trade and manufactures, and of ill conſequence to our liberties and religion (i). 1708.

The other ſubjects of debate in this ſeſſion were, the inquiry into the Scotch invaſion, and the trials of treaſon in Scotland. What gave riſe to the great and long debates on theſe affairs, was this: upon the attempt made by the pretender, many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had all along adhered to that intereſt, were ſecured; and, after the fleet was got back to Dunkirk, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up priſoners to London; when they came, there was no evidence at all againſt them, ſo they were diſmiſſed, and ſent back to Scotland. No exceptions could be taken to the ſecuring them, while there was danger: but, ſince nothing beſides preſumptions lay againſt them, the bringing them up to London, at ſuch a charge, and under ſuch a diſgrace, was much cenſured, as an unreaſonable and an unjuſt ſeverity; and was made uſe of, to give that nation a further averſion to the union. That whole matter was managed by the Scotch lords then in the miniſtry, by which they both revenged themſelves on ſome of their enemies, and made a ſhew of zeal for the government; though ſuch as did not believe them ſincere in theſe profeſſions, thought it was done on deſign to exaſperate the Scots the more, and ſo to diſpoſe them to wiſh for another invaſion. The whig miniſtry in England diſowned all theſe proceedings, and uſed the Scots priſoners ſo well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: but the lord Godolphin fatally adhered to the Scotch miniſters, and ſupported them, by which the advantage that might have been made from theſe ſevere proceedings was loſt. Hence it was, that the lords having ordered their members to attend on the 10th of January, they took into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to the late invaſion of Scotland. The lord Haverſham opened the debate with a long ſpeech, wherein he ſet forth, that the nation expected an inquiry into this matter, in which not only their welfare, but their very being itſelf, the ſecurity of the nation, and the ſafety of the queen, were highly concerned. For the ſucceſſes of their arms had not diſabled the French king from making farther attempts. Beſides, it was plain, his chief dependence in the late invaſion was from

Inquiry into the inva. of Sc. Pr. H. L.

Pr. H. C.

(i) Buckingham, Guernſey, Scarſdale, North and Grey, Angleſea, Guilford, and Nottingham. Pr. H. L. Vol. II. 261.

1708. the encouragement he had from hence; and yet, notwithſtanding all inquiries, it was ſtill a great myſtery, who the perſons were, that were concerned in that unnatural treaſon. It is true, ſeveral perſons of great quality had been taken up on ſuſpicion, but had any thing been proved againſt them? The French king had more encouragement, than before, to renew his attempt upon us, ſince the methods hitherto taken to diſcover the many friends he has among us had ſignified ſo little. Another encouragement was the defenceleſs condition of Scotland, the deficiency of forces, and ill ſtate of the garriſons at the time of the invaſion, notwithſtanding the certain account we had of it. He concluded with ſaying, "My lords, if your lordſhips have "any intention of looking into this matter, I ſhall make "your lordſhips a motion, which perhaps may give us ſome "light. It is, That her majeſty will pleaſe to order that "there may be laid before this houſe, at what time her ma"jeſty received the firſt account of the intended invaſion? "What orders were thereupon iſſued into Scotland, with "relation either to forces or garriſons? What was the num"ber of regular troops and forces there at the time of this "intelligence? What was the ſtate of the garriſons there at "that time? What augmentation was made, or forces "ſent thither, from the time of the intelligence, to the "time of the invaſion? What orders had been given with "relation to the garriſons, and when, both before and "ſince the invaſion, from the time of the firſt intelli"gence?"

The lord Haverſham having ended this ſpeech, ſeveral other peers ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. Whereupon the houſe appointed a committee, to inquire into the ſtate of the nation in relation to the intended invaſion, and ordered an addreſs to be preſented to the queen, to deſire that the papers concerning that affair might be laid before them; which was readily complied with.

Lord Haverſham opens the account of the Scotch invaſion. Pr. H. L.

Not long after this addreſs, the lord Haverſham opened, in the houſe of lords, the account of the Scotch invaſion, in a much longer ſpeech, wherein he obſerves, that the lords, who ſeconded his motion for the papers to be laid before them, never ſo much as looked into them, or have mentioned the matter ſince: perhaps, they will ſay they never intended it; and that they called for the papers only to covet ſome deſign, or to try how an act of grace will reliſh, to which, as he was innocent, he ſhould not give his conſent. As to the papers, he had looked into them, and,

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with their lordſhips leave, would take notice of ſome particulars: Mr Boyle received certain intelligence, the 23d of February, that the armament of Dunkirk was intended for Scotland; and the queen, on the 25th, impowers her privy-council there to put her forces, forts and garriſons in the beſt order. There were not at that time above fifteen hundred men of regular forces in Scotland. Though this was an inſufficient ſtrength, and though the parliament raiſed the eſtabliſhment, December 20, 1707, from two thouſand eight hundred and thirty-four, to five thouſand nine hundred and thirty-two, yet there was little or no augmentation made, nor had the council one ſhilling for neceſſary expences the 11th of March, nor ſo much as one penny ordered till the 13th, neither was the eſtabliſhment ſettled till after the invaſion. He then proceeds to ſhew, that when Scotland was in this defenceleſs condition, what aſſiſtance they had from Oſtend, England, and Ireland. The tranſports from Oſtend, did not arrive at Tinmouth bay, till ten days after the enemy were ſeen on the Scotch coaſt, ſo that the diſpute, had there been any, would have been over before they could come up. As to the troops from England, they had not orders to march till the 14th of March, which, conſidering the length of the march from hence to Edinburgh, was certainly too long a delay. As for the troops from Ireland, the very orders to provide tranſports were not given by the lord Sunderland till the 12th of March here, nor by the lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the troops to be in a readineſs till the 13th. Now, conſidering what time would be taken up in providing neceſſaries for tranſporting the troops, it ſeems very evident, that the queen was not truly acquainted with the danger ſhe was in, and that theſe forces muſt arrive in Scotland very late. He then took notice of the wretched ſtate of the garriſons, particularly of the caſtles of Stirling, Blackneſs, and Dumbarton, and concluded with ſaying, "I will not trouble you farther: I think "this matter is now very plain before your lordſhips; I "could wiſh I had not ſaid one word of truth in what I "have ſaid to you, but the vouchers ſhew it to be ſo; and, "if all this be true, it is a very ſtrange, a very ſurpriſing, "and a very aſtoniſhing truth. 1708.

"I ſhall not move any thing to your lordſhips farther in "this matter: I believe there has been enough now ſaid, "to juſtify thoſe lords for moving this inquiry, and ſhall "add but this word, that if there be no greater care taken "for the future than there was at this time, of ſuch im-

1708. "minent danger, it will be the greateſt miracle in the world, "if, without a miracle, the pretender be not placed upon "that throne."

This is the ſubſtance of what was obſerved by lord Haverſham, though there happened ſome interlocutions between him and another lord; and ſome obſervations were made upon the papers as they were read. The duke of Buckingham and ſeveral peers ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. Upon which it was ordered, that the affair ſhould be conſidered the Tueſday following in a full houſe. But all ended in a joint addreſs, as will preſently be ſeen.

The commons proceedings about the invaſion. Pr. H. C.

During theſe debates in the houſe of lords, the commons had alſo taken the affair of the invaſion into conſideration. Purſuant to an addreſs they had preſented to the queen, Mr. Boyle laid before the houſe a ſtate of the whole matter of the deſigned invaſion of North-Britain; the proceedings againſt the late lord Griffin, and others taken in open rebellion, and alſo an account of the names of all thoſe that were taken up, and the proceedings againſt them; and, in what poſture of defence the caſtles and garriſons of North-Britain were at that time, and now are. Not long after the commons reſolved to preſent another addreſs to the queen, 'That there might be laid before them a liſt of 'the ſhips of war employed on account of the late invaſion 'under vice-admiral Byng, and rear-admiral Baker, and of 'the names of the captains, who were employed in that 'expedition, and what journals had been delivered in, re'lating to the ſame.' But after all theſe addreſſes, when the papers, relating to this affair, came to be conſidered, the houſe at length reſolved, 'Firſt, That orders were not 'iſſued for the marching of the troops in England until 'the fourteenth day of March, it being neceſſary for the 'ſecurity of her majeſty's perſon and government, that the 'troops in this part of the kingdom ſhould not march into 'Scotland, till there was certain intelligence that the enemy 'intended to land in that part of the united kingdom. Se'condly, That timely and effectual care was taken by thoſe 'employed under her majeſty, at the time of the intended 'invaſion of Scotland, to diſappoint the deſigns of her ma'jeſty's enemies both at home and abroad, by fitting out a 'ſufficient number of men of war, ordering a competent 'number of troops from Flanders, giving directions for the 'forces in Ireland to be ready for the aſſiſtance of the na'tion, and by making the neceſſary and proper diſpoſitions 'of the forces in England.' Purſuant to theſe reſolutions,

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an addreſs was drawn up, and preſented to the queen with the concurrence of the lords (k). 1708.

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(k) However, the author of a piece, ſuppoſed to be written by the lord Haverſham himſelf, and publiſhed in 1709, in 4to, under the title of 'An account of the late invaſion, as it was opened by lord Haverſham, in the houſe of lords, on Friday the 25th of February, 1708-9: with ſome obſervations that were made in the houſe of commons, and true copies of authentic papers, in a letter from a gentleman in South-Britain, to his friend in North-Britain,' obſerves, p. 20, &c. 'That the ſame papers being laid before the houſe of commons, purſuant to their addreſs, produced the like obſervations there, and that the Scots gentlemen concurred with the Engliſh, in blaming the conduct of the miniſtry; affirming it was ſuch as gave great encouragement to the enemies of the government; while its friends look on their country to be perfectly given up. This, they ſaid, was their general ſenſe. In the houſe of commons, ſome obſervations were alſo made upon the impriſoning many perſons in Scotland at that time; ſeveral lords and gentlemen of the beſt quality and eſtates were apprehended and ſeized, by virtue of warrants ſent from hence for ſuſpicion of treaſon and treaſonable practices; though it does not appear from the papers, that there was any cauſe to ſuſpect; nor that any of their countrymen (who were the propereſt perſons to be adviſed with on this occaſion) were conſulted in it. For the earl of Mar, in his letter to the earl of Leven, March 9, writes, That he, with the dukes of Queenſberry and Montroſs, the earls of Loudon and Seafield, were ſummoned to the cabinet, and were told there, that ſince both houſes had, for ſecuring ſuſpected perſons, ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act, it was fit perſons in Scotland ſhould be apprehended; and a liſt was read to them, which they took down in writing, and warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and the more extraordinary, becauſe the greateſt part of the lords and gentlemen, taken up by theſe warrants, had given undoubted teſtimonies, ever ſince the revolution (in which ſome of them had been very active and inſtrumental) of their fidelity and good affection to the government; they had taken all oaths that have been enjoined for their ſecurity; they had ſat in parliament; and ſome of them had been in offices and employments of great truſt in the reign of king William and of her majeſty. Others, under the like circumſtances, were taken up by warrants, bearing date the 29th of March, when the danger was over; which made the Scots gentlemen very free in declaring, that the taking them up could be for no other

1708.

Proceedings on the act concerning trials of treaſon in Scotland. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

The conſideration of the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to the late invaſion, gave occaſion to a bill concerning trials of treaſons in Scotland, under the title of 'an act for improving the union of the two kingdoms.' This bill cauſed very great and long debates, and ſprung from the proceedings againſt the ſuſpected perſons in Scotland, and particularly from a trial of ſome gentlemen of that kingdom, who had left their houſes, when the pretender was on the ſea, and had gone about armed, and in ſo ſecret and ſuſpicious a manner, that it gave great cauſe of jealouſy. There was no clear evidence to convict them; but there were very ſtrong, if not violent preſumptions againſt them. Some forms in the trial had not been obſerved, which the criminal court judged were neceſſary, and not to be diſpenſed with.

'other reaſon, than to influence the approaching elections to parliament; and for their diſaffection to the intereſts ſome courtiers then promoted, rather than for their diſaffection to her majeſty's perſon and government, in which they were the more confirmed, becauſe they ſaw there was no evidence in the papers againſt any of them. There was indeed ſome evidence of high-treaſon pretended againſt five gentlemen, taken up by warrants from the privy-council of Scotland; but that was ſuch, as the lord advocate writes, neither he, nor the other advocates employed for her majeſty, did think would convict them; and therefore humbly offered it as their opinion, that it would be more for the honour and ſervice of her majeſty, and of her government, that they ſhould not be proſecuted. The earl of Sunderland, in his anſwer, acquainted him, he had laid his memorial before her majeſty, who was well ſatisfied with what he had done, in procuring evidence againſt the priſoners; and though poſſibly, upon their trial, the evidence might not be ſufficient to convict them by the law of Scotland, yet, conſidering all the circumſtances of that affair, and the noiſe it has made in the world, her majeſty thought it abſolutely neceſſary for her ſervice, that it be carried as far as it will bear. Accordingly, they were brought upon their trials, and acquitted. After all the obſervations made upon the papers, the conſideration of them ended in the houſe of commons, in the reſolution above-mentioned. The gentlemen that were againſt this reſolution, deſired that all the papers laid before the houſe, relating to the intended invaſion of Scotland, might be printed, that the world might ſee and judge how well-grounded it was. But thoſe, who had juſtified the miniſtry in their debates, and voted for the reſolution, would not ſuffer the papers to be printed, ſo that the queſtion was carried in the negative.'

But

But the queen's advocate, Sir James Stuart, was of another mind. The court thought it was neceſſary, by their laws, that the names of the witneſſes ſhould have been ſignified to the priſoners fifteen days before the trial. But the queen's advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief witneſſes, ſo that the court could not hear their evidence. He did not upon that move for a delay; and therefore the trial went on, and the gentlemen were acquitted. Severe expoſtulations paſſed between the queen's advocate and the court. They complained of one another to the queen, and both ſides juſtified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the laws in Scotland, concerning trials in caſes of treaſon, were not fixed nor certain. For which reaſon a bill was brought into the houſe of commons to ſettle that matter; but it was ſo much oppoſed by the Scots members, that it was dropped in the committee. It was taken up and managed with more zeal by the lords. 1708.

The heads of the act.

It conſiſted of three heads: all crimes, which were high-treaſon by the law of England, and theſe only, were to be high-treaſon in Scotland. The manner of proceeding ſettled in England was to be obſerved in Scotland; and the pains and forfeitures were to be the ſame in both nations. The Scotch lords oppoſed every branch of this act. They moved, that all things, that were high-treaſon by the law of England, might be enumerated in the act, for the information of the Scots nation; otherwiſe they muſt ſtudy the book of ſtatutes, to know when they were ſafe, and when they were guilty. To this it was anſwered, that direction would be given to the judges, to publiſh an abſtract of the laws of high-treaſon, which would be a ſufficient information to the people of Scotland in this matter. That nation would by this means be in a much ſafer condition than they were now; for the laws they had, were conceived in ſuch general words, that the judges might put ſuch conſtructions on them, as ſhould ſerve the ends of a bad court; but they would by this act be reſtrained in this matter for the future.

The forms of proceeding in Scotland.

The ſecond head in this bill occaſioned a much longer debate: it changed the whole method of proceedings in Scotland. The former way there was, the queen's advocate ſigned a citation of the perſons, ſetting forth the ſpecial matter of high-treaſon, of which they were accuſed. This was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the witneſſes, fifteen days before the trial. When the jury was impannelled, no peremptory charges were allowed:

reaſons

1708. reaſons were to be offered with every challenge; and, if the court allowed them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, ſuppoſe it ſhould be proved, did amount to high-treaſon, or not. This was to be determined by a ſentence of the court, called the Interloquitur; and the proof of the fact was not till then to be made. Of that the jury had the cognizance. Anciently the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but, by a late act, the verdict was to be given upon the agreement of two third parts of the jury. In the ſentence, the law did not limit the judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the puniſhment, or moderate it, according to the circumſtances of the caſe. All this method was to be ſet aſide; a grand jury was to find the bill; the judges were only to regulate proceedings, and to declare what the law was; and the whole matter of the indictment was to be left intire to the jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their verdict.

In one particular, the forms of Scotland were much preferable to thoſe in England; the depoſitions of the witneſſes were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were ſigned by the witneſſes; they were ſent into the jury; and theſe were made a part of the record. This was very ſlow and tedious; but the jury, by this means, was more certainly poſſeſſed of the evidence, and the matter was more clearly delivered down to poſterity; whereas the records in England are very defective, and give no light to an hiſtorian who peruſes them.

The Scots oppoſed this alteration of their way of proceeding. They ſaid, that neither the judges, the advocates, nor the clerks, would know how to manage a trial of treaſon. They inſiſted moſt on the having the names of the witneſſes to be given to the perſons ſome days before their trial. It ſeemed reaſonable that a man ſhould know who was to be brought to witneſs againſt him, that ſo he might examine his life, and ſee what credit ought to be given to him. On the other hand, it was ſaid, this would open a door to practice, either upon the witneſſes to corrupt them, or in ſuborning other witneſſes to deſame them. To this it was anſwered, that a guilty man knew what could be brought againſt him; and, without ſuch notice, would take all the methods poſſible to defend himſelf. But proviſion ought to be made for innocent men, whoſe chief guilt might

be

be a good eſtate, upon which a favourite might have an eye; and therefore ſuch perſons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards ſo much ſoftened, that it was only deſired that the names of the witneſſes, who had given evidence to the grand jury, ſhould, upon their finding the bill, be ſignified to the priſoner five hours before his trial. Upon a diviſion of the houſe on this queſtion, the votes were equal; and therefore by the rule of the houſe, that in ſuch a caſe the negative prevails, it was loſt. 1708-9.

Upon the third head of the bill the debates grew ſtill warmer. In Scotland many families were ſettled by long intails and perpetuities; and therefore it was ſaid, that ſince, by one of the articles of the union, all private rights were ſtill preſerved, no breach could be made on theſe ſettlements. Biſhop Burnet carried this further: he thought that it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to ſet the children on begging for their fathers faults: that the Romans, during their liberty, never thought of carrying puniſhment ſo far: that it was an invention, under the tyranny of the emperors, who had a particular revenue called the Fiſe (1); and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called confiſcations: that it was never the practice of free governments: that Boulogne flouriſhed beyond any town in the pope's dominions, becauſe they made it an article of their capitulation with the pope, that no confiſcation ſhould follow on any crime whatſoever: that in Holland the confiſcation was redeemable by ſo very ſmall a ſum as an Of forfeitures in caſes of treaſon.

(1) This remark of biſhop Burnet is clearly overthrown by the author of an excellent piece, publiſhed this preſent year 1745, and intitled, 'Some conſiderations on the law of forfeitures for high-treaſon, occaſioned by a clauſe in a late act, for making it treaſon to correſpond with the pretender's ſons, or any of their agents, &c.' in which the law of forfeitures is juſtified from the principles of natural juſtice, the practice and genius of the wiſeſt ſtates, the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, with a perſpicuity, force, and comprehenſion of reaſoning, not to be found in any other diſcourſe on that ſubject. This writer oppoſes to the biſhop's obſervation, concerning the Roman fiſe, the words of 'Cujacius ad L. Jul. Maj. Fiſcus erat populi, nunc imperatoris,' which intimates, "That forfeitures was a known puniſhment during the republic. It was then called Bonorum Publicatio. But the biſhop ſeems to have been miſled by the late origin of the word, to imagine the thing itſelf was introduced no earlier."

hundred

1708-9. hundred guilders (m). That many inſtances might be brought of proſecutions, only to obtain the confiſcation. But in this none of the lords ſeconded the biſhop. It was acknowledged that this was juſt and reaſonable, and fit to be paſſed in good times; but, ſince the nation was then expoſed to ſo much danger from abroad, it did not ſeem adviſable to abate the ſeverity of the law. But clauſes were agreed to, by which, upon marriages, ſettlements might be made in Scotland, as was practiſed in England; for no eſtate is forfeited for the crime of him, who is only tenant for life. By this act alſo tortures were condemned; and the queen was impowered to grant commiſſions of Oyer and Terminer, as in England, for trying treaſons. The Scots inſiſted on this, that, the juſticiary or the criminal court being preſerved by an article of the union, this broke in upon that. It was anſwered, that the criminal court was ſtill to ſit in the time regulated; but theſe commiſſions were granted upon ſpecial occaſions. In the intervals between the terms, it might be neceſſary, upon ſome emergency, not to delay trials too long. But, to give ſome content, it was provided by a clauſe, that a judge of the criminal court ſhould be always one of the quorum in theſe commiſſions. Thus the bill paſſed in the houſe of lords, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all the Scots lords, with whom many of the tories concurred, they being diſpoſed to oppoſe the court in every thing, and to make treaſon as little to be dreaded as poſſible.

(m) The author of 'Some conſiderations on the law of forfeitures,' p. 39, takes notice of this aſſertion as a miſtake in biſhop Burnet, and obſerves, 'That the contrary is well known; and that it would be to turn legal puniſhments of high crimes into a jeſt, were a redemption of that kind allowed. This is not only the caſe in the ſeparate adminiſtration of many of the provinces, but we are told by one of the beſt writers, on the conſtitution of the Low-Countries, Janicon, Vol. I. p. 183, that the council of ſtate condemns any officer who abuſes a public truſt in the finances, the armies, the negotiations, or juſtice of the republic, to the heavieſt penalties by fine, ſuited to the crime, the exigency, and example. And it is much the ſame thing to the children of a criminal, whether the fortune of the family be taken from them by judgment of intire forfeiture, or by a diſcretionary ſentence condemning to a ſevere fine, which may equal or exceed the value of it.'

The

The bill met with the ſame oppoſition in the houſe of commons; yet it paſſed with two amendments. By one, the names of the witneſſes, who had appeared before the grand jury, were ordered to be ſent to the priſoner ten days before his trial. The other was, that no eſtate in land was to be forfeited upon a judgment of high-treaſon; which came up fully to the motion which biſhop Burnet had made. Both theſe amendments were looked on as ſuch popular things, that it was not probable that the houſe of commons would recede from them. Upon that, the whigs in the houſe of lords did not think fit to oppoſe them, or to loſe the bill; and therefore it was moved to agree to theſe amendments, with this proviſo, moved by the lord Sommers, that they ſhould not take place till after the death of the pretender. It was ſaid, that, ſince he aſſumed the title of king of Great-Britain, and had ſo lately attempted to invade the nation, it was not reaſonable to leſſen the puniſhment, and the dread of treaſon, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be ſtill a pretender after him, ſince ſo many perſons ſtood in the lineal deſcent before the houſe of Hanover, ſo that this proviſo ſeemed to be, upon the matter, the rejecting the amendment. But it was obſerved, that to pretend to the right of ſucceeding was a different thing from aſſuming the title, and attempting an invaſion. The amendment was received with this proviſo; but, thoſe, who were againſt the whole bill, did not agree to it. The houſe of commons conſented to the proviſo, which the lords had added to their amendment, with a further addition, that it ſhould not take place till three years after the houſe of Hanover ſhould ſucceed to the crown. 1708-9.

Proceedings on the bill in the houſe of commons.

This met with great oppoſition; it was conſidered as a diſtinguiſhing character of thoſe, who were for or againſt the preſent conſtitution and the ſucceſſion; the Scots ſtill oppoſing it on the account of their formal laws. Both parties collected their ſtrength, and many, who had gone into the country, were brought up on this occaſion; ſo that the bill, with all the amendments and proviſo's, was carried by a ſmall majority; the lords agreeing to this new amendment. The Scots members in both houſes ſeemed to apprehend, that the bill would be very odious in their country, and therefore, to maintain their intereſt at home, they who were divided in every thing elſe, did agree in oppoſing this bill.

The bill paſſed in both houſes.

The

1708-9. The court apprehended, from the heat with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the bill through both houſes, that ill-diſpoſed men would endeavour to poſſeſs people with apprehenſions of bad deſigns and ſeverities, that would be ſet on foot; and therefore reſolved to have an act of grace immediately upon it. It was the firſt the queen had ſent; though ſhe had now reigned above ſeven years. The miniſters, for their own ſakes, took care that it ſhould be very full. It was indeed fuller than any former act of grace. All treaſons committed before the ſigning the act, which was the 19th of April, were pardoned, thoſe only excepted that were done upon the ſea. By this, they who had embarked with the pretender, were ſtill at mercy. This act, according to form, was read once in both houſes, and with the uſual compliments of thanks (n).

An act of grace.

These

(n) Beſides theſe, there were other things of leſs importance paſſed this ſeſſion, particularly theſe following.

The injury done to major-general Webb, after the battle of Wynendale, having made a great noiſe, the leaders of the tory party readily ſeized this opportunity, both to do him juſtice, and, at the ſame time, to expoſe the partiality of thoſe in power. Sir Thomas Hanmer therefore made a motion, on the 13th of December, "That the "thanks of the houſe be given "to major-general Webb, for "the great and eminent ſervices "performed by him at the battle "of Wynendale;" which was unanimouſly carried in the affirmative. The major-general being then in the houſe, the ſpeaker gave him, in his place, the thanks of the houſe; which he acknowledged in a very handſome and modeſt ſpeech, ſaying, among other things, "That he valued "the honour done him by the "commons above the greateſt "rewards." This gave Mr. Bromley occaſion to ſay, "That "he did not diſapprove the cuſ- "tom, which, of late years, "had been introduced, of re- "turning thanks to ſuch gene- "rals as had performed emi- "nent ſervices; eſpecially when "they received thoſe compli- "ments as modeſtly as the wor- "thy member, to whom they "were now given, had done. "But it was with grief, he ob- "ſerved, that a certain com- "mander, on whom, not only "the thanks of the houſe, but "alſo great rewards had been "beſtowed, appeared yet to be "unſatisfied." This reflection was viſibly levelled at the duke of Marlborough, who, about that very time, was attacked in two pieces, which were printed and induſtriouſly ſpread about; the one intitled, 'A ſpeech of 'Caius Menenius, tribune to the 'people of Rome, tranſlated from 'Salluſt;' the other intitled, 'An account of a dream at Har- 'wich.'

On

These were the transactions of this session of parliament, which was concluded the 21st of April, when the following 1709. The session ends.

On the other hand, the same day that an address was voted by the commons for such treaties and agreements, as had been made for contributions, it was unanimously resolved, "That "the commons of Great-Britain being truly sensible, not "only of the great and eminent "services performed by his grace "the duke of Marlborough, "the last successful campaign, "so much to the honour of "Great-Britain, and advantage "of all Europe, but also of the "indefatigable zeal he perse-"vered in for the service of the "common cause abroad, while "he might, with reason, expect "to be received with all the "marks of honour and satisfac-"tion at home, did, with a just "regard to his glorious actions, "return him the thanks of the "house, and ordered their "speaker to transmit the same "to his grace." This being done, the duke of Marlborough returned an answer, dated from Brussels, February the 13th, 1709, importing, "That he "was extremely sensible of the "great honour, which the house "of commons had done him, in "the vote the speaker had been "pleased to transmit to him by "their order: that nothing "could give him more satisfac-"tion, than to find the services, "he endeavoured to do the "queen and his country, so ac-"ceptable to the house of com-"mons. And he begged the "favour of the speaker to assure "them, he should never think "any pains or perseverance too "great, if he might, by God's "blessing, be instrumental in "procuring a safe and honour-"able peace for her majesty and "his fellow-subjects."

Moreover, when the news of the reduction of Ghent was brought over, both houses pre-sented an address to the queen, wherein the duke of Marlbo-rough was mentioned with ho-nour. In this address, "they "congratulated her upon the "last great effort of this glo-"rious year; a year, that would "be ever famous in history, as "well for the intire disappoint-"ment of all the attempts and "hopes of her enemies, as for "the wonderful successes, with "which God had blessed the "arms of her majesty and her "allies:" adding, "That the "unusual length of the cam-"paign, the variety of events, "and the difficulty and import-"ance of the actions, had given "many opportunities to her ma-"jesty's general, the duke of "Marlborough, to shew his "consummate ability, and all "the great qualities necessary "for so high a trust; whereby, "in conjunction with the re-"nowned prince Eugene of "Savoy, such considerable pro-"gress had been made, and the "conquests so far advanced, that "there is reason to hope the "enemy, in spite of all their "presumption, would soon find "themselves under an absolute "necessity of submitting to a "safe and honourable peace."

1709. ing ſpeech of the lord-commiſſioners was delivered to both houſes by the chancellor:

My

The duke of Marlborough being arrived, after a dangerous paſſage from Oſtend, came to London the 1ſt of March, whilſt the lords were ſitting; the lord-chancellor, by order of the houſe, returned him thanks for the eminent ſervices performed by him the laſt campaign. As he was ſuppoſed to bring over propoſals of peace, the lord Sommers moved for an addreſs to be preſented to the queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to take care, at the concluſion of the war, that the French king might be obliged to own her title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and that the pretender might be removed out of the French dominions; which being unanimouſly approved, the addreſs was ſent down to the commons, where Mr. Boyle repreſented, "That the Britiſh nation having been at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, for the proſecution of this neceſſary war, it was but juſt they ſhould reap ſome benefit by the peace: and the town of Dunkirk being a neſt of pirates, that infeſted the ocean, and did infinite miſchief to trade, he therefore moved, That the demoliſhing of its fortifications and harbour be inſiſted upon in the addreſs;" which, with that amendment, was unanimouſly approved, and carried back to their lordſhips by Mr. ſecretary Boyle. The lord-chancellor, on the part of the peers, and the ſpeaker of the commons, on the part of the commons, having attended the queen with the ſaid addreſs, her majeſty told them, "That ſhe was of the ſame opinion with her two houſes of parliament, in the ſeveral particulars of that addreſs; as ſhe had alſo been in all the other which they had made on the ſame ſubject;" aſſuring them, "no care ſhould be wanting on her part, to attain the ends they had deſired." This addreſs of both houſes was highly acceptable to the whole nation, and to all our allies.

An order having been made, on the 13th of January, by the privy-council, in purſuance of her majeſty's pleaſure to them, ſignified, "That in the form of prayer, with thankſgiving to almighty God, to be uſed in all churches and chapels every year upon the eighth day of March (being the day, on which her majeſty began her happy reign) in the prayer at the communion ſervice, immediately before the reading of the epiſtle, for the queen, as ſupreme governor of this church, theſe words following be left out: [And, that theſe bleſſings may be continued to after-ages, make the queen, we pray thee, an happy mother of children; who, being educated in thy true faith and fear, may happily ſucceed in the government of theſe kingdoms;]. This order ſeeming to intimate, that the queen deſigned to paſs the remainder of her life as a widow-

hood;

1709.

My lords and gentlemen,

"BEING now, by the queen's directions, to put an end to this ſeſſion, we have it in command from her majeſty to aſſure you, her majeſty is extremely ſenſible" The commiſſioner's ſpeech to both houſes, of April 1. Pr. H. C.

hood; Mr. Watſon, ſon to the lord Rockingham, moved, on the 25th of January, in the houſe of commons, "That an "humble addreſs be preſented "to her majeſty, that ſhe would "not ſuffer her juſt grief ſo "far to prevail; but would "have ſuch indulgence to the "hearty deſires of her ſubjects, "as to entertain thoughts of "a ſecond marriage." This motion, being ſeconded and ſupported by ſeveral young members, was unanimouſly carried, and a committee was appointed to draw up the addreſs; which being agreed to, and the lords having given their concurrence to the ſame, was the next day preſented to the queen by the ſpeakers of the two houſes. The queen was not a little ſurprized at this unexpected addreſs; to which ſhe returned an anſwer, importing, "That the frequent marks "of duty and affection, ſhe had "received from both houſes of "parliament," muſt needs be "very acceptable to her: that "the proviſion ſhe had made "for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, "would always be a proof, how "much ſhe had at heart the fu-"ture happineſs of the king-"dom: but that the ſubject of "this addreſs was of ſuch a na-"ture, that ſhe was perſuaded "they did not expect a parti-"cular anſwer." However the commons, on the 29th, voted their thanks for this anſwer.

A bill was brought into the houſe of commons, 'for the exportation of tobacco, and 'other commodities and manufactures of the growth and 'product of Great-Britain;' the deſign of which was, to exchange tobacco for French wines. But the Portugueſe ambaſſador having, by a memorial, repreſented to her majeſty, and by word of mouth to ſeveral members without doors, that ſuch a bill was contrary to the alliance between her majeſty and the king his maſter; and it being conſidered, beſides, that ſuch an exchange would redound to the advantage of France, and to the benefit of five or ſix perſons in Great-Britain only, the bill was diſmiſſed, by putting off the conſideration of it for a month. And, on the other hand, a bill was ordered to be brought in, 'for the more effectual prohi-'biting the importation of French 'wines, and all other commo-'dities of the growth and pro-'duct of France.'

It may here be obſerved, that our trade was now very high, and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at Liſbon: for the Portugueſe were ſo happy, in their dominions in America, that they diſcovered vaſt quantities of

1709. " of the zeal and affection you have ſhewn for her ſervice,
" and the good of her people, and of the prudence and diſ-
" patch,

gold in their mines, and we were aſſured, that they had brought home to Portugal, the former year, about four millions ſterling, of which they, at that time, ſtood in great need, for they had a very bad harveſt: but gold anſwers all things: they were ſupplied from England with corn, and we had in return a large ſhare of their gold.

The deficiency of the laws to puniſh inſults, in caſe of foreign miniſters, being apparent in the caſe of the Muſcovite ambaſſador, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, 'for 'preſerving the privileges of 'ambaſſadors and other foreign 'miniſters.' Count Gallas, the imperial and Spaniſh envoy, having got a copy of it, communicated it to baron Spanheim, the Pruſſian ambaſſador, at whoſe houſe there was a meeting of foreign miniſters, who reſolved to lay before the ſecretaries of ſtate their obſervations on the bill, in a memorial, importing, 'That the preamble of the bill 'mentioned only the particular 'indignity offered to the Muſ-'covite ambaſſador, and his be-'ing arreſted and taken out of 'his coach by violence, &c. in 'contempt of the protection 'granted by her majeſty, with-'out taking notice of the law 'of nations, on which the pri-'vileges of ambaſſadors are 'founded, and which is ſupe-'rior and antecedent to all mu-'nicipal laws: and therefore 'they inſiſted, that in the pre-'amble theſe words ſhould be 'added, "Contrary to the law "of nations, and in prejudice "of the rights and privileges, "which ambaſſadors, and other "public miniſters, authorized "and received as ſuch, have at "all times been thereby poſſeſ-"ſed of, and which ought to "be kept ſacred and inviola-"ble." II. That, in the clauſe 'for preventing for the future 'the ſeizing, arreſting, or im-'priſoning of public miniſters, it 'ſhould be made criminal to 'offer them any inſult or ill 'treatment. III. That their 'equipages, goods, and other 'effects, of what nature ſoe-'ver, ought likewiſe to enjoy 'the ſame protection, with their 'perſons and ſervants, and not 'be ſeized or ſtopped on any 'pretence. IV. That their 'houſes ought to be accounted 'and declared ſanctuaries, and 'no bailiffs, or other officers of 'juſtice, allowed to enter the 'ſame. V. And that foreign 'ambaſſadors, and other miniſ-'ters, ought to enjoy theſe pri-'vileges from their firſt coming 'into Great-Britain, till they 'are out of her majeſty's domi-'nions, even after they have 'had their audience of leave, as 'long as they retain their cha-'racters.' The ſubſtance of this memorial being communicated to the committee, to whom that bill was referred, they inſerted the firſt amendment in the preamble, but did not think proper to mention the other particulars: and, Mr. Compton having reported the ſeveral amend-

ments

" patch, with which you have compleated the important 1709.
" buſineſs of this ſeſſion.

" The vigour and firmneſs of your proceedings have al-
" ready had a very good effect on affairs abroad; and there
" is ground to hope, that, by God's bleſſing on her ma-
" jeſty's endeavours, this will every day appear more and
" more evident.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" We are to return you in particular her majeſty's thanks,
" for your having provided ſo timely and effectually the

ments made to the bill, the houſe added a clauſe, " That no per-
" ſon ſhould be proceeded againſt
" for having arreſted the ſer-
" vant of an ambaſſador, or
" public miniſter, by virtue of
" this act, unleſs the name of
" ſuch ſervant be firſt regiſter-
" ed in the office of one of the
" principal ſecretaries of ſtate,
" and by ſuch ſecretary tranſ-
" mitted to the ſheriffs of Lon-
" don and Middleſex, who ſhall
" hang up the ſame in ſome
" public place in their offices,
" &c." and ordered the bill to be ingroſſed. The foreign miniſters, having alſo procured a copy of this laſt clauſe, held another aſſembly at baron Spanheim's houſe, at which the earl of Sunderland aſſiſting, they repreſented to him, " That the
" exacting liſts of foreign miniſters ſervants was a thing un-
" practiſed in other courts, and
" liable to ſeveral inconvenien-
" cies; and deſired beſides, that
" the lord chamberlain of her
" majeſty's houſhold might be
" added to the number of per-
" ſons appointed by this bill, to
" take cognizance of the of-
" fences committed againſt the
" privileges of foreign mini-
" ſters, and to inflict ſuch pu-
" niſhments, as they ſhall judge
" fit." But the parliament did not think fit to make any more alterations in the bill.

On the 14th of March, the commons, in a grand committee, came to ſeveral reſolutions in favour of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers, who had ſuffered by the late invaſion of the French; and voted the ſum of one hundred and three thouſand two hundred and three pounds for the uſe of ſuch ſufferers, as ſhould re-ſettle in their plantations in thoſe iſlands.

The commons being informed, that the humour of laying wagers about the events of war was grown to ſuch an height, that many unwary perſons were ruined by it, and that the moſt crafty in thoſe bargains maintained clandeſtine correſpondences abroad, which might be of dangerous conſequence to the government, a bill was brought in, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public.

1709. " ſupplies found neceſſary to the proſecution of this war, " with an augmentation of thoſe forces, which, in con- " junction with our allies, have, by God's aſſiſtance, pro- " cured us the preſent advantages over the common " enemy.

" Your chearfulneſs in giving ſuch large ſupplies at this " juncture, and the ready advances, which have been made " for their being effectual, with ſo little burden to the " people, ſhew, you perfectly underſtand how to make a " right uſe of our paſt ſucceſſes, and that nothing is too dif- " ficult for ſo dutiful and affectionate ſubjects, acting in de- " fence of ſo good a cauſe.

My lords and gentlemen,

" Her majeſty, through the whole courſe of her reign, " having been deſirous to ſhew all poſſible inſtances of good- " neſs and clemency to her ſubjects, hath now, for the " ſtrengthening the union, and quieting the minds of all " her ſubjects throughout the united kingdom, thought fit " to grant them an act of grace and free pardon, in a more " full and beneficial manner, than hath been formerly uſed; " not doubting, but all her people will make a right uſe " of, and ſuitable returns on their part, for ſo extraordi- " nary an indulgence.

" Her majeſty, having alſo been graciouſly pleaſed to " give the royal aſſent to the ſeveral bills you have preſent- " ed during this ſeſſion, commands us to obſerve to you " on that occaſion, that the life and benefit of all laws, " how wiſely ſoever they are framed, do chiefly conſiſt in a " due and regular execution of them, and therefore to ex- " hort you, that, when you return to your countries, you " would think it indiſpenſably your duty, to ſet a good ex- " ample towards an impartial and ſteady obſervation of the " many good laws, which have been enacted (eſpecially " ſince the late revolution) and which fall within your pro- " vince to execute; it being but too evident, that the de- " fect at preſent attending us is not ſo much the want of " new laws, as the neglect and diſregarding thoſe already " made."

After this the parliament was prorogued to the 10th of May.

Great froſt. Hiſt. of Eur. The ſeverity of the winter-ſeaſon was very remarkable this year; for it began to freeze, the night before Chriſt-

maſ-

mas-day, with great violence, and not long after fell great snows. Thoſe, who compared the great froſt in 1683-4 with this, obſerved, that the firſt was generally a bright one, and continued above two months without interruption; but the latter moſtly dark, and with ſome intervals laſted a month longer; during which, many cattle, eſpecially ſheep, and likewiſe birds, periſhed. The Thames was frozen over, and, on the 3d of January, people began to erect booths, and ſet up tents on the ice. It was alſo obſerved, that the ſummer, which ſucceeded the froſt in 1683-4, was exceſſively hot and dry, affording in general great plenty of things neceſſary for human life; but this proved very near as comfortleſs as the winter, by reaſon of the coldneſs and moiſture of the air, pouring almoſt continual rains on the earth, which, as it retarded the maturity of the fruits, ſo, in many places, occaſioned a thin harveſt, and this a ſcarcity of corn. This great froſt was general in Europe, but moſt ſeverely felt in France; where, in moſt places, the fruit-trees were killed, and the corn frozen in the ground, which occaſioned there a dreadful calamity and deſolation. 1709.

Two young princes, near relations to the czar of Muſcovy, arriving in London in January, the queen gave orders for their being entertained at her charge, and attended by her officers; the princes, to ſhew their grateful ſenſe of theſe favours, deſired an audience, to which, being introduced by Mr. Boyle, they made their compliments to her majeſty in Latin, acknowledging, with great reſpects, the ſingular marks of kindneſs, which ſhe was pleaſed to help upon them; and, at the ſame time, congratulated her upon the ſignal ſucceſs of her victorious arms, and wiſhed her a long continuation of the ſame. To which the queen anſwered, 'That ſhe had ſo much eſteem and friendſhip for his 'czariſh majeſty, that ſhe could not but be very well pleaſed to ſee any ſo nearly related to him in her kingdoms, 'and have an opportunity of ſhewing her kindneſs and diſtinction to them. She likewiſe thanked them for their 'congratularions and good wiſhes,' adding, 'That ſhe 'would endeavour to make their ſtay here as agreeable to 'them, as ſhe could.' Beſides this compliment paid to the czar; in order to ſoften his reſentment of the late affront offered to his ambaſſador, an information was tried at the court of Queen's-Bench, before the lord-chief-juſtice Holt, for the queen, againſt Thomas Mortan the lacertan, and thirteen others, for meeting, conſulting, and conſpiring to

Two Muſcovite princes entertained by the queen.

Trial about the affair of the Ruſſian ambaſſador.

1709. arreſt and impriſon the Muſcovite ambaſſador, of which they were found guilty, the ſpecial matter of the privilege of ambaſſadors, to be argued before the judges the next term. There were preſent in court the earl of Sunderland, Mr. ſecretary Boyle, the lord Hallifax, and ſeveral other perſons of quality (o).

On

(o) The Muſcovite ambaſſador, ſeeing the ſlowneſs of the judicial proceedings in England, wrote expoſtulatory letters to Mr. Boyle, who at laſt aſſured him, That the laws of the kingdom could not admit of a final deciſion till the *next* term: that nothing had been omitted to procure all reparation, which the utmoſt rigour of law could afford: that a bill had, by the queen's order, been brought into the parliament for ſecuring the privileges of ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters, to ſhew how far ſhe deteſted the violence offered to his excellency's perſon and character; that the queen had no ſooner notice, that the two young Muſcovite princes, relations of the czar, were arrived in her kingdom, but ſhe gave orders for their reception. In anſwer to this letter, the ambaſſador replied, That if it was in the queen's power to conſult the parliament about a law to ſecure the immunities of foreign miniſters, could not due meaſures have been taken at the ſame time for reparation of the paſt affront? that it was a very eaſy matter to do it, and was what ſhe herſelf had cauſed to be done in the caſe of her ambaſſador the earl of Mancheſter at Venice. That as to the honours lately done to two young noblemen, who were taken for Muſcovite princes, the czar reckoned none but the imperial hereditary prince within the verge of his auguſt houſe: that theſe were two young lords, who were a-kin to him, and were travelling incognito, but he did not deſire they ſhould be defrayed by any power, having wherewithal to bear their own charges. Several other letters paſſed between Mr. ſecretary Boyle and Mr. D'Ayrolle, the Britiſh ſecretary at the Hague; but it having been found impracticable in England to inflict any legal puniſhment on thoſe, who had affronted the ambaſſador, it was at laſt agreed between the two courts, that the queen, by way of ſatisfaction, ſhould make ſolemn excuſes for the inſufficiency of our former laws in that behalf. This was accordingly done by Mr. Whitworth, the queen's envoy extraordinary to the czar, in a ſpeech at his public audience, on the 8th of February, 1709-10. Upon which the czar ordered his miniſters to ſettle the affair with him in a conference, and the following articles were agreed on: 1. That the czariſh majeſty accepted of the excuſes, and was willing to forget the criminal proceedings of the authors of the affront, and deſired they might be diſcharged. 2. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the ambaſſador by a letter from the queen to repair his honour, and by a reimburſement of all

the

1709.

On the 3d of February, the queen, in council, was pleased to declare, 'That, the public business increasing, her 'majesty had thought fit to appoint a third secretary of state 'of Great-Britain; but that she intended, nevertheless, to 'continue the foreign affairs, for the present, in the course 'of dispatch they were now in.' Upon this the duke of Queensberry was made third secretary of state, and took for one of his under secretaries Nicholas Rowe, famous for his dramatic performances.

The duke of Queensberry made secretary of state.

The convocation was summoned, chosen and returned as the new parliament was. It was too evident, that the same ill temper, that had appeared in former convocations, did still prevail, though not with such a majority: when the day came, in which it was to be opened, a writ was sent from the queen to the archbishop, ordering him to prorogue the convocation for some months: and, at the end of these, there came another writ, ordering a further prorogation: so the convocation was not opened during this session of parliament; by this, a present stop was put to the factious temper of those, who studied to recommend themselves by embroiling the church. This did not cure them; for they continued still by libels and false stories to animate their party. The most effectual encouragement to that end was, the secret insinuation that the queen's heart was with them: that though the war, and the other circumstances of her affairs, obliged her at present to favour the moderate party, yet, as soon as a peace brought on a better settlement, they promised themselves all favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that she herself, or any by her order, gave them these hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguish those hopes, which were not done: so that they seemed to be left to please themselves with those expectations, which kept still life in their party; and indeed it was but too visible, that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences; enemies to the toleration, and soured against the dissenters.

The convocation put off by prorogation.

the cost and damages he had been at on account of the affront. 3. That the ambassador should demand his letter of recredence, which he had refused to accept, as well as the usual present and the watch, which the queen caused to be offered him. 4. That his czarish majesty would acquaint the queen, that he was content with his satisfaction by a letter, which should be delivered to Mr. Whitworth.

About

1709. About this time was publiſhed a letter from a gentleman in Scotland to his friend in England, againſt the ſacramental teſt; as inconſiſtent with the union, dangerous to the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of North-Britain, and to ſuch parts of their civil conſtitution as are reſerved to them: inconſiſtent with the civil intereſt of Great-Britain in general; contrary to the deſign of our Saviour's inſtitution of the Lord's-ſupper, and to the doctrine of the church of England: and an apology for this letter.

A letter againſt the ſacramental teſt. Calamy.

'The teſt-act is here repreſented as contrary to the rules of religion, becauſe it requires an end in receiving the ſacrament, that muſt prophane it, and ſuch as bears no proportion to the original deſign of it; and uſurps an authority, which no power on earth can lay any juſt claim to, to apply divine inſtitutions to ſuch ends, as only ſerve the intereſt of politic ſocieties; and obliges ſuch as have any civil poſt to take the ſacrament, without any regard to the fitneſs which the law of Chriſt requires, for that ſolemnity. It looks as if it was no matter, how ill a character a perſon bore, if it can be covered with the name of churchman; which ſhews, that it is not the honour of religion, but the ſecular intereſt of a party that is principally regarded.

Condemned to be burnt by the commons. Pr. H. C.

'Whilſt the houſe of commons, in January, were conſidering a bill for the ſpeedy and effectual recruiting the land-forces and marines, by encouraging the pariſhes to provide them, this letter againſt the teſt was diſperſed by perſons unknown, at the door of the houſe. It was a ſnare laid for the whig-members. By approving the letter and aboliſhing the teſt, which bore ſo hard upon the diſſenters, and excluded the moſt rigid from places of truſt, they alarmed the church, and furniſhed a ſpecious pretence of aſſerting, the church was in danger. If the teſt was preſerved, notwithſtanding the reaſons alledged againſt it in the letter, the diſputes about occaſional conformity, which had been ſo troubleſome in the former parliaments, would have revived and produced the ſame animoſities in this. The commons, being aware of theſe things, avoided the ſnare, by condemning the letter, upon a complaint made to them of it, to be burnt for a ſcandalous, ſeditious libel, and the author and printer to be enquired after.

Negotiations for a peace. Burnet. Lamberti. Conduct of the d. of Marlb.

By this time the negotiations for a peace were begun at the Hague (p). It has been already obſerved, that, ſoon after

(p) Dr. Hare in his piece intituled, 'The negociations for a treaty peace in 1709 conſidered: in a third letter to a tory-member having,

after the battle of Ramillies, the elector of Bavaria gave out hopes of a peace, and that the French king would come to 1709.

having ſtated this whole affair in a clear and full light, it will be proper to tranſcribe his account of it. He begins his letter with ſome reflections on the general conduct of the French in all the treaties they had made for fifty years before; to ſhew the neceſſity there was for the allies to refuſe entering into any conferences for a general peace, till ſome preliminaries were firſt ſettled, as a foundation, on which it ſhould be built. But before we come, ſays the doctor, p. 7. to conſider the preliminaries themſelves, that you may the better judge of the ſincerity of France, I muſt obſerve to you, that they had previouſly, by their emiſſaries, been feeling the pulſe of the Dutch; and, by the mighty profeſſions they made of the ſincere deſires of the king to put an end to the war, they obtained ſome private conferences the beginning of the year 1709, in which the reſtitution of Spain and the *Indies* to king Charles, was always ſuppoſed as the firſt ſtep towards a treaty; and, for the reſt, they hoped the Dutch, for their part, would not be very difficult, ſince they were aſſured, that in other points they might have their own terms, and not only be ſecured by a good barrier, in which the French were pleaſed to be very liberal, but likewiſe be made very eaſy in relation to trade. The Dutch, who, on this occaſion, ſhewed they underſtood the French, as well as the French thought they did themſelves, appeared to be very well pleaſed to hear of overtures of peace, and expreſſed great readineſs to enter on a treaty; but that they could do nothing without the concurrence of their allies, to whom they communicated what had paſſed; and, in order to a treaty, gave leave to the miniſters of France to come to Holland; firſt to monſieur Rouillé, and afterwards to the marquis de Torcy, who both timed their coming thither too remarkably, not to be taken notice of. The duke of Marlborough made two voyages that ſpring to England; one in the beginning of March, N. S. which was the ſooneſt the affairs of the war would admit of his return after the campaign of Liſle; the other about the end of April, when he went to communicate to the queen what had paſſed, and to receive her inſtructions. Now monſieur Rouillé came to Holland, almoſt as ſoon as the duke was gone from thence the firſt time; and the marquis de Torcy followed ſoon after the duke's leaving it the ſecond: by which it ſhould ſeem, they thought they might make ſome advantage of his abſence; and that it was for their maſter's ſervice, to have the Dutch as much as they could to themſelves, as the likeſteſt way to procure ſuch a peace as they had a mind to.

Monſieur Rouillé and the marquis de Torcy came neither of them into Holland, till the duke of Marlborough had left it; which was a plain proof, that they had ſome deſigns, which they feared he would not come into; and, that in his and prince Eugene's abſence, they hoped the ſtates

1709. to a treaty of partition, by allowing Spain and the West-Indies to go to king Charles, provided the dominions of Italy

states, by the great inclination they expreſſed for peace, might be drawn in to conſent to ſome points, which might either produce a treaty to their minds, or divide the allies among themſelves. This they hoped to do theſe two ways; firſt, by gaining their conſent to a partition, which they had never abſolutely declared againſt; and next by offering to them, in conſideration for that, a greater barrier than they thought conſiſtent with the intereſt and honour of the houſe of Auſtria. The firſt of theſe they knew the emperor would not agree to; and neither the emperor nor England to the latter. And from this occaſion and ground for diviſion they promiſed themſelves great ſucceſs. But, to their ſurprize, the firmneſs of the ſtates was ſo great, that, as they would abſolutely reject nothing, ſo neither would they agree to any thing ſeparately from the reſt of the allies, nor enter into any treaty, but jointly with the queen and the emperor, who, to ſhew their readineſs to hearken to any reaſonable terms of peace, that would anſwer the end for which they went into the war, immediately upon notice of the propoſals the French had made, ſent to the Hague the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene; the firſt was attended by my lord Townſhend, and the other was ſoon followed by count Zinzendorf. And both theſe miniſters diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe negotiations very much to the ſatisfaction of all the reſt. My lord Townſhend particularly has, by his good ſenſe, integrity, openneſs, and affability, acquired the univerſal eſteem of the ſtates, and all the reſt of the allies, beyond what could be hoped from ſo young a miniſter; and to ſuch a degree, as will always be remembered to his honour in that country, however it may be denied or forgot in this. If therefore you do not meet with his and count Zinzendorf's names in what follows, I muſt deſire you would ſuppoſe of them what I ſay of the two generals; ſo far at leaſt, as to think they did not in any thing of moment ever differ from them.

But to proceed; upon the arrival of theſe miniſters at the Hague, conferences were daily held with thoſe of France, to ſettle preliminary articles. In treating of which their inſincerity ſoon diſcovered itſelf, and great reaſon was given to ſuſpect their chief aim was to amuſe and divide thoſe they ſeemed ſo much in haſte to agree with; that, if they could not get ſuch a peace for themſelves as they deſired, the campaign at leaſt might be loſt to the allies. For it was very obſervable, that they eaſily agreed, and in a very little time after, theſe conferences were begun, to all the demands of England and Holland for themſelves, though ſome articles were contained in both, which the French never dreamt of being aſked, when the firſt overtures of peace were made; ſuch as the demoliſhing of Dunkirk, and the giving up many towns, which were no part of the Spaniſh Netherlands

Italy were given to king Philip. They hoped, that England and the states-general would agree to this, as less concerned

1709.

lands at the time of king Charles's death, nor had in the course of the war been taken from them. When the first steps of a treaty were made, the French so little thought of these demands, that the quitting even Lisle and Menin was refused. But now these extraordinary points on the part of England and Holland were by the ministers of France readily agreed to; and yet, at the same time, great difficulty was made with respect to what was asked for the emperor and the duke of Savoy, though there was nothing in those articles, but what was extremely reasonable and necessary to secure the dominions of those princes from the invasions they would otherwise be exposed to. There was an interval of several days, before the French ministers would treat about these articles; nor did they at last consent to them, but with a reserve and a declaration, that this was beyond their instructions; and that therefore they must suspend a full assent, till the further pleasure of the king was known. Now what could be the meaning of this management, but to insnare the maritime powers, if they could, and draw them into a base design of sacrificing the interest of their allies to their own? and what use can any body imagine they would have made of this, but to engage the allies in a quarrel among themselves, and to take advantage of their differences, to break the confederacy, and to intice some of the members of it by large offers to come into separate measures with them; but, this scheme failing by the firm adherence of the maritime powers to the rest of the allies, there was one article still remained to be adjusted, which in effect included all the rest, and which would afford the French a specious pretence for breaking off the treaty, whenever they had a mind to it; and that was to settle terms, on which a perpetual suspension of arms should be agreed. No body had ever doubted, but that there was such an understanding between the French king and his grandson, that the former could oblige the latter to resign the Spanish monarchy whenever he pleased, since he not only gave it king Philip at first, but had hitherto supported him in it. Accordingly every thing about him was intirely French; and the restitution of Spain at least, and the Indies, had, as I observed before, been always supposed. And as this was the point, that occasioned the war, the first thing settled in the preliminaries was a perfect and intire cession of the whole Spanish monarchy to king Charles III, to be made within two months from the first of June following. And, in case the duke of Anjou should make any difficulty to comply with this, it is expressly covenanted in the fourth article, "that his most christian majesty "and the allies shall take in concert the proper measures to "oblige him to it." What was to be understood by taking proper measures, both sides were content should not be then explained. Thus she looked well; and

I hope

1709. cerned in Italy; but they knew, that the court of Vienna would never hearken to it; for they valued the dominions in Italy,

one would have, thought the French meant in earneſt, that the duke of Anjou ſhould immediately quit Spain to his competitor. But all hitherto was words only, and would ſignify nothing, unleſs the execution of this eſſential point was effectually provided for; and there was but one way of doing this, which was to make this ceſſion one of the conditions of continuing the ſuſpenſion of arms, agreed to in the thirty-fourth article, to the concluſion of a general peace; which was accordingly done in the thirty-ſeventh article, which declares, that this ſuſpenſion ſhall continue till a general peace, provided the king of France executes all that is promiſed on his part in the foregoing articles, and the whole Spaniſh monarchy be reſtored, rendue & cedée, to king Charles, as is ſettled in theſe articles. This article touched home, and diſcovered plainly, that all the French pretended to conſent to in this fundamental point was mere grimace; and they meant nothing elſe, but to draw the allies into a ſeparate peace, and leave them to get Spain as they could. This was the moſt they meant; and I am apt to think, for reaſons I will give you by and by, they did not mean ſo much; but, whether they did or not, they did not want a ſpecious cover for their oppoſition to this article; they made greater profeſſions of the ſincerity of their king's intentions; that he would punctually execute all that depended upon him; and that he would endeavour to perſuade his grandſon to a compliance; but that to force him to it, and that within ſo ſhort a term, was not in his power: that it would therefore be impoſſible for the king to conſent to this article; and to conſent to the reſt of the preliminaries, unleſs an abſolute ſuſpenſion of arms were agreed to, would be to leave himſelf at the mercy of the allies, and put himſelf into a much worſe ſtate than before. And theſe pretences, you may be ſure, wanted no art to ſet them off. But to all this it was eaſy to anſwer, that they were fully perſuaded, that, if the king was really in earneſt in this matter, he might certainly recal his grandſon without any difficulty; and provided he acted the fair part, and did all he could towards it, according to the fourth article, he might depend upon it, the allies would take no advantage of any words in the thirty-ſeventh, to begin the war again upon him, when he had faithfully performed the other parts of it, and ſurrendered the places agreed to be delivered up to them in the thirty-fifth. That ſuppoſing what they objected to this article, where not a pretended but a real difficulty, which could hardly be believed, the conſequence then would be, that the allies muſt either truſt to the ſincerity of France, or France to that of the allies. As the king, ſuppoſing it not in his power to oblige the duke of Anjou to reſign, would, by executing the reſt of the treaty, be at the mercy of the allies; ſo, on the other hand, if the allies made a peace with the

Italy, with the Islands near them, much more than all the rest of the Spanish monarchy. But, at the same time that Lewis 1708.

the king without this article, they would be at his mercy for the recovery of the Spanish monarchy; which was the great point, for which they entered into the war; but which they could never hope to gain, if he did not absolutely abandon his grandson, which they could by no means depend on, while they had nothing but his bare word for it. Now in this case, which is more reasonable for France to trust the allies, or the allies of France? this cannot be a very hard question, since France had been guilty of the breach of public faith on so many occasions, that it is hard to find an instance to the contrary. This very war will make two notorious instances of this remembered to all ages; the scandalous violation of the partition treaty, almost as soon as made; and the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy, notwithstanding the most solemn and repeated renunciations, that had been made of it. It would be endless to enter into a detail of all the complaints of that kind against France, since the Pyrenean treaty. And therefore it cannot be reasonable for the allies to trust to those, by whom they have so often been deceived. But it is not so with them; they never have been guilty of the breach of public faith in any flagrant case; at least, I know of none. But I will venture to add further, that they neither would, nor, if they would, can they act a false part in such a case as this. They would not, they do not think it for their interest to continue or renew a war unnecessarily; they are sufficiently weary; the burthen of the war has laid so heavy upon them, that they would be glad to have a little respite, and to be at leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and enjoy, as fast as they can, some fruits of it. Thus they have always done; they have hardly had patience to keep up their armies till a peace was signed. And it is this humour of the allies has made the French have so little regard to execute their treaties with them. Besides, it must be owned, there is a great probity, plainness, and honesty, both in the Dutch and Germans, which appear in all the affairs of common life, and have been very observable in their dealings with the French all this war, in which the allies, notwithstanding the many provocations they have received, have, in no instance, retaliated, when they could not do it without breach of faith. The war in Flanders affords many instances of this, that they have always punctually performed what ever articles they have signed, and not made reprisals, where even honest men have thought they might have done it without any violation of justice. But the greatest instance, and the only one I shall name, is their exact performance of the treaty of the evacuation of the Milanese, when the French had just reason to fear their troops would have been detained against the letter of the articles, in revenge of the injustice and insolence, with which they had disarmed and seized a considerable body of the duke of Savoy's

1709. Lewis XIV was tempting us with the hopes of Spain and to West-Indies, that king, by a letter to the pope, offered the

Savoy's troops, at the very time he was in alliance with them. I need ſay nothing of our own country, that France could have no reaſon to fear any perfidiouſneſs from home. The character of her majeſty is too well known to give the French grounds for any ſuch ſuſpicion; and, had we a prince of leſs renown on the throne, France would have little to fear from him, unleſs he were ſupported by his people; which no ſovereign of England has even been, when they have thought the war he made unjuſt. But it is not enough to ſay, the allies would not be falſe, nor act againſt the intentions of a public treaty; I think I may affirm, they cannot be ſo. A ſingle potentate is maſter of his own will, and can act without controul; but a confederacy can do nothing without a concurrence of all parts; which, in ſo unjuſt a cauſe as this, there would be no reaſon to apprehend. When all the moſt juſt and neceſſary cauſes of a war concur, it is very hard to keep a confederacy long together; much leſs can it be imagined it ſhould be kept up to oppreſs a prince, who has done all he can to ſatisfy the demands of all parties. Either honeſty or intereſt will certainly diſarm ſome of them. No ally, when he has gained all he can hope for by the war, will be willing to continue the expence of it in compliment to any of the reſt, eſpecially when the cauſe is manifeſtly unjuſt. No; were it ever ſo juſt, this is hardly to be hoped for. When a confederacy is ſucceſsful, jealouſies naturally ariſe among themſelves; and they are more concerned, that one part ſhould not be too great gainers, and have too much to their ſhare, than that any other ſhould not have enough. Of which we ſee an inſtance, though a very fooliſh one, among ourſelves; our preſent maſters of politics, to render the very ſucceſſes of the war odious, alarm us with new fears, which no body before ever thought of, and tell us, the Dutch will have by this treaty a better country than our own. And, if a certain correſpondence by way of Calais, has been continued, France might be aſſured, that no advantage would be taken of the thirty-ſeventh article, though Spain was not relinquiſhed in the time ſtipulated; and that therefore they might ſafely ſign the preliminaries; for that the war could not be renewed, ſince they might depend on it, that England would never conſent to uſe in ſo barbarous a manner, a prince, whom ſo great a party among them have always had ſo much reſpect for: and, without England, they know the reſt of the allies could do nothing.

But whether it was more reaſonable for the allies to truſt France, or France the allies, was not left at this time to general reflections. What was doing at this very juncture in Spain, gave the allies abundant cauſe to ſuſpect the ſincerity of France, that they meant nothing leſs than the reſtitution of that monarchy. Nobody,

the dominions in Italy to king Charles. But, as the parliament had always declared the ground of the war to be the restoring 1709.

L.

body, that looks into the accounts of that time, and sees how thick expresses went one upon another between France and Spain, can doubt, whether the king and his grandson did not perfectly well agree: and not only the news of that time, but the facts themselves shew, that the king gave him all possible assurances, that he would not abandon him, though it was necessary for his affairs to promise it. This, I say, is very plain, from what was at that time doing in Spain; for, though the marquis de Torcy told the allies, he did not know but king Philip might be at Paris before him, there was not the least sign of any intention to relinquish Spain; but, on the contrary, there were on the part of the duke of Anjou all the appearances, that could be of a prince that thought of nothing less. For the war was pressed with the utmost vigour in all parts; Alicant was besieged at a vast expence, and other places in Valencia were reduced with all diligence; preparations were made for the siege of Girone, and the army was put into the best condition it could be to invade Catalonia; and, at the same time, the marquis de Bay advanced close to the Portuguese in Estremadura, with a design to give them battle; in which, against the opinion of my lord Galway, they unhappily prevented him. This did not look like a design to quit Spain to king Charles; but, on the contrary, shewed a resolution to drive him out of it, if possible. But what gave the allies a greater jealousy than all this, was the causing the prince of Asturias to be acknowledged presumptive heir of Spain by all the states of the kingdom; which ceremony was performed with the greatest magnificence the 7th of April, that is, about a month after M. Rouille had been in Holland; which proceeding, you may remember, every body was then alarmed at; such a step being plainly taken for no other end, but to lay in matter for a new war; or rather it was a declaration, that an end could not be put to this, as long as the restitution of Spain was made one condition of a peace. The French ministers had but one reply to this, that their master was not answerable for what the duke of Anjou had done; but that, for his own part, he was sincere, and would do whatever depended upon him, and that therefore, if a peace was not concluded, it could not lie at his door. The allies, though they could not think what was urged, had any truth in it, yet, to shew how far they were from desiring to impose upon the king impossible conditions, thought of an expedient, which could not be refused, without discovering that France meant nothing by this treaty, but to make peace for themselves, and to leave the allies involved in a war with Spain. If it was not in the king's power to oblige his grandson to retire out of Spain, they declared they would be content with his doing what evi-

1709. reſtoring the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria (which indeed the ſtates-general had never done) ſo the

dently was in his power; which was to deliver up to them ſuch places in the Spaniſh dominions, as were garriſoned by his own troops. But this expedient was rejected; and the marquis de Torcy, thinking, I ſuppoſe, that the allies inſiſting upon the duke of Anjou's being recalled, was a more ſpecious handle to break off the treaty upon, than the refuſal of the expedient they propoſed inſtead of it, he agreed at laſt to let the thirty-ſeventh article ſtand as it is now worded; which is perfectly agreeable to the main deſign of the treaty, and to the tenour of the other articles; but with a reſerve, as before, to know the king's pleaſure, without whoſe further inſtructions he could not ſign. And thus the conferences held to ſettle theſe preliminaries ended the 28th of May, and were the ſame day ſigned by the allies. The marquis de Torcy immediately ſet out for Verſailles, leaving monſieur Rouillé behind, to whom he promiſed to return the king's anſwer by the 4th of June at fartheſt; which, from the neceſſity of the king's affairs, the point the treaty was carried to, the marquis's rank and character and perſonal merit, and the great proteſtations he made of his maſter's ſincerity, was hoped would be favourable; but moſt of all from his deſire to the allies at parting, that they would haſten the ratifications of theſe articles with all the diſpatch they could.

The hopes the marquis left with the allies, and the near proſpect of a good peace, filled all people with a joy that is not to be expreſſed. They waited with great impatience for the 4th of June: it was the next day before the anſwer came, upon the receipt of which, monſieur Rouillé acquainted the allies, that the king could not agree to theſe preliminaries. The articles excepted againſt were the ſame that the marquis had before diſputed; thoſe relating to the emperor and the duke of Savoy, and the thirty-ſeventh. The allies were not a little ſurprized at this anſwer, and more at the haughty air, with which monſieur Rouillé, in a long conference on this ſubject, preſſed his objections; a behaviour very different from what either he or the marquis had ſhewn before; which, there being no viſible cauſe for, they thought it was in great meaſure gaſconade; that it meant nothing elſe but to make what advantage he could of the inclinations the allies had without diſguiſe ſhewn to peace; and that he would at laſt recede from his pretenſions, when he ſaw, they would not; and that in all events they could not, on their part, give up articles ſo reaſonable in themſelves, and which they had ſo unanimouſly agreed to, as abſolutely neceſſary to make a good and laſting peace. And what they ſuſpected did in good meaſure prove to be the caſe, at leaſt it ſeemed ſo; for, after having inſiſted with ſo much ſtiffneſs upon the objections he had in the king's name made, when he perceived it had no effect on the allies,

the duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this. He convinced the ſtates of the treacherous deſigns of the court of 1709.

allies, his departure being fixed for the ninth. The ſeventh in the evening, or early the next morning, he waited on the penſioner; and, as an inſtance of his great ſincerity and concern, that the treaty might not be broke off, communicated to him his inſtructions, by which it appeared, that he was impowered to recede from all the other points he had before inſiſted on, excepting that of the thirty-ſeventh article, which ſeems to have been a maſter-piece of French artifice. For, if the treaty muſt be broke, it is as effectually done by inſiſting upon one article, as upon twenty; and, which ever part the allies took, the French would find their account: for, if they could be perſuaded to give up that, which, in appearance, was but one article, but in effect was the ſubſtance of all, or at leaſt of the moſt important ones, then it was in the power of the French to make peace, without obliging the duke of Anjou to quit Spain. And if the allies could not be brought to this, the point they ſhould break upon was ſo ſpecious, that the French miniſters hoped for a double good effect of it; that it would incenſe the populace in theſe provinces againſt their miniſters, and ſet the king right in the affections of his people, which, through the continued misfortunes of the war, he began to loſe. And, in this laſt point, they ſucceeded perfectly well: there were no efforts the French were not willing to make, to ſupport a prince, who ſeemed to prefer their ſafety to his own glory, and to think no ſacrifice too great to procure his people a good peace: but their other point they were much miſtaken in; and the breaking of the treaty had no other effect upon the ſubjects of the ſtates, though it be a popular government, than to fill them with the utmoſt indignation againſt the French, and loud reſentments of their conſtant injuſtice and perfidiouſneſs.

But to return to monſieur Rouillé, when he had ſhewn his inſtructions to those penſioner, which diſcovered ſo much more than he would own before, he took his leave of him, without propoſing any accommodation or expedient, in lieu of this important article; and whether the truth were all out, and there was not ſome ſecret inſtructions ſtill behind, was more than any body could tell. And, though this was his language the 8th in the morning, they did not know but he might alter it before night, when he found the allies were not to be moved, or that he might make a longer ſtay; he and the marquis de Torcy both having often fixed days for their departure; but, when the time came, thought fit to change their minds. And what made this the more probable was, that monſieur Petkum, who had all along, without authority or character, gone between the miniſters of the allies and France, did that morning propoſe to ſome of the allies, that France ſhould give to them two or three towns

1709. of France in this offer, and it was not entertained. The court of Vienna (as hath been ſaid) was ſo alarmed at the inclinations,

as an equivalent for the thirty-ſeventh article, to be kept by them, till Spain ſhould be quitted to king Charles. But ſince monſieur Petkum made this motion, as of his own head, without any commiſſion from monſieur Rouillé, who lodged with him; and the propoſal was indeterminate, without either the names or fixed numbers of the towns that ſhould be given, the allies could not take any notice of it. Beſides, had the offer been never ſo diſtinct, and made with full authority, to give two or three cautionary towns, was to evade and not to ſatisfy the intention of the article, and was in effect nothing elſe. But to offer a little better barriot to the Dutch, in exchange for Spain and the Indies. In the mean time, monſieur Rouillé ſpent the day in making viſits of leave, as deſigning to ſet out in earneſt for Verſailles next morning. When night was come, and there was no room to hope for any further ſtep being made on his part, here the man, who is accuſed of prolonging the war, interpoſed, and ſhewed how little he deſerves ſuch a cenſure. The duke of Marlborough ſent to the penſionary, and the other miniſters, to deſire a meeting, to try once more if any thing could be done to ſave the treaty. But this meeting being diſappointed, there was an extraordinary congreſs of all the miniſters the next morning, in which the deputies of the ſtates having acquainted them of what had paſſed, and aſſured them of their reſolution to preſs the war with the utmoſt vigour, till France was forced to conſent to a good peace, count Zinzendorf thanked the ſtates in the name of the emperor and king Charles, for the firmneſs they had ſhewn on this occaſion. The duke of Marlborough did the ſame on the part of the queen; which was followed with like expreſſions of ſatisfaction by all the other miniſters that were preſent, with very particular marks of eſteem to the penſionary, whom I have often thought the Godolphin of the ſtates, for his wiſe and prudent conduct thro' the whole negotiation. I need not ſay more to let you know, that he is a plain, grave, wiſe man, of great judgment and abilities, quiet, unpopular, and uncorrupt.

All thoughts of peace being now in appearance over, and monſieur Rouillé gone, the duke of Marlborough, who was extremely mortified at this change of things, reſolved to follow in the afternoon, and would not give over all hopes of having ſtill one interview more with him; to which end he got to Bruſſels, as ſoon almoſt as monſieur Rouillé, and ſent word before to prince Eugene (who had been there ſome days to give the neceſſary orders for aſſembling the army) but monſieur Rouillé was gone, before either the duke or prince could ſee him, and nothing was now left to the gene-

inclinations, which ſome had expreſſed towards the enter- 1709.
taining this project, that this was believed to be the ſecret motive

rals, but to try to do by the ſword what they could not do by treaty, and to make their way to peace by a good campaign.

This, I can aſſure you, from what I have obſerved myſelf in the progreſs of this affair, and the moſt exact information I could get from others, is a plain and true account of theſe negotiations thus far; in which one ſees, on the part of France, violent ſuſpicions of inſincerity thro' the whole treaty, working its way by all the methods of addreſs and artifice, which they are ſo great maſters of. But in the allies, plainneſs, unanimity, and an unſhaken confidence: every thing is open and above-board, without any diviſions in their conferences with the French, or any violent heats among themſelves; even in the great point of the barrier, which the French had hopes might make a breach between the Dutch and imperial miniſters: but by the prudence of the contending parties themſelves, and the firmneſs and temper with which the duke of Marlborough calmly interpoſed, this difficult point was amicably adjuſted, and the diſputes upon it produced no effects, that the French could take any advantage of. I believe you have not forgot, I am ſure I have not, how people here in England reaſoned upon theſe conferences. While theſe preliminaries were like to take effect, ſome men were by no means ſatisfied; they thought care enough was not taken of England; which ſhould make us hope, that they will ſome time or other obtain better terms for us; and that, in the next treaty, more regard will be had to the trading intereſt of Great-Britain, than the late miniſters have ſhewn. And yet no ſooner were the preliminaries rejected, but the men, who thought but juſt before there was too little in them, would have perſuaded us, that there was a great deal too much; and that it was unreaſonable to inſiſt on ſuch demands, eſpecially to oblige a great king, whom they have always admired, to dethrone his grandſon, though all ſuch invidious expreſſions were purpoſely avoided in the articles; and no body, as I have obſerved before, doubted but the king, if he were in earneſt diſpoſed to ſatisfy the allies, could do it without difficulty.

Dr. Hare then proceeds to ſhew, in oppoſition to the clamours, which had been raiſed againſt the duke of Marlborough in particular, or the conduct of the allies in general, with relation to the preliminary articles, firſt, That, if to inſiſt on the thirty-ſeventh article was a fault, the duke of Marlborough was not to be blamed for it; and, ſecondly, That to inſiſt on that article was in itſelf right and neceſſary, in order to a good peace.

Firſt (ſays Dr. Hare, p. 30.) I ſay, That, if to inſiſt on the thirty-ſeventh article was a fault, the duke of Marlborough is not

1709. motive of the treaty for evacuating the Milaneſe, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately in their deſign upon Naples; for

to be blamed for it. Secondly, Becauſe, if he did inſiſt, it was what he was obliged to: he had no authority to do otherwiſe. All the world knows, that both houſes of parliament did, the beginning of that year 1709, addreſs the queen, that no peace ſhould be made with France, without an intire reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy: and her majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs herſelf very well pleaſed with their addreſs, and that ſhe was perfectly of the ſame opinion. This addreſs being thus approved, no miniſter had any power or authority to conclude a treaty upon other terms, without her majeſty's command; nor could ſuch a command be expected from her, without advice of her council: and I believe a council will not eaſily be found, that will adviſe againſt the joint opinion of both houſes of parliament. If therefore the thirty-ſeventh article was inſiſted on, the duke is not to be blamed; he did but his duty, and could not juſtify his doing otherwiſe; which, if he had, would as certainly have been made a high crime and miſdemeanor, as his not doing it is now made a matter of complaint againſt him. There is no room for any objection here, unleſs it could be pretended, that this addreſs was of his procuring; the contrary to which is as well known, as the addreſs itſelf. But though it is plain, that the duke of Marlborough had no hand in making this addreſs, it is as plain, that when it was made, he was bound by it; and, ſince that required the reſtitution of the whole Spaniſh monarchy, he was obliged to inſiſt upon it. So the thirty-ſeventh article was unanimouſly adhered to as it is, by all the miniſters; and their doing ſo, I ſhall now ſhew you, was very right in itſelf, and neceſſary in order to a good peace. Firſt, it is right in itſelf, that is, juſt and reaſonable, not hard, or inſolent, or inhuman, as theſe advocates of France would have it thought. For what is the point in diſpute, but to reſtore to an injured perſon what has been unjuſtly taken from him? has not the injured party, by the fundamental laws of juſtice, a right to this? or is not the party, that does the injury, obliged to reſtitution, where it is poſſible? and is not this the caſe of the Spaniſh monarchy? I deſpair of ever proving any uſurpation unjuſt, if this is not. But if it be unjuſt, does it alter the caſe, becauſe the king of France has not uſurped it for himſelf, but for his grandſon? am I the leſs obliged to reſtore what I have unjuſtly ſeized, becauſe I have given it to a third perſon, provided it be in my power? does not the duke of Anjou know, as well as his grandfather, that it is a violent uſurpation? can he of right keep, what the other had no right to give? is it not kept plainly for the uſe and benefit of the giver? has not the giver power to take it from him? is it not plain, that his grandſon has not kept it

for by this means they became maſters of both. The French being now reduced to great extremities, by their 1709.

conſtant

it thus long, but by the ſupport he receives from him: and if it be thus manifeſtly unjuſt, and the uſurper has it in his power to make reſtitution, is it ill manners to demand it? is the Spaniſh monarchy ſuch a trifle, as not to be worth inſiſting on? ſhall we compliment the king of France, or his grandſon, with giving up what ſo many princes and ſtates have ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure to regain? can that now be thought conſiſtent with the ſafety and commerce of Great-Britain, with the intereſt and welfare of our allies, or with the liberty of Europe, which we ventured to begin a war for, under the moſt unpromiſing appearance of ever ſeeing a good end of it? but it was nonſenſe not to riſk all, when all was at ſtake: here was not room left but to appeal to heaven, and take arms; which gave us a chance for eſcaping the ruin, which was otherwiſe inevitable. This is the truth of the matter, this the point in diſpute. What then do people mean by all their ſenſeleſs clamour of the hardſhip and barbarity of the allies, in obliging the king of France to recall his grandſon? they, who think the cauſes of this war ſuch indifferent things, as not to be worth inſiſting on any longer, though we have ſo long ſtruggled for them, that we have at laſt got faſt hold; theſe men, I fear, will in a little time think the ſame of the cauſes of the revolution too; nay, they already tell us ſo; they are grown ſo inſenſible to the fears they were once in, that they begin to think popery and arbitrary power innocent and harmleſs things; they now plainly inſinuate, that there were no danger of the government in church and ſtate being overturned, and that therefore the revolution was not neceſſary; and, in virtue of theſe fooliſh ſentiments, when the revolution is upon the point of being unalterably fixed, they truly are grown weary, and, after twenty years labour, do not think it worth a little more pains to finiſh the work, and put an effectual ſtop to the return of thoſe evils, which they were once, as well as their neighbours, ſo heartily frightened with. And it is no wonder if men, who have contracted ſuch a ſtupid indolence, and are ſo indifferent for the civil and religious rights of their own country, cannot ſee what ſenſe there is in inſiſting upon the reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy, and are ſupinely willing to think (if nonſenſe can be called thinking) that the demand of the allies is either unjuſt, or at beſt very rude and unmannerly.

But further; this demand of theirs is not only right in itſelf, but neceſſary, in order to a good peace; and the beſt way to ſet this in a clear light, is to conſider what would have been the conſequence, ſuppoſing the allies had not inſiſted on it. Now to ſhew what this would have been, I will ſuppoſe, for the preſent, that the French were in

1709. conſtant ill ſucceſs, and by the miſeries of their people; but more eſpecially by the general decline of the public credit, the eminent

earneſt; and that, if this article had been receded from, they would have ſigned the reſt. Which way now, I would aſk, ſhould we have propoſed to get Spain? can we do it, unleſs the king of France intirely abandons his grandſon? no, certainly. But he has promiſed he will. But is his bare word a ſecurity, that may be depended upon? by no means. What then? why, he gives you up ſo many great towns, which he would not do, if he did not intend to leave his grandſon to himſelf. Why ſo? how can the giving up theſe towns to the allies be thought any ſecurity? is it any more than giving the allies a barrier, which barrier they would have inſiſted upon, whatever became of Spain? how now comes that to be a ſecurity, that the king of France would abandon his grandſon, which he muſt nevertheleſs have complied with, though he had abandoned him? is it the ſame thing to part with theſe towns, and keep Spain, as to part with them and Spain too? if not, then his agreeing to give up one is no proof he intends to part with the other. Ay, but when the allies have theſe towns, they will force him to it. That I deny. Why ſo, ſay they? the towns are to be delivered up in two months: that is, by the middle of Auguſt; and then the allies will have time enough to enter France, if he ſends any ſuccour to his grandſon. But, firſt, the ſurrender, that is to be made in two months, is only of thoſe towns, that are to make the barrier for the Netherlands? thoſe, that are to be reſtored to the emperor and empire, are not to be evacuated till the exchange of their ratifications, which is a tedious work. Beſides, though it be ſtipulated, that the towns in the Netherlands, &c. ſhall be given up in two months, I believe no body wants to be told, that things are ſeldom ſo punctually executed, as to be performed nicely within the time agreed. But I will ſuppoſe for once, theſe articles had been effectually complied with within the time, and that the allies conſequently would have been at liberty to invade France, if they had openly ſent any conſiderable ſuccours to Spain; but what then? could not they have ſent money and jewels to the duke of Anjou, without any danger of diſcovery? or would they not have pretence enough for denying it? and would the allies invade France, upon a bare ſuſpicion of ſending ſuch an aſſiſtance to Spain? and for men, though a body of troops could not have been ſent thither without being known, might not what number they pleaſed of the French troops, that were in Spain, have ſtaid there, under a notion of deſertion, or have been detained by the duke of Anjou's order, upon ſome blind pretence or other; a trick the grandfather has practiſed often enough for the grandſon to learn it from him? well, but ſuppoſe France had neither openly, nor underhand, given the

eminent bankers of Paris and Lyons having been obliged to ſtop payment, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of a peace, and 1709.

the duke of Anjou any aſſiſtance for that ſummer (not that I can by any means grant it) how long would that have held? or what uſe would the allies have made of it? could the troops we had then in Spain have over-run the kingdom without further help, or have driven out the duke of Anjou in one campaign? That, I preſume, will not by any body be pretended. Or could a ſufficient reinforcement have been ſent time enough to them, either from Italy or England, to do any great matters that year? that, I ſuppoſe, will be pretended as little by thoſe, that conſider, it was June, when theſe preliminaries were finiſhed. It is plain then, Spain could not have been gained that year, unleſs the duke of Anjou had conſented to relinquiſh it. Let us then, in the next place, ſuppoſe the ſummer ſpent, and the armies gone out of the field, and ſee what we are to expect then. A peace is made with France; the allies have got each of them their reſpective ſhares, and have nothing more to hope for. They renew, perhaps, the grand alliance, with great expreſſions of mutual zeal; the emperor at leaſt, and the maritime powers; but ſome of the leſſer princes might poſſibly ſhew themſelves diſguſted, and think they have been neglected: for, as the preliminaries are now ſettled, it is certain more than one of them are not ſatisfied. Suppoſe the king of Pruſſia or duke of Savoy, for example, had thought due care had not been taken of them, it is plain, in that caſe, their alliance is no longer to be depended on; and either of theſe, falling off, would very much weaken the confederacy; eſpecially the laſt, whom the French would be very glad to draw into their intereſts. But ſuppoſe none of the allies have any of theſe reſentments, or at leaſt ſtifle them, and all conſent to renew the grand alliance; what becomes of the armies upon leaving the field? is it not certain, that they will on all ſides diſmiſs great part of their forces? will not the maritime powers ſend home the foreign troops in their pay, except ſuch as Holland keeps for the defence of their new frontier? ſhall we hear of any more armies upon the Rhine, or in Savoy, when they have made peace, when the articles of the treaty have been all executed, and there is no more any enemy to moleſt them, no cauſe of complaint, or pretence for a new campain left? I think nothing can be ſurer, than that this would have been the caſe: the allies would have thought no more of war in the places, that have been hitherto the ſeats of it, nor have made any preparations for taking the field another year. All ſides would have made what haſte they could to have leſſened the burthen, which, during the war, they had been oppreſſed with. Holland particularly would have had full work to take care of their new frontier, to provide ſo many towns with ſufficient garriſons and magazines, and

ſettle

1709. and reſolved to try the States again. When the duke of Marlborough came over to England, monſieur Rouillé was therefore

ſettle what foot the ſeveral parts of their new acquiſitions ſhould be put upon, with reſpect to war, trade, and ſubſides; and, beſides the great expence this would for the preſent put them to, they would be at a very great charge to pay the arrears due to the foreign troops, without which they could not be diſmiſſed. Add to this the extraordinary allowance, which, upon their diſmiſſing, is to be made to carry them home. This would put the ſtates under a neceſſity of retrenching, as much as poſſible, the expences of the next year. And this laſt article England would be proportionably affected with. Now I would be glad to know, what ſhould hinder the king of France, from the minute the allies diſmiſs their troops, to give what aſſiſtance he will to Spain, provided it be not too groſsly, but gradually, by inſenſible ſteps; and by thoſe many ways of artifice, which the French are maſters of? if they make a peace, they may diſband ſixty or eighty thouſand men, or more. And what ſhould hinder theſe men from going into Spain to ſeek their bread? what ſhall hinder the king of France from giving ſecret orders for this? and, when it is complained of, from poſitively denying, and perhaps ſeemingly forbidding it? and may not the duke of Anjou, by this means, againſt the next ſpring, have a greater army, than the allies can bring againſt him? and how then are we to get Spain? will the allies raiſe new armies, and make a new war upon France in Flanders, upon the Rhine, and in Savoy, becauſe ſome men have inſenſibly ſtole out of France into Spain, againſt the expreſs order of the king, which you are ſure will be pretended? you do not know the ſweets of peace, or how unwilling people are, who have once laid down their arms, to take them up again. If you think the allies could be brought to this, or that any armies would take the field againſt France, after a peace was once made; what then is to be hoped for? why, I think nothing more than this, that the Dutch and the emperor would contribute for a little while, perhaps for one campaign, ſome money and troops, to act in conjunction with England againſt Spain; in which no great ſucceſs can be expected, conſidering the numerous army, I have ſhewn you the duke of Anjou might and would have. Now if this, upon the trial of one campaign, were found to be the caſe, I am afraid Holland would not be very willing to continue the proſecution of ſo expenſive a war; and the whole weight of another year would lie upon England, except a very little, that might be expected from the emperor. And what could this end in, but in the ruin of England, and the loſs of Spain? for the moſt, that could be expected from this war, would be, that the duke of Anjou would offer a petition, ſuch as I have mentioned in my firſt letter, but with

therefore ſent to Holland with general offers of peace, deſiring them to propoſe what they inſiſted on; and he offered them 1709.

with no option in the caſe. He would certainly keep Spain and the Indies, and give the other part to his competitor. And if that be accepted, what becomes of England, which is ſo much intereſted in the recovery of Spain? and if it be not accepted, what ſhall hinder the French king from aſſiſting his grandſon after one year, more openly, and taking upon him to mediate a peace; that is, to force ſuch a one as he pleaſes upon us? for how can we help ourſelves? ſhall we be in a condition to quarrel with him, when we have been exhauſted two years more with ſuch an expenſive war, while he has been enjoying all the advantages of peace, to repair the breaches the war had made in his affairs; to reſtore commerce, retrieve the public credit, remedy the ill ſtate of his finances, look into the condition of his fleet, and put himſelf into the beſt poſture he can for a new war, if the ſupport of the duke of Anjou makes it neceſſary? no, ſure; we ſhall never think ourſelves in a condition to break with him; nor ſhall we be able to perſuade our allies to it. No part therefore will be left us, but to ſubmit to ſuch a peace with his grandſon, as he ſhall in his pleaſure think fit to preſcribe. I need not inlarge upon the difficulties of making war with Spain, after what I have ſaid in my firſt letter. It is eaſy to ſee how the duke of Anjou may find us work enough for two or three years, if he do but avoid coming to an action. Sieges will coſt time, as well as men and money; and many muſt be made before ſuch a kingdom can be reduced; and that will give the king of France opportunity enough to do what he will, to ſupport his grandſon ſecretly or openly, or to preſcribe a peace, or begin a new war, which it is always eaſy to find a pretence for; and we are ſure he cannot want inclination to do whatever is in his power, which ſuch a cauſe calls for. Nor is he ſo little known, as to leave us the leaſt room to think, that any treaties or engagements can bind him, when inclination and power tempt him to break through them. His whole reign is one continued proof of this. I have ſaid ſomewhat of it already, and therefore ſhall add but one inſtance, which is a little parallel to the caſe before us; and that is, the manner, in which he kept the promiſe he made the Spaniards at the Pyrenean treaty, not to aſſiſt the Portugueſe, who were then at war with them. Never was treaty made with more ſolemnity; and yet what did thoſe engagements ſignify? all the time the treaty was making, France was concerting meaſures to ſupport the Portugueſe; and the king, the preſent king, who was then but young in perfidy, had ſo little regard to cover or palliate what he did, that he ſent, in the face of all the world, an army to the aſſiſtance of thoſe, whoſe defence he had renounced, commanded by a marſhal of France. And can we, after ſuch an

1709. them as good a barrier for themſelves, as they could aſk. The ſtates, contrary to the expectation of France, reſolved to

an inſtance, depend upon his word? has he not much greater temptation to aſſiſt Spain againſt us, than he had then to ſupport the Portugueſe againſt Spain? is not the honour of his grandſon, the intereſt of his family, and the acquiſition of ſo great a monarchy of infinitely more concern to him, than the defence of Portugal could be? a man muſt be blind, not to ſee there is no compariſon between the two caſes; and it is inexcuſable, when we are ſenſible of this, to think, that a prince, who has been ſo falſe in one inſtance, can be ever true in the other.

The ſum of this argument is, that if a ſeparate peace be made with France upon the foot of the preliminaries, without the 37th article, nothing can hinder France from aſſiſting the duke of Anjou: and, if he be aſſiſted by France, we can never be able to drive him out of Spain: and conſequently, if Spain be ever had, it muſt be by treaty. If therefore no peace can be a good one without Spain, then the 37th article is neceſſary in order to a good peace: which is the point I was to prove.

I know but one thing can be ſaid againſt what I have advanced upon this head; and that is, That the allies, though they make peace with France, ſhould ſtill keep up their armies, and then France will not dare to give the duke of Anjou any great aſſiſtance. But, firſt, I have already ſhewn, that this is a very unreaſonable ſuppoſition; the allies moſt certainly would not continue to keep up their armies, were a peace with France once made. But let us now ſuppoſe they would, how would this mend the matter? if we keep on foot as great armies, as we have now, we ſhould be no more at liberty to ſend men into Spain, than we are now. And, if we ſent any conſiderable number to Spain, they would be wanted elſewhere; and the king of France would have nothing to fear from us, for want of a ſufficient ſtrength to act offenſively, in caſe we ſhould think ourſelves ſufficiently provoked to it by any thing he does in violation of the treaty; nay, conſidering the number of towns given up to the allies, which all muſt have garriſons in them, and thoſe not very ſmall ones, to keep their new ſubjects in awe, we ſhould want a greater army in Flanders than before, to be in a condition to act offenſively. And, if ſuch armies muſt be kept up, I cannot ſee why they ſhould not be employed; that is, why we may not as well continue the war, or to what purpoſe we ſhould make peace. To me continuing the war ſeems much more eligible than ſuch a peace, for this plain reaſon, that France would certainly make a great advantage of peace, while we muſt, under the name of peace, continue in a ſtate of war, without the fruits of it. For example, all we have done, this campaign, would upon that ſuppoſition have been undone; and

to adhere firmly to their confederates, and to enter into no separate treaty but in conjunction with their allies. However upon the arrival of monſieur Rouillé at Antwerp, they appointed monſieur Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, and monſieur Vanderduſſen, penſionary of Gouda, to have a conference with him at Moerdyke. Upon the report of what paſſed in this interview, the ſtates permitted Rouillé to come to Woerden, a place between Leyden and Utrecht, that he might be nearer at hand for the intended negotiation: and then the deputies of the ſtates had another conference with him, in which he made ſome looſe propoſals towards a general peace, which, however, he refuſed to give in writing. The ſtates general, being ſtill cautious of making any advances in ſo important an affair, without the participation of their allies, gave immediate notice of what had paſſed, to the courts of Vienna and Great-Britain. Prince Eugene, who, during this interval, was gone to Vienna, returned from thence to Bruſſels, on the 27th of March, N. S. with full powers from his imperial majeſty; and, on the 8th of April, came to the Hague, where the duke of Marlborough likewiſe arrived the next day from England. Theſe two great men had a long conference with the grand penſionary Heinſius, monſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, and other deputies of the ſtates, where they debated the overtures made on the part of France; which being thought inſufficient to be the ground of a treaty of peace, orders were given for carrying on the warlike preparations with all poſſible application and diligence, in order to open the cam- 1709.

and we ſhould have been ſo much farther off than we are, from putting France under a neceſſity to give us Spain. For though the ſucceſſes of this year [1710] have been ſo ſlighted, as to be thought not worth mentioning; where one would have moſt expected it; I can tell you, Doway alone is in the opinion of France of that mighty conſequence, that in all the negotiations, that have been carried on, ſince the refuſal of the preliminaries, to find an expedient for the thirty-ſeventh article, Doway has been always excepted out of the number of the towns, that they have pretended to give as an equivalent. Now this and the other conqueſts of this campaign have brought us much nearer to our end, than if our armies had gone out of the field, as they came in, and had done nothing. I muſt therefore ſtill maintain, that upon all ſuppoſitions the thirty-ſeventh-article is neceſſary to a good peace, unleſs ſome real expedient could be found out, which has hitherto been in vain looked for.

paign,

1709. paign, as ſoon as the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon would permit, and purſue the late advantages with the utmoſt vigour. The deputies of the ſtates having informed Rouillé, that his overtures were not ſatisfactory, that miniſter ſent an expreſs to Paris for new inſtructions. This threw the French court into great uneaſineſs; for as, on the one hand, they were reſolved not to comply with the demand of the confederates, in giving up the whole monarchy of Spain; ſo, on the other hand, the great difficulties they laboured under, which were much increaſed by the general ſcarcity of corn, and other proviſions, occaſioned by the great ſeverity of the preceding winter, laid them under a neceſſity of keeping up the ſinking ſpirits of the people with hopes, at leaſt, of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, by a peace. Rouillé's expreſs was therefore immediately ſent back, with directions (as appeared in the ſequel) to that miniſter, to amuſe the allies with a ſeeming compliance with all their demands, but not to ſign any thing, that ſhould be drawn up in writing.

The penſionary having, by order of the ſtates, made a report to to the duke of Marlborough, of what paſſed at the conference, which had been held by Buys and Vanderduſſen, with the French miniſter, after the return of the courier from France, the duke reſolved to return to Great-Britain, to acquaint the queen with the progreſs of this important negotiation.

The duke therefore imbarked the 13th of April, and arrived three days after at London. During this ſecond abſence of the duke, the French court, to cover their artifices with an air of ſincerity, ſent the marquis de Torcy, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, to Holland, thinking the preſence of ſo great a miniſter might have ſome influence on the ſtates. Upon his arrival at the Hague, the paſſport, by which he came, having been ſent blank by Rouillé, he was there two days before his quality was known. After this he paid a viſit to the penſionary, and offered to communicate the propoſals, which he had to make; but that miniſter told him, he could not confer with him, nor ſee his propoſals, without leave from the ſtates. However, the ſtates having conſented, that he, together with the deputies, who had been appointed to receive the propoſals of Rouillé, ſhould meet the marquis, and hear what he had to offer, they had an interview with him the next day. The reſult of this conference being communicated to the ſtates-general, the penſionary had orders to inform the French miniſter, that they could not give him any reſolution, till they were informed

informed of the ſentiments of the queen of Great-Britain, by the return of the duke of Marlborough. 1709.

The duke, who made but a ſhort ſtay in England, returned to the Hague, the 18th of May. The firſt thing he did was to confer with prince Eugene, who arrived there ſix days before from Bruſſels, and had the ſatisfaction, in his conferences with the penſionary, to receive freſh aſſurances, "That the ſtates would never ſeparate from the general intereſt and ſcope of the grand alliance, upon any private conſiderations whatſoever." With the duke of Marlborough went over the lord viſcount Townſhend, as ambaſſador extraordinary, and joint plenipotentiary with him, the duke reckoning the load too great to bear it wholly himſelf. The choice was well made; for as lord Townſhend had great parts, had improved theſe by travelling, and was by much the moſt ſhining perſon of all our young nobility, and had, on many occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently; ſo he was a man of great integrity, and of good principles in all reſpects, free from all vice, and of an engaging converſation. Upon their arrival, the preſident of the week and the penſionary went together to the duke, to compliment him on the part of the ſtates, and at the ſame time to confer with him, which they did for about an hour and an half, and then they returned to the aſſembly of the ſtates-general. The ſame evening the marquis de Torcy went alone to the duke of Marlborough's lodgings, and had a conference of above two hours with him and the lord Townſhend. The 19th in the morning the marquis paid another viſit to the duke, and they both went together to prince Eugene's apartment, where they likewiſe conferred for ſome time. In the evening, thoſe two princes went to the penſionary, who acquainted them with the reſolution of the ſtates-general, not to accept the offers made by the French miniſters, nor to take one ſtep farther, but in concert with all the allies. This determination was very ſatisfactory for the duke and prince Eugene, and begat ſuch an unanimity and good harmony among all the confederate miniſters, as intirely baffled all the ſecret deſigns of France, notwithſtanding the marquis de Torcy managed his purpoſe very artfully, and did all he could to amuſe them with half promiſes and faint denials.

On the 20th, in the morning, the duke and prince Eugene, together with the lord Townſhend, returned the viſit they had received from monſieur de Torcy, where Rouillé, who, till then, had been with no other miniſters but Buys and

1709. and Vanderduſſen, was preſented to theſe great generals and miniſters. This ſame day, the French miniſters carried the amuſement ſo far, as to declare, that their maſter conſented to the demolition of Dunkirk; that he would abandon the pretender, and ſend him out of his dominions; that he would acknowledge the queen's title, and the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed on the houſe of Hanover; that he would renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, and yield up ſuch places as the Dutch demanded for ther barrier. With reſpect to the empire, the French offered to reſtore all things, as they were ſettled by the treaty of Ryſwick, and to demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburgh. But the allies inſiſting on ſome other articles, namely, the reſtitution of Upper and Lower Alſace to the empire, Torcy declared he had no power to make any further conceſſions, broke up the conference, and ſent to the penſionary to deſire paſſes to return home. However, upon ſecond thoughts, and as they pretended, at the deſire of monſieur Petkum, reſident of Holſtein, the French miniſters conſented to ſuſpend their departure: and, on the 21ſt, Torcy went alone to the penſionary, to agree about another conference, which was held at ſix o'clock in the evening; and notwithſtanding the French miniſters had declared the day before, that they could not inlarge their offers, they now propoſed to ſurrender Straſburgh in its preſent condition. The allies not being ſatisfied with the propoſals made in this conference, another was appointed for the 22d, in the morning, which proved likewiſe unſucceſsful. Whereupon the French declared, that they were reſolved to go away; and, the better to demonſtrate their ſeriouſneſs in this reſolution, they ſent again to the penſionary for paſſes, and took their leave of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, and the miniſters of the neutral princes; but the ſtates having, the ſame evening, ſent them paſſes, and the penſionary intimated to them, that they were not hereafter to expect any paſſport for their return to the Hague; and conſidering, on the other hand, how unconcerned the miniſters of the allies were at the threats of their departure, they were eaſily perſuaded to ſtay, at the deſire (as they ſtill pretended) of ſome neutral miniſters; and, the better to colour the matter, they ſent, on the 23d of May, an expreſs to the court of France for new inſtructions. The ſame day, in the morning, another conference was held from nine o'clock, till about two in the afternoon; wherein they began to ſet down ſome articles in writing, and agreed to meet again about ſix in the evening.

evening. That afternoon count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, arrived at the Hague, and went immediately with monſieur Heems, the imperial miniſter, to pay a viſit to prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough; with whom, together with the penſionary, count Gallas, and the lord Townſhend, the French miniſters had another conference in relation to the ſecurity of the execution, of the points agreed on. But, though this conference laſted from ſix till eleven o'cock, in the evening, yet nothing was concluded in it. The 24th, in the morning, the French miniſters had another interview with the deputies of the ſtates, who gave an account of what had paſſed in it to the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene; and, the ſame evening, there was another meeting, wherein they reſumed the debate relating to the ſecurity of the performance of the articles agreed on, particularly the evacuation of the Spaniſh dominions. For this the allies demanded ſeveral cautionary towns; but the French refuſed to give any, inſiſting, 'That the 'engagement, which the moſt chriſtian king offered to enter 'into, to recall his troops from Spain, and his promiſe to 'give no manner of aſſiſtance to king Philip, was a ſufficient 'ſecurity, ſince that prince, being thus forſaken by his grand-'father, would be obliged to quit Spain; and the rather, be-'cauſe the Spaniards, in ſuch a caſe, would certainly declare 'for king Charles.' This occaſioned warm debates; but at laſt it was agreed, that France ſhould deliver up ſome places in the Netherlands, that were to be part of the barrier, before they entered upon the general negotiations of peace. On the 25th and 26th, there was no interview with the French miniſters; but the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, the lord Townſhend, and count Zinzendorf, had ſeveral conferences with the penſionary and the deputies of the ſtates, wherein they acquainted the new imperial plenipotentiary with what had been tranſacted ſince the beginning of this negotiation, and agreed on the further demands to be made to the French miniſters. A conference being held on the 27th, in the morning, at which count Zinzendorf aſſiſted for the firſt time, thoſe demands were communicated to Torcy and Rouillé, who deſired ſome time to conſider of them. But the duke of Marlborough having ſent them word, that he and prince Eugene had determined to ſet out for Flanders within two days, they promiſed to return an anſwer at ſix in the evening in another conference, which laſted till two o'clock in the morning. After many diſputes, the French ſeemed to comply with all the preliminary articles inſiſted on by the confederates. 1709.

1709. The preliminaries agreed on.

The foundation of the whole treaty was, the reſtoring of the whole Spaniſh monarchy to king Charles, within two months: Torcy ſaid, the time was too ſhort, and that, perhaps, it was not in the king of France's power to bring that about; for the Spaniards ſeemed reſolved to ſtick to king Philip. It was, upon this, inſiſted on, that the king of France ſhould be obliged to concur with the allies, to force it by all proper methods: but this was not farther explained, for the allies were well aſſured, that if it was ſincerely intended by France, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This, therefore, being laid down as the baſis of the treaty, the other preliminaries related to the reſtoring all the places in the Netherlands, except Cambray and St. Omer; the demoliſhing or reſtoring of Dunkirk; the reſtoring of Straſburg, Briſack, and Hunningen to the empire; Newfoundland to England; and Savoy to that duke, beſides his continuing poſſeſſed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the king of Pruſſia's royal dignity, and the electorate in the houſe of Brunſwick; the ſending the pretender out of France, and the owning the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, as it was ſettled by law. As all the great intereſts were provided for, by theſe preliminaries; ſo all other matters were reſerved to be conſidered, when the treaty of peace ſhould be opened: a ceſſation of all hoſtilities was to begin, within two months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat treaty, and ratified: provided the Spaniſh monarchy was then intirely reſtored. The French miniſters ſeemed to be confounded at theſe demands: but, in concluſion, pretended to ſubmit to them (p). Torcy told the miniſters, he would ſet out for Paris

(p) The preliminary articles were as follows:

1. That a firm and laſting peace be forthwith treated of, &c.

2. That to that end preliminary articles be agreed on, &c.

3. That the moſt chriſtian king ſhall acknowledge king Charles III. king of Spain, &c.

4. The treaty ſhall be finiſhed in two months, during which time Sicily ſhall be put into the hands of king Charles; and the duke of Anjou ſhall evacuate Spain, which, if he refuſes to conſent to, the French king and the allies ſhall enter into proper meaſures, that this article may have intire effect.

5. That the French king ſhall, within that time, withdraw his troops out of Spain, &c. and not aſſiſt the duke of Anjou for the future with troops, artillery, ammunition, or money.

6. The monarchy of Spain ſhall remain intire in the houſe of Auſtria,

Paris immediately, to lay the whole before his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and at parting deſired the ratifications might be returned 1709.

Auſtria, and no prince of the houſe of France ever become ſovereign of any part thereof.

7. France ſhall never poſſeſs the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, or trade thither.

8, 9. The French king ſhall deliver up Straſburg, for Kehl, and Briſac to the emperor.

10. The French king ſhall poſſeſs Alſace in the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter, except Landau, which ſhall belong to the emperor.

11. He ſhall demoliſh New Briſac, fort Lewis, and Hunningen.

12. Rheinfels ſhall he poſſeſſed by the landgrave of Heſſe, till otherwiſe agreed.

13 The clauſe concerning religion in the treaty of Ryſwick ſhall be referred to the negotiation.

14, 15. The French ſhall acknowledge the queen of Great-Britain, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

16. The French king ſhall reſtore to Great-Britain what he is poſſeſſed of in Newfoundland; and whatever either party has taken in the Indies ſhall be reſtored.

17. Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed.

18. The pretender ſhall retire out of France.

19. A treaty of commerce ſhall be ſettled with Great-Britain.

20. The king of Portugal ſhall enjoy all that is ſtipulated for him by his allies.

21. The French king ſhall acknowledge the king of Pruſſia, and not diſturb him in the enjoyment of Neufchatel.

22. The French king ſhall deliver up Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Werwick, Poperingen, Liſle, Condé, and Maubeuge, for the barrier of the ſtates.

23. He ſhall reſtore all the towns and forts he has taken in the Netherlands, with the artillery and ſtores, provided the catholic religion ſhall ſtill be profeſſed there.

24. None of the cannon or ſtores to be removed from this time.

25. The ſtates, as to their commerce, ſhall have what was ſtipulated at the treaty of Ryſwick, and the tariff of 1664 only ſhall be in force.

26. The French king ſhall acknowledge the ninth electorate.

27. The duke of Savoy ſhall enjoy all that has been yielded to him by the emperor, and whatever has been taken from him ſhall be reſtored.

28. The French king ſhall make over to that duke Exilles, Feneſtrilles, and Chemont, with the valley of Pragelas, and all on this ſide the mountains, for a barrier.

29. The pretenſions of the elector of Bavaria and Cologne ſhall be referred to the general negotiation; but the elector palatine to remain in poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate, &c. the garriſons of the ſtates to remain in Huy, Liege, and Bonne, till otherwiſe agreed with the emperor and empire.

30, 31, 32. The farther de-

1709. turned with all poſſible haſte. He promiſed prince Eugene, that the king of France's final anſwer ſhould be ſent, by the fourth of June; but ſpoke of their affairs as a man in deſpair: he ſaid, he did not know but he might find king Phillip at Paris, before he got thither, and ſaid all that was poſſible, to aſſure them of the ſincerity of the king of France, and to divert them from the thoughts of openning the campaign; but at the ſame time king Philip was getting his ſon, the prince of Aſturius, to be acknowledged, by all the towns and bodies of Spain, as the heir of that monarchy. Rouillé, who had opened the firſt ſcene of this negotiation, was to continue at the Hague ſome time longer, in order to ſuſpend the unravelling of the plot as long as poſſible. The whole artifice of France was at length diſcovered, and it appeared very viſibly, that the French had no other deſign in all this negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill underſtanding among the allies, or, by their ſeeming great conceſſions for the ſecurity of the States, to provoke the people of Holland againſt their magiſtrates, if they ſhould carry on the war, when they had ſuch ſafe and honourable offers made them; and they reckoned, that if a ſuſpenſion of arms could

They are rejected by the French.

mands on either ſide ſhall not interrupt the ceſſation of arms; the other allies being allowed to make farther demands at the general congreſs.

33, 34. The negotiation ſhall be finiſhed in two months, and in the mean time a ceſſation of arms be made.

35. Upon the ratification of theſe articles the French king ſhall evacuate Namur, Mons, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Condé, Tournay, Maubeuge, Newport, Tournes, and Ypres, and raze the fortifications of Dunkirk.

36. The French to execute what has been ſtipulated, with reſpect to the other allies, within two months after the concluſion of the treaty.

37. And if he executes all that is abovementioned, and the whole monarchy of Spain ſhall be delivered up to Charles III. as is ſtipulated within the limited time, then the ceſſation of arms ſhall continue till the ratification of the peace.

38. All this ſhall ſerve as the foundation and baſis of the enſuing treaties of peace.

39. The ratification of the preliminary articles to be performed by the French king, the queen of Great-Britain, and the ſtates, before the 15th of June, and by the emperor by the 1ſt of July, and what is ſtipulated in favour of each of the allies reſpectively, to be ſet down as ſoon as they have ſettled the preliminaries.

40. The congreſs to begin the 20th of June at the Hague, and, to prevent diſputes about the ceremonial, no ambaſſador ſhall take upon him his character till the day of the [illegible] of the peace. Lamberti Vol. V.

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be once obtained upon any other terms than the reſtoring of Spain, they ſhould then get out of the war, and the allies would be left to try, how they could conquer Spain. Torcy was, however, punctual to his promiſe given to prince Eugene; for, on the 4th of June, the prince, being at Bruſſels, received a letter from the marquis, importing, "that "his moſt chriſtian majeſty, having examined the project of "peace concluded at the Hague, found it impoſſible for him "to accept it; and therefore had ſent orders to the preſi- "dent de Rouillé to notify the ſame to the potentates en- "gaged in the war; and that it was to be hoped, that more "favourable terms would preſent for the eſtabliſhing of a "peace ſo neceſſary for all Europe, and conſequently ſo "much deſired by every body." The meſſenger, who brought this letter to prince Eugene, arrived the next morning at the Hague, where people were in the height of expectation of the French king's ratification of the preliminaries; but, to their great diſappointment, Rouillé having the ſame day had a conference at the penſionary's, with the imperial and Britiſh plenipotentiaries, and the deputies of the ſtates, he acquainted them, that the moſt chriſtian king could not ratify ſome articles agreed to in the conference held with monſieur de Torcy, and concluded the 28th paſt. He excepted to the articles relating to the emperor and the duke of Savoy; but chiefly on that of not beginning the ſuſpenſion of arms, till the Spaniſh monarch ſhould be reſtored, which, he ſaid, was not in his own power to execute (q). 1709.

Theſe

(q) Rouillé ſaid, that the French king in particular excepted againſt the tenth, eleventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-ſeventh. That as to the tenth his moſt chriſtian majeſty agreed to the ſame, as far as it concerned the poſſeſſion of Alſatia, according to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter; but inſiſted, that Landau ſhould be reſtored to him; and, as an equivalent, offered Old Briſac; both which places were yielded up to France by that treaty. That the moſt chriſtian king could not conſent to the demoliſhing Munningen, New Briſac, and Fort Lewis, but agreed to all the other parts of the eleventh article. That the eight and twentieth, relating to the places yielded to the duke of Savoy, was intirely excepted againſt, and referred to a farther diſcuſſion. That his majeſty alſo diſliked the whole nine and twentieth article, whereby the emperor's proceedings againſt the electors of Cologne and Bavaria were approved, but would have the ſame referred to the negotiations of a general peace, with this proviſo, that the Upper Palatinate, and the dignity, [illegible] reſtored

1709. These difficulties ſtarted by the French king having been communicated by Rouillé, count Zinzendorf, the duke of Marlborough, the lord Townſhend, and the penſionary Heinſius, immediately held a conference among themſelves, in which it was reſolved, "that no alteration ought to be "admitted in the preliminary articles, eſpecially in thoſe "excepted againſt by France, which were the moſt eſſen-"tial." And it was agreed at the ſame time to ſignify to Rouillé, to depart in four and twenty hours.

The 6th of June. N. S. in the morning, Rouillé made a viſit to the duke of Marlborough, and propoſed another conference, which was held that night; but nothing material was tranſacted in it, except that the allies declared to Rouillé, "that "they would not recede from any of the articles agreed to; "and that, if his maſter did not think fit to comply there-"with, the allies would not think themſelves bound by the "articles, or reſtrain their pretenſions to the contents there-"of, after the 15th of that month, the time allowed by the "articles." The French miniſter ſaid, he had no orders to make any further declaration; whereupon he received a ſecond intimation to depart the Hague immediately. The ſame evening, Mr. Walpole, ſecretary to the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, returned to the Hague with the queen of Great Britain's ratification of the preliminaries. On the 8th, the penſionary reported Rouillé's declaration to the aſſembly of the ſtates; upon which they conſidered, "that the articles "were concerted with the marquis de Torcy and monſieur "de Rouillé, put into writing with their aſſent, and by the "marquis de Torcy himſelf carried to the king of France, "in order to be ſigned and ratified; that they were actually "ſigned on the part of the emperor, Great Britain, and "Holland, and had been ratified by her Britannic majeſty; "and that nothing ſhort of theſe preliminaries could obtain "and ſecure the general peace, and prevent a dangerous, "expenſive, and lingering war in Spain:" whereupon the neceſſary reſolutions for the continuance of the war were taken with equal firmneſs of wiſdom.

The ſame night Rouillé being preſſed to declare if he had any ſecret orders tending to peace, made anſwer,

nexed thereto, ſhould not be confirmed to the electors palatine; and that the intereſts of the electors of Cologne and Bavaria ſhould be ſettled in the preliminaries; and, in the laſt place, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty excepted alſo againſt the ſeven and thirtieth article, whereby two months only were allowed for the delivering up of the Spaniſh monarchy, which term he would have enlarged, but conſented to recall his own troops from Spain within that time.

That

That if the allies would content themſelves with the fifth article of the preliminaries in relation to Spain, without inſiſting on the others relating to the delivering up of the Spaniſh monarchy, he thought the king his maſter "would be induced to depart from the other exceptions "about Alſatia, the duke of Savoy, &c." But the recovery of the Spaniſh monarchy from the houſe of Bourbon, being the chief end of the war, and the only means to reſtore and preſerve the ballance of Europe, the miniſters of the allies did not think fit to depart from any one of the articles to ſecure the evacuation of Spain; and ſo, the ſame evening, a paſſport was ſent Rouillé, for his ſafe return home. On the 9th of June he ſet out from the Hague, to embark at Rotterdam for Antwerp, from whence he continued his journey to Paris. The ſame morning, all the miniſters of the allies being deſired to meet in a congreſs, monſieur Van Eſſen, preſident of the ſecret affairs, and the penſionary, communicated to them the reſolution of the States-General, gave them a full account of all the ſteps that had been made in the negotiations, particularly ſince the French king had refuſed to agree to the preliminaries; and deſired them to acquaint their principals with theſe unfair proceedings of France, and exhort them to join their beſt efforts againſt an enemy, who could never be brought to reaſon but by force. Count Zinzendorf took this opportunity to tell the deputies of the ſtates, "That the empire, "the emperor, and king Charles III. would doubtleſs ex"preſs their ſatisfaction for the great firmneſs and con"ſtancy, which their high mightineſſes had manifeſted in "the courſe of theſe negotiations." The duke of Marlborough gave the ſame aſſurances on the part of the queen of Great-Britain; as did alſo the reſt of the miniſters, on the part of their reſpective maſters; and all ſignified to the penſionary, how much the allies were obliged to him, and ſatisfied with the prudence and wiſdom he had expreſſed in the negotiations, which, contrary to the expectation of the enemy, would prove a new cement to the grand alliance, and an argument to convince the allies, that the war was to be proſecuted till France was reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to any terms that the allies ſhould preſcribe. 1709.

Thus theſe negotiations came ſoon to an end, without producing any ill effect among the allies; and it now plainly appeared that the eaſineſs with which the French miniſters yielded to the preliminaries, was only an artifice to ſlacken the zeal of the confederates in advancing the campaign, as

1709. the leaſt effect it would have. But in that their hopes ſaile them; for there was no time loſt in preparing to take th field (s). The ſtates of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland hav ing met on the 13th of June, N. S. ratified the preliminar articles, without regard to that king's refuſal to ſign them; after which, the aſſembly unanimouſly reſolved to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour. But, while the generality of people of Great-Britain, Holland, and Germany, expreſſed their reſentment againſt the inſincerity of France, that court made a politic uſe of the very preliminary articles, which were made public in ſeveral languages by the allies. For, in order to raiſe among his people an indignation againſt thoſe exorbitant demands, and encourage them to bear, with leſs impatience, the burden and calamities of war, the French king cauſed circular letters to be ſent to all the governors of his provinces, the archbiſhop of Paris, and other prelates of France, wherein he inſiſted upon the unreaſonableneſs of the allies, in requiring his aſſiſtance to dethrone his grandſon (t).

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(s) Burnet obſerves on this occaſion, France had ſo perfidiouſly broke all their treaties, during this king's reign, that it was a piece of inexcuſable folly to expect any other from them. In the peace of the Pyrances, where the intereſt of France was not ſo deeply engaged, to preſerve Portugal from falling under the yoke of Caſtile, as it was now to preſerve Spain in the hands of a grandſon, after the king had ſworn to give no aſſiſtance to Portugal; yet, under the pretence of breaking ſome bodies, he ſuffered them to be entertained by the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and ſent Schombe g to command that army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a German by birth, to go and ſerve where he pleaſed: under theſe pretences, he had broke his faith, where the conſideration was not ſo ſtrong as in the preſent caſe. Thus it was viſible no faith that king could give was to be relied on; and that unleſs Spain was reſtored, all would prove a fatal deluſion. Beſides, it came afterwards to be known, that the places in Brabant and Hainault, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, would not have been evacuated by him, unleſs he had orders for it from the king of Spain, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected. Burnet, vol. II. 529.

(t) Theſe letters were as follow:

Couſin,

The hopes of an approaching peace were ſo generally ſpread in my kingdom, that, out of regard to the loyalty my people have expreſſed during the whole courſe of my reign, I think myſelf obliged to give them the comfort of acquainting them with the reaſons which ſtill hinder their

The people in France were much wrought on, by this extended indignity offered to their monarch, to oblige him to 1709.

their enjoying the repoſe I deſigned to procure them.

In order to reſtore the ſame, I would have accepted conditions very oppoſite to the ſecurity of my frontier provinces; but the more facility and deſire I have [illegible] to diſſipate the umbrages, which my enemies affect to entertain of my power and deſigns, the more they have multiplied their pretenſions; inſomuch that by degrees, adding new demands to the firſt, and making uſe either of the duke of Savoy's name, or of the intereſt of the princes of the empire, they have at once let me ſee that they had no other intention, than to increaſe, at the expence of my crown, the ſtates bordering upon France, and to open to themſelves eaſy ways to penetrate into the heart of my kingdom, as often as it would ſuit with their intereſt to begin a new war. Nor would the war I now maintain, and was willing to have ended, have ceaſed, had I conſented to the propoſals they have made to me. For they fixed within two months the term, wherein I was, on my part, to execute the treaty; and, during that interval, they pretended to oblige me to deliver up to them the places they demanded of me in the Low-Countries and Alſace, and to raze thoſe, on the demoliſhing whereof they inſiſted; refuſing, on their part, to enter into any other engagements, than the ſuſpenſion of all acts of hoſtility, till the firſt day of Auguſt, and reſerving to themſelves the liberty of acting then by force of arms, in caſe the king of Spain, my grandſon, perſiſted in the reſolution of defending the crown God has given him, and rather to periſh, than abandon faithful people, who, for nine years, have acknowledged him as their lawful king. Such a ſuſpenſion (more dangerous than war itſelf) would rather put off than forward peace. For it would not only have been neceſſary to continue the ſame expence for the maintaining of my armies, but, as ſoon as the term of the ſuſpenſion of arms would have expired, my enemies would have attacked me with the new advantages they would have taken from the towns, into which I ſhould have introduced them myſelf, at the ſame time that I ſhould have demoliſhed thoſe that are a bulwark to ſome of my frontier provinces. I paſs over in ſilence the propoſals they have inſinuated to me, of joining my forces with thoſe of the confederates, and to compel my grandſon to deſcend the throne, if he did not voluntarily conſent to live, for the future, without dominions, and to reduce himſelf to the condition of a private man. It is againſt humanity to believe, that they had even the thought of engaging me in ſuch an alliance with them; but although the tenderneſs I have for my people be as hearty as for my own children; although I bear a part in all the ills, which the war makes ſuch faithful ſubjects undergo; and I have ſhewn to all Europe, that I ſincerely deſired to make them enjoy peace;

I am

1709. to force his grandſon to abandon Spain; and even here in England, there wanted not many, who ſaid it was a cruel hardſhip put on the French king, to force him into ſuch an unnatural war: but if he was guilty of the injuſtice of putting him in poſſeſſion of that kingdom, it was but a reaſonable piece of juſtice to undo what he himſelf had done; and it was ſo viſible, that king Philip was maintained on that throne by the councils and aſſiſtance of France, that no doubt was made but that, if the king of France had really deſigned it, he could eaſily have obliged him to relinquiſh all pretenſions to that crown.

Chamillard in diſgrace.

The breaking off the negotiation of peace was ſoon attended with the diſgrace of monſieur de Chamillard, the French king's prime miniſter, and even with ſome coldneſs towards madam de Maintenon, who were both ſaid to have given larger inſtructions to Rouillé and Torcy, than either the king intended, or were thought proper by the young princes of the blood (u). On the other hand, it is obſervable,

I am perſuaded they would themſelves oppoſe the acceptance of it on conditions equally oppoſite to juſtice, and to the honour of the French name.

It is therefore my intention, that all thoſe who, for ſo many years paſt, have given me demonſtrations of their zeal, by contributing with their labours, fortunes, and blood, towards the maintaining ſo heavy a war, may know, that the only value my enemies pretended to ſet on the offers, I was willing to make to them, was a ſuſpenſion of arms; which being ſtinted to the ſpace of two months, would have procured to them more conſiderable advantages, than they may expect from the confidence they put in their troops. As I repoſe mine in the protection of God, hoping that the purity of my intentions will draw the divine bleſſing upon my arms, I write to the archbiſhops and biſhops of my kingdom, to excite more and more the fervency of prayer in their reſpective dioceſes: and at the ſame time I order you to acquaint my people, within the extent of your government, that they ſhould enjoy peace, if it had been in my power, as it was in my will, to procure them a good they wiſh for with reaſon, but which muſt be obtained by new efforts, ſince the immenſe conditions I would have granted, are uſeleſs towards the reſtoring of the public tranquility. I therefore leave it to your prudence, to make my intentions known in ſuch a manner, as you ſhall judge convenient. And ſo I pray God to have you in his holy keeping. Lamberti, vol. IV.

(u) It was reported, that the duke of Burgundy preſſed the making a peace, as neceſſary to prevent the ruin of France, while the dauphin preſſed more vehemently the continuance of the war, and the ſupporting of the king

vable, that while the terms of peace were debating, both the French court and the pope were uſing all imaginable endeavours to draw off the duke of Savoy from the grand alliance; the diſcovery of which was owing to the duke's miniſter at the Hague, and came very opportunely to expoſe the double-dealing of the court of France, who had the modeſty to reject the very article of the preliminaries, by which the allies ſtipulated a barrier for the duke of Savoy, and, at the ſame time, were offering him much greater advantages to induce him to leave the peace of Europe to their mercy. But theſe artifices were defeated by the penetration and firmneſs of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who treated the peace as they managed the war, and, by their cool temper and open conduct, baffled the ſtratagems both of the French miniſters and generals. And it is certain, that the French, who propoſed to divide the allies, by ſetting on foot a negotiation of peace, were themſelves caught in the preliminaries, which were ſo wiſely contrived for the particular ſatisfaction of each of the confederates, for their common ſecurity, that they became the more firmly united by this very tranſaction; and, being juſtly incenſed at the unfair proceedings of France, reſolved to improve their late advantages, by a vigorous proſecution of the war. 1709. Endeavours of France to draw off the duke of Savoy inſufficient.

The duke of Marlborough ſet out from the Hague ſoon after Rouillé, to put himſelf at the head of his army. Prince Eugene had abſolutely refuſed to go into Spain. There was nothing to fear in Italy. The army, on the Rhine, was formed with great difficulty, and very late. So the prince choſe to remain in Flanders, and ſecond the duke of Marlborough's deſigns. On the other hand, Villars was ſent to command the French army in Flanders, of whom the king of France ſaid, He was never beaten: Harcourt commanded Campaign in Flanders. Brodrick. Conduct of the d. of Marlborough. Hiſt. of Eur. Burnet.

king of Spain. It was ſaid that madam Maintenon appeared leſs at court; Chamillard, who had moſt of her favour, was diſmiſſed; but it is not certain, what influence that had on the public councils; and the conduct of this whole negotiation ſhewed plainly, that there was nothing deſigned in it, but to divide, or to deceive the confederates; and, if poſſible, to gain a ſeparate peace for France, and then to let the allies conquer Spain as they could. But the allies kept firm to one another, and the treachery of the French appeared ſo viſible, even to the people in Holland, that all the hopes they had, of inflaming them againſt their magiſtrates, likewiſe failed. Burnet, vol. II. 530.

on

1708. on the Rhine, and the duke of Berwick in Dauphiné. As the duke of Marlborough had truſted little to the ſhews of peace, he had taken care to have every thing in readineſs to open the campaign, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the court of France. By the 21ſt of June, the confederate troops formed an army of a hundred and ten thouſand men near Menin; and, two days after, the right wing under prince Eugene, and the left under the duke of Marlborough, marched and incamped in the plain of Liſle, on both ſides the Upper-Deule. About the ſame time, the enemy's forces were marching from all quarters to form their army, under marſhal Villars, in the plain of Lens, where he began to caſt up intrenchments to cover his troops. Upon advice from Arras, that Villars had poſitive orders to venture a battle, the lieutenant-generals Dopf and Cadogan were ſent out with detachments, to take a near view of the enemy; and, upon their report of the almoſt inſuperable difficulties that muſt attend the attacking the French troops in their advantageous and fortified camp, the confederate generals reſolved to lay ſiege to Tournay (x). The conqueſt of this place, notwithſtanding the ſtrong fortifications, appeared the more eaſy, becauſe Villars, at the approach of the confederate army, had unadviſedly weakened the garriſon. It ſeems the train of artillery was by a feint brought up the Lys to Courtray; and therefore it was believed the duke of Marlborough's deſign was upon Ypres; and, there being no apprehenſion of any attempt upon Tournay, no particular care was taken of it; ſo that, on the 27th of June, it was ſuddenly inveſted, and the train was ſent back to Ghent, and brought up the Scheld to Tournay. This enterprize was managed with ſo much ſe-

Tournay inveſted.

(x) Tournay is one of the moſt antient cities of Flanders. It had belonged time out of mind to France, till in 1513 it was taken by king Henry VIII. of England. It was ſoon after reſtored by the intrigues of cardinal Wolſey. The Spaniards took it in 1618, and kept it till 1667, when it was re-taken by Lewis XIV. This prince had ſpared no coſt to fortify it, and had made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in the Netherlands. It is very advantageouſly ſituated, of a great compaſs, and divided by the Scheld, as the army that beſieges it muſt alſo be, which is always very incommodious and dangerous. See the plan of the town and citadel, which, for the reader's ſatisfaction, is here annexed. Tournay is a biſhoprick under the archbiſhop of Cambray, about fifteen miles eaſt of Liſle, twenty north-eaſt of Douay, thirty-two almoſt weſt of Mons, and thirty ſouth of Ghent.

Crecy,

crecy, that the enemy could not have notice of the deſigns of the allies, nor time to reinforce the garriſon, which conſiſted only of twelve weak battalions, and four ſquadrons of dragoons, under the command of lieutenant-general de Surville. Upon the confederate army's coming up to the town, the duke of Marlborough made a detachment, under the prince of Naſſau, to ſurprize St. Amand, a poſt very neceſſary to cover the ſiege, and another to take poſſeſſion of Mortagne, a poſt, where the Scarp falls into the Scheld; both which were ſoon effected, the French troops retiring upon the approach of our men. The governor of Tournay, not a little ſurprized to ſee the town inveſted, which was unprovided with neceſſaries for a long ſiege, rifled great part of the corn of the inhabitants, and ſent out a party of French dragoons to bring in the cattle of the neighbourhood, who were moſt of them cut off, or taken priſoners; and the cattle, to the number of above ſeven hundred, were generouſly reſtored to the peaſants. At the ſame time, Villars, being ſenſible of his miſtake, in weakening the garriſon of Tournay, ordered ſeven or eight thouſand horſe from Mons and Condé to advance, and endeavour to throw themſelves into the town; but ſuch meaſures were taken to prevent them, that they were forced to retire, without attempting any thing. 1709.

On the 3d of July, all the troops appointed for the ſiege had taken their poſts round the town, from Cerqué above the town, to the caſtle of Conſtantine below it; and, the next day, the line of circumvallation was begun on this ſide the Scheld. In the mean while, upon advice that a detachment of ten thouſand men from the enemy's army was marched towards Warneton, lieutenant-general Wilks was detached thither, with two thouſand five hundred grenadiers, and thirty ſquadrons: but, before he could arrive, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, and about ſeven hundred men had yielded themſelves priſoners of war. All the neceſſary diſpoſitions being made for opening the trenches, and the bridges of communication being laid over the Scheld, the generals made the following diſpoſitions for the attacks of the city and citadel: that there ſhould be three attacks; one againſt the citadel, and one on each ſide of the river againſt the town, of which the principal was to be commanded by general Lottum, againſt the citadel, on the ſide of the gate of Valenciennes: the ſecond by general Fagel, againſt the gate of Marville; and the third by general Schulemburgh, againſt the horn-work of the gate of the

ſeven

1709. ſeven fountains. Sixty battalions were appointed for the trenches; three Imperialiſts, ſeven Engliſh, three Danes, ſeven Pruſſians, three Saxons, twenty-three Dutch, five Hanoverians, three Palatines, four Heſſians, two Wirtemburghers; and ſix ſquadrons of the troops of the ſeveral nations were to attend the uſual ſervices of horſe in a ſiege.

On the 4th of July, the enemy endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of Commines and Fort Rouge, in the former of which places was a major with a hundred and fifty men, and in the latter a captain with fifty, who were twice attacked with great vigour; but they defended themſelves ſo bravely, that, the confederate troops coming up in time to their relief, the enemy not only retired with precipitation, but abandoned the poſt of Warneton. On the 7th, at night, the trenches were opened before Tournay at the three attacks, with the loſs of about thirty men killed, and as many wounded. The next day the trenches were relieved about four in the afternoon; but the violent rains, which fell in the night, very much incommoded the beſiegers, and retarded their works. On the 9th, the beſiegers began to erect a battery. The ſame day two French officers, who attempted to get into the town, were taken priſoners; and, in the night, the trenches were carried on (notwithſtanding the wet weather, and the continual fire of the beſieged) with the loſs of thirty men killed or wounded. The 10th, thirty veſſels, laden with artillery and ammunition, arrived near the bridges of communication. The ſame day the beſieged made a ſally with five hundred men, but immediately retired at the approach of the confederates. The 12th they made another ſally by the Valenciennes gate; but general Lottum had diſpoſed all things at his attack with ſuch regularity, that the enemy were immediately repulſed with the loſs of near twenty men. On the 13th, the beſiegers began at the attack of count Lottum, and fired from two batteries of twelve pieces of cannon each, with ſo much ſucceſs, that they ſoon diſmounted the guns of the enemy on that ſide, and beat down a wind-mill, from which they had very much diſturbed the allies in their trenches. The 14th they began, at the ſame attack, to fire from another battery to break open ſluices; and the ſame day the batteries, at the attack of general Fagel, began to fire; as did, on the 15th, thoſe at the attack of general Schuylemburgh. The reſt of the cannon and mortars were mounting on ſeveral batteries, and were in a condition to fire the 16th. The ſame day the beſiegers at count Lottum's attack, began

gan to batter the wall, which made the communication between the town and citadel. On the 19th, they fired from a battery of eleven pieces of cannon at general Fagel's attack, in order to inlarge the breach at the attack of count Lottum, and into the covered way, on the ſame ſide from the Scheld to the citadel, which would very much facilitate the ſucceſs of that attack: and, on the 21ſt, they made themſelves maſters of the whole counterſcarp, at general Fagel's attack, and fired into the covered way on the other ſide of the Scheld before the attack of count Lottum, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the beſieged were forced to quit that poſt. The attack of general Schuylemburgh was likewiſe by this time very forward; for they made ſuch an inceſſant fire from their batteries, that, on the 22d, the breaches in the horn-work, the ravelin, and the wall of the town, were almoſt in a condition to be mounted, and, at the ſame time, the ſaps were carried to the wall of the ditch. However, they continued to fire from all the batteries to inlarge the breaches; inſomuch, that general Schuylemburgh, on the 27th, cauſed the ravelin and half-moon at his attack to be ſtormed; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the enemy, and their great fire, the allies lodged themſelves thereon, and perfected their lodgment, by favour of the continual fire they made from the cannon and mortars. On the 28th, in the morning, the beſieged made a vigorous ſally, in order to re-take the works they had loſt the night before, but met with ſo warm a reception, that they were forced to retire with conſiderable loſs: and, in the evening, the beſiegers having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general ſtorm; and, the enemy fearing to be taken ſword in hand, they beat a parley, and deſired to capitulate for the town. Whereupon hoſtages were exchanged, and, after ſome debates, the capitulation was agreed to. 1709. The town capitulates.

Thus, after twenty-one days of open trenches, the allies reduced a place, which the French thought impregnable, and that in the ſight of a numerous army of the enemy, who made no attempt to relieve it. And the conqueſt was ſo much the more advantageous, that the loſs of the allies was leſs than could have been expected, conſidering the ſtrength and importance of the place.

The French, according to the capitulation, ſurrendered one gate the 30th of July. The next day Surville, the French governor, was entertained at dinner by prince Eugene; and, in the afternoon, retired into the citadel, which his. and ſurrenders.

1709. his garriſon of about four thouſand men had already entered, and the earl of Albemarle, who was appointed governor of Tournay, took poſſeſſion of the town. The time agreed on for evacuating the place expiring that night, the allies began to work on the approaches to the citadel. On the 1ſt of Auguſt, in the evening, the French began the firſt act of hoſtility, and fired from the citadel with cannon and ſmall ſhot upon count Lottum's trenches and batteries; from whence they were immediately anſwered, and the fire continued very hot on both ſides the whole night. The ſame day the diſpoſitions were made for an attack, the new lines of circumvallation about the citadel almoſt finiſhed, and orders given for levelling thoſe about the town.

Articles for the time of ſurrendering the citadel.

In the mean time, Surville having propoſed to the confederate generals the appointing two perſons to treat about the ſurrender of the citadel, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough nominated de Lalo (a brigadier in the Britiſh troops) on their parts; and Surville named the marquis de Ravignan (a brigadier in the French ſervice) who, having conferred, drew up and ſubſcribed articles for ſettling the time of ſurrendering the citadel.

The French king refuſes to ratify the articles.

Theſe articles were ſent to the French court for their approbation, and an anſwer was to be returned in ſeven days. But upon this occaſion the French gave a freſh inſtance of their inſincerity, and manifeſted to the world, that their propoſals for delivering up the citadel of Tournay was but an artifice to gain time, and amuſe the allies. For, the French king would not ratify theſe articles, but, upon condition, that there ſhould be a ceſſation of arms in general in the Netherlands till the 5th of September, which the allies would not conſent to; and therefore the ſiege was carried on with all poſſible vigour, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantages which the confederate troops lay under, by reaſon of the great number of the enemies mines. From the 8th of Auguſt, the day on which the marquis de Ravignan returned from the French court, to the 20th of the ſame month, the enemy ſprung ſixteen mines, which coſt the beſiegers a great number of men, and very much retarded their approaches. On the 20th, the beſieged ſprung a mine with ſo great execution, that part of the wall from the town to the citadel, two branches of the trenches, a parallel, two ſaps, and two of the beſiegers mines were ruined, and a captain, two enſigns, and nineteen ſoldiers killed. The 22d, the miners of the allies diſcovered the branch of another

another mine; and as they were buſy in finding out the mine itſelf, they heard the enemy working on a great gallery. Whereupon a lieutenant and ſixteen grenadiers was ordered to diſlodge them; but the lieutenant being killed at the firſt onſet, his men were diſheartened and retired. Immediately after another officer, with a freſh detachment, was ordered to go upon that ſervice; but, the enemy throwing a great number of grenadoes, and making a terrible ſmoke, the beſiegers were forced to retire, to prevent being ſuffocated. The 23d the miners, ſupported by a lieutenant and twelve grenadiers, were at work to pierce through a traverſe croſs the gallery they had diſcovered; but the enemy threw in a great quantity of ſtraw, hemp, and powder, which being ſet on fire, occaſioned ſuch a ſmoke, that the officer and eight grenadiers were ſtifled. All this while the miners of the beſiegers frequently met with thoſe of the enemy, and ingaged them with piſtol and bayonet. On the 26th the enemy ſprung a mine, which killed above fou. hundred of the confederate troops, who, notwithſtanding that loſs, and the great fire of the beſieged, lodged themſelves that night near the palliſadoes at general Schuylemburgh's attack. On the 29th monſieur du Mey, the chief director of the attacks, was mortally wounded. That day and the next the beſiegers made a fierce fire upon the citadel, and threw abundance of bombs, which did great execution. 1709.

On the 30th, at ſix in the morning, the enemy beat a parley, deſiring to capitulate; and, hoſtages being exchanged, monſieur Dolet and the marquis de Ravignan, both major generals, and four other officers came out of the citadel; and major-general Hondorf, with five officers more on the beſiegers ſide, were ſent in. Dolet, and his company were brought to the earl of Albemarle's houſe, where the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were met to receive their propoſals. They offered to ſurrender the place, and delivered a project of a capitulation, conſiſting of eleven articles, the chief whereof were: "that the chapel ſhould "not be made uſe of for the exerciſe of any other religion "but the Roman catholic, upon any pretext whatſoever: "that they ſhould have twelve pieces of cannon and ſix "mortars, with ammunition for twenty charges, and horſes "and waggons, and other neceſſaries for that purpoſe, to "be furniſhed by the beſiegers: that the garriſon ſhould "march out drums beating, and colours flying, with the "other uſual marks of honour: that they ſhould have four "covered The citadel offers to capitulate.

1709. "covered waggons; and that the priſoners ſhould be re-
"turned on either ſide, and no deſerters ſtopped."

The articles rejected. Dolet and the other French hoſtages having made theſe offers, they were told by the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, that they could not allow of any other conditions, but that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon this they returned into the citadel; and, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the hoſtilities were renewed. The confederate generals inſiſted upon having the garriſon made priſoners of war, as well for the honour of the arms of the allies, as in return for the king's having refuſed to agree to the former capitulation, which

The citadel ſurrenders. was declared to the French officers. Beſides, during the ceſſation, the allies had confirmed accounts, that the enemy owned they were obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions; which they did in leſs than three days, upon the following conditions: "that all the officers and ſoldiers "ſhould retain only their ſwords and baggage, and, leaving "their colours and arms behind, were permitted to return "to France, upon condition that they ſhould not ſerve, "until they were actually exchanged againſt the like num-"ber of officers and ſoldiers of the allies; and thoſe taken "at Warmeton were immediately to be ſent back as part of "that exchange." After this conqueſt, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene reſolved to leave nothing unattempted, that might tend to the improvement of their late ſucceſſes: and therefore concerted the neceſſary meaſures for beſieging of Mons. The army, on the 3d of September, paſſed the Scheld, and incamped the next day at Breſcul, the Hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel (who was detatched the day before with four thouſand foot and ſixty ſquadrons) incamping at ſome diſtance. The 5th, the troops continued their march, notwithſtanding a violent rain. The prince of Heſſe paſſed the Haiſne in the afternoon, and the grand army incamped at Siraut, within a league of that river. The 6th in the morning, the army was again in motion; and, in the march, the duke of Marlborough received advice, that, the prince of Heſſe having made the diſpoſitions for attacking the French lines from the Haiſne to the Sambre, three regiments of dragoons had abandoned the ſame. The French deſigned to defend thoſe lines; for the chevalier de Luxemburg, with a great detachment arrived ſoon after to ſuſtain the regiments of dragoons, and was followed by marſhal Villars in perſon. But, ſeeing their troops had quitted their poſt, they marched back to Quievrain,

rain, whither the whole French army marched from their lines behind the Scarpe. On the other hand, the prince of Heſſe having taken poſſeſſion of the other lines already mentioned, incamped with his right at Jenappe, and his left to Tremiers, whereby Mons was in a manner blocked up, and the army under the duke of Marlborough incamped at Havre, and that under prince Eugene, at St. Denis. 1709.

On the 7th of September, Boufflers arrived in the French camp, and joined Villars. The ſame day the duke of Marlborough received advice, about noon, that the French were marching to attack the body under the command of the prince of Heſſe. Whereupon, orders were given to the army to decamp from Havre, and leave their baggage behind, and their tents ſtanding. The army having made a halt on the hills of Belian (where the prince of Heſſe had his quarters) the generals received farther intelligence, that the French had not paſſed the defiles of Waſſne, but were incamped near Quiévrain; whereupon the confederate army continued in the camp the following night, but in order of battle. The duke of Marlborough being informed, that the garriſon of Mons conſiſted only of nine weak Spaniſh, and two Bavarian battalions, beſides the dragoons of Paſteur, conjectured, that Villars's chief deſign was to oblige the confederates to draw all their forces into the plain between Belian and Tremiers, that he might have an opportunity to throw reinforcements into Mons: to prevent which, the duke ſent ſome troops towards St. Guiſlain. The 8th, prince Eugene and the duke ſpent the whole day in viewing the ground between the two armies; and, the 9th in the morning, the French made a motion, as if they would march towards Boſſu, but, the duke of Marlborough being advanced with ſome other generals to take a narrow view of their army, they ſoon perceived, that the motion of their left was only a feint to cover the march of their right, which filed off at the ſame time. The duke, being unwilling to loſe a moment, ordered his army to march by his left; by which motion the two armies came ſo near, a little after two, that they cannonaded each other till the evening. They continued all the night in the ſame ſituation; the French being poſted behind the woods of la Marte and Taiſniere, near Malplaquet, where they intrenched themſelves the 10th. And the confederate troops lay with their right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere, the head-quarters being near the center of Blaregnies. Motions of the two armies.

1709. The duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, and the prince royal of Pruſſia paſſed the night with monſieur Goſlinga, that they might be ready, if the enemy ſhould make any attempt. But though they were much ſuperior in number, and more eſpecially in infantry, yet they were ſo far from deſigning to attack the allies, that on the contrary, they began to fortify their camp (though it was by nature very ſtrong and advantageous) with all the induſtry and application imaginable. Beſides the thick hedges, which, like a chain, ran along their whole camp, they made deep lines to cover their foot; and, on the right, caſt up three intrenchments one behind the other, though the acceſs was otherwiſe very difficult, becauſe of a marſhy ground, which lay before them. Their center, which was in a little plain, was likewiſe ſecured by ſeveral intrenchments, defended in convenient places with good artillery; and, beſides all this, they cut down a great number of trees, which they laid acroſs the ways, to obſtruct the paſſage of the confederate horſe. They alſo cut down the hedges behind their lines, for the more eaſy march of their cavalry, to ſupport their infantry, as occaſion might require; ſo that their camp might not be very improperly called a regular fortified citadel.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who had, in concert with monſieur Goſlinga, taken the reſolution to attack the French, finding, on the 10th, that they had made uſe of the preceding night to improve the advantage of their ſituation, reſolved only, without altering their deſigns, to put off the execution of it, till they were reinforced by eighteen battalions, which had been employed in the ſiege of Tournay. To theſe orders were immediately diſpatched, that they ſhould march, with all poſſible expedition, to join the grand army; which they did that very night, under the command of count Lottum and baron Schuylemburgh. The ſame evening alſo a detachment from the blockade from Mons, under the command of lieutenant general Dedem, took St. Guiſlain ſword in hand, and made the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred men, priſoners of war.

The troops that came from Tournay, having on the 11th of September, in the morning, joined the right wing, over againſt the wood by Sart, where the enemy's left was poſted, prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the field deputies, rode together along the line between the two

armies, and several men were in their presence killed by the enemy's cannon. 1708.

The confederates had begun to work on their batteries at break of day. They raised one of twenty-eight pieces of cannon on the left, another of forty in the center, and the rest of the artillery was distributed on the right. A very thick fog, which lasted till half an hour past seven, had very much facilitated their work; but then it cleared up, and gave the two armies a perfect view of each other. Battle of Blaregnies or Malplaquet.

This being the posture of the French and confederate forces, a little after eight o'clock, the signal for the attack being given by a discharge of fifty pieces of cannon, and the cannonading continuing very brisk on both sides, prince Eugene advanced with his right into the wood of Sart, and eighty-six battalions of that wing, commanded by general Schuylemburgh, the duke of Argyle, and other generals, and twenty two other battalions, under the command of count Lottum, attacked the enemy with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the barricadoes of felled trees, and other impediments they met in their way, after an hour's resistance, they drove the French out of their intrenchments in the woods of Sart and Taisniere. The design of the attack was to drive the enemy out of the wood, and then to attack them in the flank of their intrenchments on the plain; which succeeded, and all the enemy's infantry of the left wing were ruined. General Withers, with nineteen battalions, attacked the enemy in another intrenchment beyond the woods of Taisniere and Great Lagniere with the like vigour, and good success. Thirty-six Dutch battalions, commanded by the prince of Nassau Friseland (or Orange) and baron Fagel, who attacked the enemy's right, posted in the wood of La Merte, and in that opening, covered with three intrenchments, met with great resistance, and lost abundance of men, before they could penetrate into the intrenchments. The fight was here desperate; but the Dutch soon drove the enemy from off their advantageous ground into their intrenchments, taking their colours. They likewise drove them out of their first intrenchments; but, as they were marching on to the second, they were charged with great vivacity by the enemy, and obliged to retire to their former posts. The duke of Marlborough then ordered Withers to march with the body under his immediate direction to sustain them; but upon notice, that Withers was actually engaged with the enemy, and that all things went well on the right, the duke thought fit rather to press the

1709. advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left in the heat of the action. As ſoon as the enemy's left went to retire and draw off their cannon, the duke of Marlborough commanded the earl of Orkney, with fifteen battalions, to attack them, and force them from their intrenchments in the plain between the woods of Sart and Janſart, with directions, if he ſucceeded, to poſt himſelf there, to cover the horſe, as they ſhould file off through the woods into the plain, in order to charge the enemy's cavalry, which were there drawn up. This was executed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that, after a ſhort diſpute, the enemy quitted thoſe intrenchments, which gave the horſe an opportunity to enter them. And though the firſt ſquadrons, led by the prince of Heſſe, had great difficulty to form themſelves, and were put into ſome diſorder by the French king's houſhold troops; yet being immediately rallied by the duke of Marlborough, and ſeconded by the ſquadrons of prince Eugene's army, they advanced together into the plain. Being there covered by their own foot, and having formed themſelves into very good order, they charged the enemy's cavalry, who being ſoon broke and defeated, their whole army fell into diſorder, and retired towards the plains of Bavay, leaving ſome of their cannon behind them. The allies made a good uſe of the beginning of the victory, and all the troops moved on with freſh reſolution. General Vink, having, with the horſe, ſurrounded ſeveral battalions of the enemy's right, ſummoned them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; but the French, being covered by a moraſs, made their retreat along the edge of a wood: three regiments of Daniſh cavalry, falling at the ſame time on the enemy, made a terrible ſlaughter among them, till, having gained a ſecond wood, they found means to eſcape. Eighteen ſquadrons, being detached to endeavour to diſperſe them in their retreat towards Quievrain, met their whole left wing on this ſide the little river Quaiſnau, conſiſting of about an hundred ſquadrons, commanded by Boufflers in perſon; and perceiving only at firſt the enemy's rear, poſted at the corner of a wood, the dragoons made up to them, and drove them without reſiſtance; but colonel Lippe, and a cornet, advancing too far, were taken, without being perceived by their own men. The wood being forced, the eighteen ſquadrons advanced into the plain; but, perceiving before them the enemy's whole left wing in three columns, one of which retreated in good order, the other two in ſome confuſion, they made a ſhort halt, and were ſomewhat ſurprized

prized to ſee the enemy face about, and draw up in order of battle. However, this ſmall body of the confederate horſe kept their ground, and poſted themſelves upon an eminence, with the wood of Elonge on their right, expecting to be attacked; but they immediately perceived, that the enemy [illegible] with no other deſign than to paſs a rivulet, that was in their way to a defile, leading them to Bavay, which they gained, before the allies, who purſued them full gallop, could come up with them. However, the allies followed the chace as far as the village of Quievrain, where the French had a brigade of foot, who obliged them to ſlacken their pace. Upon which they thought fit to give over the purſuit, and the enemy marched unmoleſted to Bavay. The reſt of their broken army retired in great confuſion, ſome to Maubeuge and Valenciennes, and others to Condé, leaving the allies in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, ſixteen of their cannon, twenty colours, twenty-ſix ſtandards, and other indiſputable marks of a victory; not to mention a great number of priſoners. Some of theſe were taken in the action, others in the purſuit, and the far greater number the next morning in Bavay, and other neighbouring places, either wearineſs or wounds not permitting them to follow the groſs of their army; which, having that night paſſed the rivulet of Renelle, incamped with their right at Queſnoy, extending their left towards Valenciennes. 1709.

The confederate generals, upon viewing, after the battle, the advantageous poſt, from whence they had driven the enemy, where themſelves aſtoniſhed to ſee what difficulties they had ſurmounted. And, indeed, all the troops as well officers as ſoldiers, ſhewed as great reſolution, bravery, and firmneſs in this obſtinate action, as ever was known. The enemy, whether encouraged by their intrenchments, or animated by the ſhame of their former defeats, fought with a bravery beyond what was expected from them, from half an hour paſt eight in the morning, till half an hour paſt two in the afternoon. They were, however, at length, forced to yield to the ſuperior courage of the allies, whoſe generals, the duke of Marlborough, prince Eugene, count Tilly, and the prince of Naſſau, were, during the whole fight, continually at the head of their troops in the hotteſt of the fire. And monſieur Goſlinga, one of the field-deputies of the ſtates, was not wanting to animate the ſoldiers by his example. Great numbers fell in this bloody action; and the allies owned, that they had above eighteen thouſand killed or

1709. wounded (y). Amongſt the ſlain were ſeveral officers of diſtinction, particularly general count Lottum, general Tettau, of the Pruſſians; count Oxenſtiern, lieutenant-general; the lord Tullibardine, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Athol, and colonel of an regiment of foot in the ſervice of the ſtates. Among the wounded were prince Eugene of Savoy ſlightly on the head, as was alſo brigadier May on the ſame place; lieutenant-generals Sparr, Wakerbaert, and Hamilton, and the firſt mortally; brigadier Cronſtrom, count Oxenſtiern's adjutant, dangerouſly; and monſieur Duyts, adjutant to the prince of Orange. His highneſs himſelf had two horſes killed under him, but eſcaped unhurt; as did alſo the duke of Argyle, though he received ſeveral muſket-ſhots through his clothes and perriwig. Brigadier Lalo, a French refugee, in great favour and eſteem with the generals; Sir Thomas Pendergaſt, colonel of a regiment of foot; colonel Rivett, of the guards; colonel Cranſtone, lieutenant-colonel Arundel, and lieutenant-colonel Bethel, were alſo reckoned among the ſlain; lieutenant-general Webb, in the beginning of the action, received a very dangerous wound by a muſket-ball, that lodged itſelf near the groin; lieutenant-colonel Ramſey, major Laſhley, and major Row died of their wounds; but lieutenant-colonel Farmer, major Chivers, and ſeveral others of inferior rank, ſurvived theirs.

The French were very induſtrious in leſſening and concealing their loſs from the public. But ſome private accounts from their army owned, that they had about five hundred and forty officers killed on the ſpot, and one thouſand ſixty-eight wounded, beſides three hundred and one taken priſoners; and the number of their private men killed,

(y) In the army of prince Eugene:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Imperialiſts,	190	328
Dutch,	534	750
Saxons,	166	510
Palatines,	86	273
Dutch,		888
Heſſians,	135	392
Wirtembergers,	132	299
Total	1984	3438

In the duke of Marlborough's army:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Britiſh,	575	1281
Pruſſians,	309	894
Hanoverians,	898	1119
Dutch,	3381	6081
Total	3563	9375
Total of both armies	5547	12806

wounded,

wounded, or taken, was modeſtly computed at fifteen thouſand (z). 1709.

This was the moſt deſperate and bloody attack, that had been fought in the memory of man; and both our generals were very much blamed for throwing away ſo many brave men's lives, when there was no occaſion. It was the only raſh thing the duke of Marlborough was ever guilty of, who it was generally believed, was preſſed to it by prince Eugene (a). Remark. Kane's memoirs.

The

(z) Among their ſlain were meſſieurs de Courſillon, de Chemerault, Palavicini, de Lautree, de Greberges, de Moret, and Sheldon, lieutenant-generals; count de Beuil, meſſieurs de Roulcau, de Rochebonne, and de Tournefort, major-generals; count d'Agonnes, meſſieurs de Coaſquin and de Stekenburg, brigadiers; the duke de St. Agnan, and meſſieurs de Schaweſtein, de Salis, de Seignelay, the chevalier de Coy, de Teleconde, de Molezum, Fitzgerald, de Barentin, St. Laurent, and the duke of Charoſt. Amongſt the wounded was the marſhal de Villars himſelf, who, in the heat of the battle receiving a ſhot in the knee, was obliged to leave the command of the French army to marſhal de Boufflers; the duke of Guiche, the chevalier de St. Paris, meſſieurs de Conflan, de Beaufremont, de Savigne, de Crauſat, de Morneſiers, de Opelde, de Refuge, d'Albergotti, the princes de Lambeſle and de Monthaſon, meſſieurs de Brillac, de Tournemine, de Renty, de Berville, d'Autel, and de St. Hilaire.

(a) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that military men have always talked of this, as the ſharpeſt action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the generals for beginning ſo deſperate an attempt. The French thought it a ſort of victory, that they had animated their men to fight ſo well behind the intrenchments, and to repulſe our men ſo often, and with ſo great loſs. They retired to Valenciennes, and ſecured themſelves by caſting up ſtrong lines, while they left our army to carry on the ſiege of Mons, without giving them the leaſt diſturbance. Monſieur Rouſſet's remarks are as follow: 'in the 'opinion of the whole world '(ſay he) our generals were guil'ty of an irreparable fault in 'not attacking on the 9th; but 'delaying it, in expectation of 'ſix and twenty battalion, and 'ſome ſquadrons; while, by 'giving the enemy time to in'trench themſelves (which was 'what we had infallibly to ex'pect from a general ſo accuſ'tomed to it as the marſhal de 'Villars) we weakened our'ſelves, in proportion as the 'enemy grew more formidable. 'Beſides, we thereby gave him 'all the time he could wiſh to 'penetrate into our diſpoſition, 'to recal ſeveral detachments, 'which did not join him till the '10th, and in ſhort, to render 'all thoſe places impenetrable, 'through which only our troops 'could break into the plain. 'In the council of war, which 'was held the 9th, the depu'ties of the ſtates-general were

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1709. The action being over, the confederate army was ordered to incamp a little beyond the field of battle; and, on the 12th

of opinion, that the ſiege of Mons ſhould be immediately undertaken, without giving the enemy battle; but that, if they ſhould come to attack us, in that caſe, we ſhould retreat from them; and of this opinion were moſt of the generals. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough were of opinion to attack the enemy, before they began the ſiege, and they brought over the deputies to be of the ſame mind; but then, as well they, as the duke of Marlborough, inſiſted, that the attack ought to be made immediately, not to give the marſhal de Villars time to fortify his camp. Prince Eugene was not, however, to be diſſuaded from the reſolution he had taken, to wait for the detachment from Tournay. A fatal delay, which occaſioned the ruin of the whole body of the Dutch infantry, which alone loſt near ten thouſand men, more than ſeven hundred of whom were officers, at the attack of the intrenchments.'

Monſieur du Mont likewiſe ſays, 'that it was a misfortune to the allies, that they did not fight on the 9th, for then probably the victory would have been more compleat, and have been obtained with leſs loſs of blood. The enemy was then on the other ſide of the wood in the plain; there was room to come at them through the intervals. They had not time to intrench themſelves; and the advantage of the ground would have been pretty near equal.'

Father Daniel aſſerts, that the field of battle coſt the allies thirty thouſand men killed or wounded, while the loſs, which the French army ſuffered, was not two thirds of that number.

Dr. Hare, in his 'ſecond letter to a tory member upon the management of the war, p. 24, obſerves, that in this battle the enemy were ſo defeated, that they, who had hazarded a battle, to prevent the ſiege of Mons, did not dare to venture any thing for the relief of it, towards which they did not make the leaſt ſtep, though the allies had neither river nor intrenchment to cover them.' He afterwards, p. 32, takes notice of a queſtion aſked by the author of a piece, intituled, Arius and Odolphus, viz. 'If the bloody battle of Taniers or Malplacquet was ſo well concerted, as it might have been; and if there was an abſolute neceſſity to wait two days within ſight of the enemy for a few troops, that never engaged when they came, and give them ſo much time to throw up ſuch, unequal fortreſſes before we attacked them?' In anſwer to which Dr. Hare writes thus: 'I little thought to have ſeen the battle of Taniers inſtanced for a counter-ſtop deſigned to hinder the effect of our former ſucceſſes, when it was itſelf ſo great a one; but it ſhews the abſurdity of their cauſe, when victory itſelf is made a crime; and they attempt to prove a general's deſign to prolong the war, becauſe he has endeavour-

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12th of September, they returned to their old camp at Belian. 1709
The ſame day, the allies were employed in burying their dead;

to force the enemy to put an end to it by a new defeat. This is a ſtrange way of arguing indeed, peculiar to the cauſe, and its worthy defenders. It is a known ſaying, "victoriæ "ratio non redditur:" but, it ſeems, it now muſt not be allowed. A general has been often called to give an account, how he came to loſe a battle; but to be accountable for winning one is ſomething new; and, if victories had not been ſo common, we ſhould hardly have been ſo difficult; we ſhould have underſtood the value of a ſingle victory, and been thankful for it. But the number, it ſeems, has made us ſo nice, that we had rather not have them, if they are not juſt to our minds; if they are not of as much conſequence as Blenheim, or as cheap as Ramilies or Oudenard. I would be glad to know, if ever any one French writer treated the battle of Landen with that contempt, that theſe gentlemen do that of Taniers; or thought the fighting it a crime in a general, becauſe it was dear bought, and had little other conſequence than the gaining what Arlus calls unprofitable honour. On the contrary, never victory was ſo much magnified, the tongues and pens of that nation were for many years full of nothing elſe; and yet thoſe, who were at that battle, will tell you, that the French did not only loſe as many men as the confederates, but double or treble their number; and the allies recovered that defeat ſo ſoon, that in ſix weeks time they had a better army than before the battle; and all the uſe the French made of their victory was to take Charleroy, though the battle was fought in June; a conqueſt one may eaſily ſuppoſe they might have made without the purchaſe of ſo dear a victory, as they made thoſe of Mons and Namur, places of much more importance. Now let us ſee, whether the victory of Taniers be on any account inferior to that of Landen. That it exceed it in honour, Arlus himſelf allows; for he grants, "that in all the "wars of immemorial time, "there never was a battle fought, "where mortal men gained ſuch "immortal honour." And, whether he will allow it or not, it is as certain, that it was more valuable alſo in its conſequence, and the advantage the common cauſe reaped from it; for Mons was evidently a greater conqueſt in itſelf, and of more uſe to us, when Brabant had no other cover, than Charleroy could be to them. Beſides Charleroy might have been had without Landen; but Mons could not have been had without Taniers; and, though that battle was not fought till the laſt of Auguſt, Mons had not been the only fruits of it, if the weather would have permitted the allies to keep the field longer; and the ſucceſs of the ſiege was a plain diſcovery, that the loſs of the enemy was not only as great as that of the allies, but much greater. Why elſe ſhould they venture a

battle

1709. dead; and, there having been a great number of French officers and ſoldiers left wounded in the field of battle, and in the

battle to prevent the ſiege; and yet did not move a ſtep to diſturb it, when it was formed? is not this a confeſſion, that they, who thought themſelves a match for our army before the battle, did not think ſo after it, though ſo many troops were employed and weakened in the ſiege? did they not ſpend the time the allies were making the ſiege, in throwing up lines, and drawing all the troops together, that poſſibly they could? and was not the duke of Berwick ſent for poſt from Dauphiné, to join with marſhal Boufflers in the command of them? what, I would fain know, was all this for? why ſuch ſtrong lines, ſo vaſt an army, ſo many generals, ſo much concern, in the middle of October, when the ways were impaſſable, and the confederate army was intirely ruined by their victory? if their loſs was ſo unequal, as Arlus thinks it was, the French might have done what they would; might they not only have lain ſtill in great tranquility, without any apprehenſion of being diſturbed by the allies, but might have advanced to them, given them battle, and not only ſaved Mons, but ruined their army, if they were ſo much ſuperior to them, as their writers would make the world believe. But, if, we will allow the French to be better judges of theſe matters than our paper-politicians; the difference, that was made by the battle, between the two armies, was to their diſadvantage intirely; and the impreſſion, which the loſs of that battle gave them, made them think themſelves never ſafe; as if neither weather, nor intrenchments, nor numbers, could effectually ſtop the progreſs of this victorious army; though weakened by three ſieges, and a battle equal to three more. They ſhewed plainly by all their motions, they thought nothing impoſſible to ſuch an army, that could beat an hundred thouſand men, the beſt troops of France, through ſuch intrenchments, or in the language of the learned Arlus, through ſuch unequal fortreſſes. Dr. Hare, afterwards, p. 36, obſerves, that without this battle, the reſt of that campaign muſt have been ſpent without action, and perhaps this laſt of 1710 alſo. For we could not have carried our arms into the Artois, while Brabant was ſo much expoſed, as it was before the taking of Mons, which would conſequently have thruſt the work of this year one campaign at leaſt backwarder. But, if the neceſſity, the glory, and advantage of this victory cannot keep off theſe examiners, you may be well aſſured it will bear examination. I have heard a good deal of it, and, by all I can find, there never was a battle, for which there was a more unanimous concurrence of all parties, than there was here. And the delay what happened, was not only to wait for a few troops, but for bread, which

men

the adjacent villages, the duke of Marlborough ſignified to the marſhals Boufflers and Villars, that thoſe perſons might have leave to retire upon their parole, to return when they were cured; and that he would ſend lieutenant Cadogan with two hundred horſe to Bavay, to make an agreement about that matter, with any general they would ſend with the like number of men. The enemy accepted this propoſal, and they ordered the chevalier de Luxemburg to meet general Cadogan at Bavay, in order to concert every thing for the relief of the wounded, and burying of the dead. 1709.

The French, being retired to Valenciennes, left the confederate generals at liberty to beſiege Mons (b) the capital of Hainault, and the place, for the preſervation of which, the Mons beſieged and taken.

men, who had been continually marching for ſeven days together, were not very fit to fight without. Beſides, the troops they ſtayed for were not a few, and there was a great number of officers with them. And it is moſt ridiculous to fancy troops were not worth ſtaying for, becauſe they did not engage. At that rate all Corps de Reſerve are very fooliſh and unneceſſary things. Might there not have been occaſion for troops, becauſe there was not? or is it no encouragement to men, that do engage, to know there are others ready to ſuſtain them upon occaſion? but this endleſs to argue with the real or affected ignorance of theſe men. It is not great compliment to our generals to ſuppoſe they underſtand their buſineſs; and we ought always to preſume they conſult their matters well, unleſs we are ſure of the contrary; which we may eaſily believe, neither theſe writers, nor their maſters, are in the chief before us, ſince they were neither at the conſultations of the generals themſelves, nor pretend to any correſpondence with thoſe that were. And therefore to inſinuate, that they did not conſider things ſo maturely as they ſhould have done, is extreme impudence. Thoſe unequal fortreſſes indeed, which the enemy had thrown up, were, I have heard, more and greater than they were thought to be. Our generals knew they were intrenching, but neither believed ſo much work could have been done in ſo little time, nor that the fears of the enemy could make them think ſo much was neceſſary. But this ſerved only to make the victory more glorious. And, notwithſtanding all their fortreſſes, had the orders, which to prevent all miſtakes, were giving in writing, been rightly executed, the price of it had been much cheaper than it was. But there is no need of entering farther into the particulars of this battle, to ſhew the folly and malice of this moſt profligate libeller, and the reſt of his companions.

(b) Mons is very large, fine, ſtrong,

1709. the enemy had hazarded the late battle. In this city the elector of Bavaria had lately kept his fugitive court, and from thence the count Berghieck and the duke of Alva by order of king Philip their maſter, wrote a joint letter to the duke of Marlborough, to which the count added a note, importing, "that, if the queen of Great-Britain, by means "of his highneſs's good officers, ſhould think it for the in-"tereſt of the Nation to have regard to it, he was provid-"ed with powers from the king his maſter, to explain him-"ſelf more particularly, to ſuch perſon, and in ſuch a "place, as his highneſs would pleaſe to appoint." The duke of Marlborough did not think fit to have, at that time, any private conference with that miniſter; but, as the latter happened to be in Mons, when the allies inveſted the town, he was, on the 21ſt of September, allowed to have an interview with his grace, who granted him paſſports for himſelf, and ſeveral ladies and perſons of diſtinction, who went out of the place. As ſoon as the train of artillery was brought from Bruſſels, the ſiege, under the command of the prince of Orange, was carried on with great vigour, tho' the ſeaſon was both cold and rainy. The outworks were carried with little reſiſtance, and Mons capitulated about the end of October. With taking of Mons ended the campaign, both armies retiring into winter-quarters.

Campaign on the Rhine inconſiderable.

The confederate arms were not this year attended with the ſame ſucceſs every where as in Flanders. Little was expected on the Rhine. The Germans were ſo weak, ſo ill furniſhed, and ſo ill paid, that it was not eaſy for the court of Vienna to prevail on the elector of Brunſwick to undertake the command of the army there, yet he came at laſt; and, upon his coming, the French, who had paſſed the Rhine, thought it the ſafeſt for them to repaſs that river, and keep within their lines. The elector ſent count Merci with a conſiderable body of troops to paſs the Rhine, and break into Franche Comte; but, a detached body of the French, under the command of count de Borgh, lying in their way,

ſtrong, and rich city, of the Low-Countries, the marquiſate of the earldom of Hainault in the county of Mons, or proper Hainault. It was taken in 1691, but ſurrendered to the Spaniards by the peace of Ryſwick 1697. It ſtands on the river Troville, near Haiſne, twenty-ſeven miles ſouth-weſt from Bruſſels, thirty-three north-eaſt of Cambray, thirty-ſeven weſt of Namur, thirty-nine ſouth of Ghent, forty-eight almoſt ſouth of Antwerp, forty-eight almoſt eaſt of Arras, ſixty-five almoſt weſt of Liege, one hundred and twenty north of Paris, and one hundred and twenty-eight almoſt ſouth of Amſterdam.

there

there followed a very ſharp engagement on the 26th of Auguſt, N. S. Two thouſand men were reckoned to be killed on each ſide; but, though the loſs of men was thought equal, yet the deſign miſcarried, and the Germans were obliged to repaſs the Rhine, and retire to Friburg. The Germans having paſſed through the territories of Baſil, in order to make their intended irruption into the territories of France, the French ambaſſador in Switzerland expoſtulated with the diet of the cantons aſſembled at Baden, about the violation of their neutrality, and even threatened thoſe of Baſil with the effects of his maſter's reſentments. But the Helvetic body took ſuch effectual meaſures for the ſecurity of that canton and of their frontiers, that the French did not think this a proper juncture to increaſe the number of their enemies, and ſo contented themſelves with ſeizing upon the corn and revenues belonging to thoſe of Baſil and Alſatia. 1709.

Campaign in Piedmont and Dauphiné.

The campaign in Piedmont and Dauphiné fell alſo this year much ſhort of expectation. The duke of Savoy refuſing to go into the field, by reaſon the imperial court ſtarted ſome difficulties about Vigevano and other dependencies of the Milaneſe, which, by agreement, were made over to him. The court of Vienna inſiſted to have the controverſy adjuſted by commiſſaries: but this was oppoſed by the duke of Savoy, who pretended, there was no need of ſuch a dilatory negotiation, to find out the literal ſenſe of the treaty concluded with him by the emperor; and made preſſing inſtances with the queen of Great-Britain and the ſtates-general, who ſtood guarantees of that treaty for the punctual performance of it. The maritime powers, conſidering with what firmneſs the duke had adhered to the grand alliance, eſpouſed his intereſt with warmth. But the emperor inſiſting on a reference to commiſſaries, the duke perſiſted in his reſolution not to go into the field, and left the command of the army to veldt marſhal Thaun, who, on the 7th of Auguſt, went from Turin to Suza, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to march over mount Cenis. On the other hand, the duke of Berwick, who commanded the French army in Dauphiné, had, by this time, cauſed ſtrong intrenchments to be caſt up to cover Briançon, the place moſt threatened by the confederates, and to defend ſome other important poſts. So all that count Thaun was able to do, was only to oblige the French to abandon their lines at St. Maurice, drive them from thoſe at Feſſons, defeat a ſmall body at Conflans, and make himſelf maſter of the inconſiderable town and caſtle of Anneci; after which, for want of proviſions, he

1709. he was forced to repaſs the Alps, and march into Piedmont towards the end of September. The glory which the duke of Berwick gained in thus diſappointing the deſigns of the allies, was the greater, as part of his troops were at that very time employed in ſuppreſſing, in the Vivarez, an inſurrection of the Camiſars, and other malecontents, who on the 19th of Auguſt, N. S. maintained a ſharp encounter with the French king's troops. But, on the 23d of the ſame month, they were entirely defeated within ſome leagues of Vernoux, and about fifty of them taken priſoners, with their chief leader Abraham, who was broke alive upon the wheel; and twenty-three others hanged at ſeveral places, ſix or ſeven ſent to the gallies, and the reſt committed to priſon.

Affairs in Italy. The moſt important thing relating to Italy this year, was, that the pope delayed acknowledging king Charles, by ſeveral pretended difficulties; his deſign being to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of the campaign; but when he was threatened towards the end of it, that, if it was not done, the imperial army ſhould come and take up their winter-quarters in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he ſubmitted, and acknowledged him. He ſent alſo his nephew Albano, firſt to Vienna, and then to Poland; he furniſhed him with a magnificient retinue, and ſeemed to hope, that, by the ſervices he ſhould do to the papal intereſts there, he ſhould be preſſed to make him a cardinal, notwithſtanding the bull againſt Nepotiſm.

Affairs in Portugal and Spain. Battle of Caya. Hiſt. of Eur. The Spaniſh and Portugueſe armies having taken the field towards the end of April, they ſoon came to an engagement; for, on the 7th of May, N. S. being both incamped on the Caya, and the Spaniards making a motion, with a deſign either to forage the adjacent country, or to inſult the confederates; the Portugueſe general, contrary to the earl of Galway's opinion, paſſed the river with all their horſe, moſt of the foot, and ſome field-pieces, which they fired with good execution on the enemy. The marſhal de Bay, who commanded the Spaniards, charged the Portugueſe horſe of the right wing, who immediately wheeled about, and fled, without firing a ſhot, which gave the Spaniards an opportunity of ſeizing the Portugueſe cannon. In order to recover theſe, and to favour the retreat of the body of foot, which had repulſed the enemy three times with great firmneſs and reſolution, the earl of Galway brought up himſelf Pearce's brigade, conſiſting of two Britiſh battalions of Barrymore and Stanwix, and one of the Spaniards lately raiſed. But theſe troops not being ſuſtained by the Portugueſe horſe

of

of the laſt, who fled like thoſe of the right, they were intercepted, and obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, and with them major-general Sankey, the earl of Barrymore, brigadier Pearce, and the Conde de San Juan, a Portugueſe general. The reſt of the Britiſh foot, under the command of the marquis de Montandre, performed wonders, and, with the Portugueſe infantry, made an orderly retreat, with the loſs of about an hundred and fifty men; ſo that, except the priſoners, and other marks of honour, the Spaniards had no reaſon to boaſt of their victory. The earl of Galway, who had a horſe ſhot under him, very narrowly eſcaped being taken; but having found means to get away from the enemy with major Bladen his ſecretary, and a few other officers, he rid about four or five miles, and at laſt reached the confederate army, which that night came to Aronches, and the next day incamped at Elvas. The marquis de Bay, having refreſhed his troops, advanced towards the confederates; but the earl of Galway took ſuch advantageous poſts along the Guadiana, that the Spaniards durſt not attempt either to paſs that river, or beſiege Olivenza, into which place the Britiſh general found means to introduce ſupplies of proviſions; and, the heats coming on, both armies went into quarters of refreſhment; nor did any thing worth notice happen on that ſide on the autumn campaign. For the Spaniards apprehending, that our fleet might have a deſign upon ſome part of their ſouthern coaſt, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of Portugal to defend their own coaſt, though they had no diſturbance given them on that ſide.

The caſtle of Alicant had now been blocked up ever ſince the month of December 1708. The garriſon, conſiſting only of Hotham's and Syburg's regiments (which were not above half compleat when left there two years before) held out with great reſolution all the winter, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the diſturbance they met with from the enemy's bombs. The Spaniards, finding all other means ineffectual to reduce that important fortreſs, reſolved at laſt to blow up the rock on which the caſtle ſtands, by a great mine; the ſeveral chambers whereof being prepared, with incredible labour and induſtry, the chevalier d'Aſfeldt cauſed fifteen hundred barrels of powder to be lodged in them, ſummoned colonel Syburg the governor to ſurrender, and, the latter to determine him to it, gave him leave to ſend out two of his officers to ſee the condition of the mine. This was readily

1706. accepted. Asfeldt went himself with the officers to the mine, and told them he could not bear to let so many brave men perish under the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended and gave them twenty-four hours to consider of it. But the governor being immoveable in his resolution, the mine was ordered the next day to be fired, which the centinels, posted on the side of the hill to give notice of it, perceiving, they made the appointed signal. Upon which the governor, with several officers, walked to the parade, and ordered the guard to retire; which was no sooner done, but the mine was blown up, and with little or no noise made an opening in the rock on the very parade, of some yards in length, and about three feet wide, into which the governor, lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft, major Vignoles, and other officers fell, and the opening instantly closing upon them, they all perished, though their bodies were not entirely sunk in. Notwithstanding this accident, lieutenant-colonel d'Albon of Syburg's regiment, being the surviving commander, resolved to hold out as long as he had any provisions; and, to make these last the longer, he reduced his men to half allowance. By this time king Charles being informed, that the garrison was reduced to great extremities, a council of war was held at Barcelona, to consider of the most proper means to relieve that place, the result whereof was, that lieutenant-general Stanhope should imbark for Port-Mahon, to confer with Sir George Byng on that subject. The general, being returned the 12th of March, N. S. to Barcelona, imbarked again, on the 18th, on board Sir Edward Whitaker, who was arrived there with three thousand five hundred men from Naples. Those troops were ordered upon this expedition; and then, sailing for Port-Mahon, they took there on board four hundred men more; and, on the 11th of April, sailed for Alicant. But, a strong easterly wind forcing them to anchor in the bay of Denia, the enemy suspected their design, and made the necessary preparations to prevent its execution. On the 15th the fleet arrived in sight of Alicant; but the weather continuing so tempestuous, that the ships could not come near the shore; and besides, don Pedro de Ronquillo had by that time assembled seven thousand men, cast up intrenchments, and erected batteries, to oppose the landing of the confederate troops. However, some men of war were ordered to get as near the shore as possible, and fire upon the enemy's intrenchments; which they did with some execution, but were much annoyed by the enemy's batteries. The general and admirals,

rals, ſeeing the impoſſibility of relieving the caſtle, reſolved, 1709.
in a council of war, to endeavour to ſave ſo brave a garriſon from being made priſoners of war; and accordingly general Stanhope ſent a boat on ſhore with a flag of truce, and an officer, with a letter for don Pedro de Ronquillo, offering to ſurrender the caſtle of Alicant upon honourable terms. This propoſal being accepted, ſeveral articles were demanded, and moſt of them granted. Purſuant to the capitulation, the garriſon marched out, on the 18th of April, with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, imbarked on board the fleet, and were landed in Minorca to refreſh themſelves.

General Stanhope having laid a deſign to ſurprize Cadiz, either by means of a ſecret correſpondence he had in the place, or merely upon the encouragement of the weakneſs of the garriſon, concerted meaſures for that purpoſe with Sir George Byng, on board whoſe ſquadron he imbarked at Port-Mahon with two regiments of foot; and, about the middle of Auguſt, ſailed for Gibraltar. Here he expected to be joined by the forces, which, about the ſame time, imbarked at Portſmouth on board a ſquadron, commanded by rear-admiral Baker, conſiſting of one battalion of Scots guards, the regiments of foot of the lord Tyrawley, brigadier Whetham, colonel Gore, colonel Bowles, colonel Capel, colonel Munden, colonel Dormer, and the earl of Rochford's dragoons. But this ſquadron being long detained on the coaſt of England by contrary winds, ſo that they did not make the coaſt of Portugal till the beginning of October, the Spaniards, in the mean time, being apprehenſive of general Stanhope's deſign, made detachments from Eſtremadura for the ſecurity of the coaſt of Andaluſia; and the ſeaſon being too far advanced to undertake any thing on that ſide, that general returned to Port-Mahon, thence to Barcelona, and not long after ſailed for Italy, from whence he came over to England by the way of Germany and Holland. On the other hand, rear-admiral Baker having, on the 10th of October, ſent a man of war to Liſbon for orders, lord Galway gave him directions to ſail directly for Barcelona with the forces he had on board. The court of Portugal (who expected that theſe troops would have ſtaid in that kingdom) having expoſtulated with lord Galway about their being ſent to Catalonia, he took that opportunity to complain of the ill proviſion that was made for the ſubſiſtence and accommodation of the Britiſh regiments in Portugal; and ſaid, that nevertheleſs, her Britannic majeſty would

1709. take care to recruit theſe forces, and, if the court of Portugal would be as diligent in raiſing the men for ſix regiments of dragoons in the pay of Great-Britain (which levies were at laſt reſolved upon) the Portugueſe army would then be in a condition to act offenſively. He added, that the forces on board rear-admiral Baker would be of far greater ſervice in Catalonia, even with reſpect to Portugal itſelf, by giving a ſtrong diverſion to the enemy; which argument had certainly great weight in it; for the Portugueſe were ſenſible, that general Stanhope's bare coming to Gibraltar with two regiments, had occaſioned the weakening of the Spaniſh forces in Eſtremadura, and diſabled them from undertaking any thing on that ſide, in the autumn campaign.

The rejoicings made at the court of Madrid, upon the eaſy and inconſiderable victory gained by the marquis de Bay in Eſtremadura, and on the birth of a ſecond ſon to king Philip, were ſoon damped, both by the death of that young prince, and their misfortunes on the frontiers of Catalonia. For general Staremberg, after he received the reinforcements from Italy, having paſſed the Segra without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of Balaguer, and took nine hundred men priſoners; the marſhal de Bezons having refuſed to ſecond the Condé d'Aguilar, who was for attacking the allies. Upon notice of theſe tranſactions, king Philip thought it neceſſary to leave Madrid, and go to the army. When he came there, Bezons juſtified himſelf, by producing the French king's orders for avoiding all engagements. King Philip ſeemed much mortified at this, and not thinking it advicable to attempt the attacking of Staremberg, in his advantageous poſt near Balaguer, returned to Madrid, where cardinal Portocarrero died ſome days before, to the great regret of that prince, and his partizans. Not long after, Staremberg, having put a ſtrong garriſon into Balaguer, repaſſed the Segra, and ſo both armies went into winter quarters.

The king of Sweden's defeat. July 1. N.S. This ſummer brought a cataſtrophe on the affairs of the king of Sweden. He reſolved to invade Muſcovy, and ingaged himſelf ſo far in the Ukrain, that there was no poſſibility of his retreating, or of having reinforcements brought to him. He engaged a great body of Coſſacks to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the czar. He met with great misfortunes in the end of the former year; but nothing could divert him from his deſigns againſt Muſcovy. He paſſed the Nieper, and beſieged Pultoway. The czar marched to raiſe the ſiege, with an army much ſuperior to the Swedes; but the king of Sweden reſolved to venture on a battle,

a battle, in which he received ſuch a total defeat, that he loſt his camp, his artillery, and baggage. A great part of his army got off, but being cloſely purſued by the Muſcovites, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made priſoners of war. The king himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſſed the Nieper, and got into the Turkiſh dominions, and ſettled at Bender, a town in Moldavia. Upon this great reverſe of his affairs, king Auguſtus pretended, that the reſignation of the crown of Poland was extorted from him by force, and that it was not in his power to reſign the crown, by which he was tied to the republic of Poland, without their conſent. He marched therefore into Poland, and Staniſlaus was not able to make any reſiſtance, but continued under the protection of the Swedes, waiting for another reverſe of fortune. A project was formed to engage the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, with king Auguſtus and the czar, to attack the Swedes in ſo many different places, that the extravagant humour of their king was like now to draw a heavy ſtorm upon them, if England and the ſtates-general, with the court of Vienna, had not cruſhed all this, and entered into a guaranty, for preſerving the peace of the empire, and by conſequence of the Swediſh dominions in Germany (c). 1709. He flies into Turkey.

The

(c) Burnet ſays, this ſudden, and, as it ſeemed, total reverſe of all the deſigns of the king of Sweden, who had been for many years the terror of all his neighbours, made me write to Dr. Robinſon, who had lived above thirty years in that court, and is now lord biſhop of Briſtol, for a particular character of that king.

I ſhall ſet it down in his own words:

He is now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, tall and ſlender, ſtoops a little, and in his walking diſcovers, though in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: he is of a very vigorous and healthy conſtitution, takes a pleaſure in enduring the greateſt fatigues, and is little curious about his repoſe: his chief and almoſt only exerciſe has been riding, in which he has been extremely exceſſive. He uſually eats with a good appetite, eſpecially in the morning, which is the beſt of his three meals: he never drinks any thing but ſmall beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: he ſpeaks little, is very thoughtful, and is obſerved to mind nothing ſo much as his own affairs, laying his deſigns, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: he holds few or no councils of war; and though in civil affairs his miniſters have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard

1709. Affairs in Denmark.

The king of Denmark ſpent a great part of this ſummer in a very expenſive courſe of travelling through the courts of Germany and Italy; and it was believed that he intended to go to Rome, where great preparations were making for giving him a ſplendid reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his religion. But whether theſe reports were altogether groundleſs, or whether, being ſo commonly believed, was like to produce ſome diſorders in his own kingdom, is not certainly known; but thus much is certain, that he ſtopped at Florence, and went no farther, but returned home, and, upon the king of Sweden's misfortunes, entered into meaſures to attack Sweden with king Auguſtus, who had called a diet in Poland, in which he was acknowledged their king, and all things were ſettled there according to his wiſhes. The king of Denmark, upon his return home, ſent an army over the Sound to

heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own judgment than on theirs, and frequently falls on ſuch methods, as are fartheſt from their thoughts: ſo that both his miniſters and generals have had hitherto the glory of obedience, without either the praiſe or blame of having adviſed prudently or otherwiſe. The reaſon of his reſervedneſs in conſulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the age of fifteen, to ſucceed in an abſolute monarchy, and, by the forward zeal of the ſtates of the kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of age: there were thoſe about him, that magnified his underſtanding as much as his authority, and inſinuated, that he neither needed advice, nor could ſubmit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without ſome diminution of his own ſupreme power. Theſe impreſſions had not all their effect, till after the war was begun, in courſe of which he ſurmounted ſo many impoſſibilities (as thoſe about him thought them) that he came to have leſs value for their judgments, and more for his own, and at laſt to think nothing impoſſible. So it may be truly ſaid, that, under God, as well all his glorious ſucceſſes, as the late fatal reverſe of them, have been owing ſolely to his own conduct. As to his piety, it cannot be ſaid, but that the outward appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very eaſy to account for the exceſs of his revenge againſt king Auguſtus, and ſome other inſtances; but he is not ſuſpected of any bodily indulgences. It is moſt certain, he has always wiſhed well to the allies, and not at all to France, which he never intended to ſerve by any ſteps he has made. We hear the Turks uſe him well, but time muſt ſhew what uſe they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own kingdom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then he may become one of the greateſt princes of the age.

Schonen,

Schonen, about the middle of November, having first published a manifesto, wherein he set forth his reasons for declaring war against Sweden. Finding no resistance at his landing at Helsingburg, he fixed there his head-quarters; but, the cold season not permitting him to undertake the siege of Landscroon, he disposed his troops into winter-quarters, and, on the 4th of December, N. S. returned to Copenhagen. Some time after, the Danes having taken the field, made some progress in Schonen; but the regency of Stockholm having by this time sent a good body of troops into that province, the Swedes obliged the enemy to retire under the cannon of Helsingburg; where, on the 10th of March, N. S. 1709-10, they attacked them with so much bravery and fierceness, that the Danes were almost totally defeated; and, not being able to maintain themselves at Helsingburg, abandoned that city on the night, between the 15th and 16th of that month, went on board their ships, and sailed for Elsinore, leaving behind them their horses, and some provision and baggage, which they had not either time or conveniencies to carry off. 1709.

The Swedish army that was in Poland, having got into Pomerania, the French studied to engage them to fall into Saxony, to imbroil the affairs of Germany, and, by that means oblige the neighbouring princes to recall the troops, that were in her Britannic majesty's service, and that of the other allies in Flanders. But the queen and the states-general interposed effectually in this matter; and the Swedes were so sensible how much they might need their protection, that they acquiesced in the propositions that were made to them; by which means the peace of the northern parts of the empire was secured. A peace was likewise made up between the grand signior and the czar. The king of Sweden continued at Bender. The war of Hungary still went on. The court of Vienna published ample relations of the great successes they had there; but these were said to be given out, to make the malecontents seem an inconsiderable and ruined party. There were secret negotiations still on foot, but without effect.

Sea-affairs. Nothing of importance passed at sea. The French sent out no fleets; and our convoys were so well ordered, and so successful, that the merchants made no complaints. Towards the end of the year, the earl of Pembroke, finding the care of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, desired to lay it down. It was offered to the earl of Orford; but though he was willing to serve at the head of a commission, The admiralty put in commission.

1709. miſſion, he refuſed to accept of it ſingly; ſo it was put in commiſſion, in which he was the firſt, the other commiſſioners being Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Mr. George Dodington, and Mr. Paul Methuen. The queen gave the earl of Pembroke a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year, payable out of the revenue of the poſt-office, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices (d).

(d) Matthew Aylmer, eſq; was appointed admiral, and commander in chief of her majeſty's navy; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, eſq; rear-admiral of the red; Sir John Jennings, admiral, and Sir Edward Whitaker, vice-admiral of the white; Sir John Norris, admiral, and John Baker, eſq; vice-admiral of the blue.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

France makes new overtures of peace. — Palatines come to England.— A parliament in Ireland.— Their proceedings.— And of the convocation there.— Dr. Sacheverel's ſermons.— He is impeached. — And tried.— Oxford decree burnt. — The queen ſpoke to with great freedom by biſhop Burnet.—Freſh overtures of peace from France.—The queen addreſſed to ſend the duke of Marlborough to the Hague.— Conferences about the terms of peace.—Campaign in Flanders.—On the Rhine.—In Piedmont. Affairs of Spain.—Battle of Almanara.—And of Taragoſſa.— The Engliſh ſurprized at Brihuega.—Battle of Villaviciosa. —Campaign in Portugal.—Affairs in the North.— Campaign in Hungary.—Addreſſes of different ſtyle.—The queen ſends to the duke of Marlborough, to give a regiment to Mr. Hill.— Proceedings thereon.— The queen deſiſts from her recommendation.—The duke of Shrewſbury made lord chamberlain.— Lord Godolphin's letter to the queen upon it.— Earl of Sunderland diſmiſſed; and lord Dartmouth made ſecretary.— The tories elated, and whigs alarmed at it.— The emperor and ſtates interpoſe.—The earl of Godolphin diſmiſſed.—The parliament diſſolved, and other changes.—The elections of parliament-men.— The third parliament of Great-Britain.— The duke of Marlborough returns to England, and acquieſces in the new councils. —Conduct in Spain; and the late miniſtry cenſured.— Reflections on it — Lord Peterborough thanked by the lords. — The earl of Galway cenſured for giving the precedence to the Portugueſe. — Inquiry about the Palatines. — A bill for qualifying members paſſed. — Attempt upon Mr. Harley. — Turns to his advantage.— He is made earl and lord treaſurer.— Inquiries into the public accounts. — Emperor dies; and a meſſage from the queen to the parliament thereon. — Act for the South-Sea trade. — Repreſentation of the commons at the end of the ſeſſion.

AS ſoon as the campaign in the Netherlands was ended, the French court thought fit to make new advances towards a negotiation of peace. In order to which, ſignior Foſcarini, the Venetian ambaſſador, who, about this time, came to Holland, took a turn incognito to Amſterdam, to ſound the burgomaſters of that city. On the other hand, monſieur Petkum, reſident of the duke of Holſtein, at the Hague, 1709. France makes new overtures of peace. Hare. Burnet.

1709. Hague, who had been ſecretly employed the laſt winter in the negotiations there, kept up a correſpondence by letters with monſieur de Torcy, to try if an expedient could be found out for the 37th article in the preliminaries; the difficulty in that article being the only point, for which the conferences, in appearance at leaſt, were broke off. The point they offered to ſatisfy the allies in, was, that the French king ſhould not, directly nor indirectly, aſſiſt his grandſon king Philip; and, with regard to the expedient propoſed to ſecure this point, all went upon the ſame foot with that which Petkum had propoſed, as from himſelf, the day before Rouillé left the Hague. That three towns ſhould be put into the hands of the allies, to be reſtored to France, when the affairs of Spain, &c. ſhould be decided. The meaning of, which ſeemed to be no other, than that France was willing to loſe three more towns, in caſe king Philip ſhould keep Spain and the Weſt-Indies. The places therefore ought to have borne ſome equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the anſwers, which the French made to every propoſition, ſhewed they meant nothing but to amuſe and diſtract the allies. The firſt demand made by the allies was of the places in Spain, then in the hands of the French king; for the delivering up of theſe might have been a good ſtep to the reduction of the whole. But this was flatly refuſed; and, that the king of France might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the ſtrong places in Spain, and ſoon after out of the kingdom, pretending that he was thereby evacuating it, though the French forces were kept ſtill in the neighbourhood. Thus a ſhew was made of leaving Spain to defend itſelf; and upon that, king Philip prevailed on the Spaniards to make great efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the French king to deceive both the allies and his own ſubjects, who were calling loudly for a peace; and it likewiſe eaſed him of a great part of the charge that Spain had put him to. But while his troops were called out of that kingdom, as many deſerted, by a viſible connivance, as made up ſeveral battalions; and all the Walloon regiments, as being ſubjects of Spain, were ſent thither; ſo that king Philip was not weakened by the recalling the French troops; and by this means the places in Spain could not be any more demanded. The next demand, as moſt important towards the reduction of Spain, was, that Bayonne and Perpignan might be put into the hands of the allies, with

Thionville

Thionville on the ſide of the empire. By the two former, all communication betwixt France and Spain would be cut off, and the allies would be enabled to ſend forces thither with leſs expence and trouble. But it was ſaid, theſe were the keys of France, which the king could not part with; and therefore it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and even there they excepted Doway, Arras, and Cambray; ſo that all the offers appeared illuſory, and the intercourſe by letters was for ſome time let fall (e). After ſome time Torcy wrote to Petkum to deſire, 1709.

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(e) Dr. Hare, in his fourth letter to a tory-member, ſets forth this affair more at large: 'This, ſays he, was the nature 'of the expedient in agitation; 'and nothing can ſhew better 'the readineſs of the allies to 'put an end to the war, and the 'inſincerity of France, than what 'paſſed between them on this 'ſubject. The towns to be given 'up for this purpoſe muſt have 'been either in Spain, or on the 'borders of it, or on the ſide of 'Alſace, or in Flanders. What'ever could have been done of 'this kind, was but a poor ex'pedient for an article of ſo 'much conſequence; and, had 'the king of France been in 'earneſt, one cannot think he 'would have made any difficulty 'to give the allies what they 'were willing to accept. But, 'as he meant nothing leſs than 'what he was ſo forward to pro'miſe, there was no ſecurity of 'this ſort the allies could aſk, 'which he did not think too 'much to grant.

'As for towns in Spain, which 'was the beſt ſecurity, and moſt 'to the purpoſe, that expedient 'had been propoſed during the 'conferences at the Hague, and 'was by the French miniſters 'refuſed: and, to prevent the 'allies from perſiſting in this de'mand, the king ſoon after put 'it out of his power to comply 'with it; otherwiſe his people, 'as blind as they are, could not 'have had any great opinion of 'his ſincerity in the deſires he 'expreſſed for peace, while he 'rejected a condition that was ſo 'natural for the allies to aſk; 'and not only poſſible, but eaſy 'for him to grant; and which 'the ſafety and intereſt of 'France, as diſtinct from Spain, 'were no way concerned in. 'That the negotiations there'fore might not continue to reſt 'upon this point, he took care 'immediately, that there ſhould 'be no room left for the allies 'to inſiſt on this demand; and 'to that end withdrew his troops 'out of all the Spaniſh fortreſſes, 'as he did afterwards out of the 'kingdom, upon pretence in'deed of evacuating Spain ac'cording to the preliminary ar'ticles. But that was only a 'pretence; for he kept them 'there all the ſummer, to be at 'hand to aſſiſt the duke of An'jou, in caſe his army ſhould be 'attacked, or an invaſion ſhould 'be made into Arragon; though 'otherwiſe the general, that 'commanded them, had orders 'not to venture a battle, but to

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1709. ſince the point in diſpute could not be adjuſted by letters, that paſſes might be granted for ſome miniſters from France to

'be on the defenſive; as appeared upon the duke of Anjou's coming to his army upon the ſurprize of Baiaquer by the allies, and expoſtulating with marſhal Bezons for not joining upon that occaſion the Spaniſh army; for which he juſtified himſelf by producing the king's orders. By this middle way, the king thought he could deceive the allies, without abandoning the Spaniards; and, in the mean time, the duke of Anjou, according to the direction of French councils, made his utmoſt efforts to put Spain into a condition to defend itſelf, as if they were in earneſt to expect no farther aſſiſtance from France; which had ſo good an effect on the Spaniards, that they exerted themſelves beyond what could be expected of them. They compleated in a little time their old regiments, and raiſed beſides a great many new ones; and the moſt vigorous meaſures were taken to find money, and erect magazines, as if they were to ſtand for the future, on their own bottom, though the king of France was far from intending they ſhould want his aſſiſtance, when their affairs called for it. And that his grandſon might not want a general for his army, it was publicly talked at Paris, before monſieur Rouillé's return, that, in caſe of a peace, the duke of Berwick had deſired leave to reſign his Baton of marſhal of France, that he might go and command in Spain. Which ſhews us, how the duke of Anjou might have officers as well as men from France, if he had any want of them. If therefore the king of France withdrew his troops, it was not with a deſign to leave his grandſon to himſelf, but upon very different views: it was to make the allies and his own people believe he was ſincere, and that he was willing to remove, as far as he could, all the difficulties in the way of peace; and yet, at the ſame time, and by the ſame action, increaſe the difficulties he would ſeem to remove, by rendering by this means the moſt reaſonable demand of the allies impracticable: beſides that he really wanted theſe troops himſelf againſt another year, the danger he was threatened with in Flanders obliging him to have a more numerous army on that ſide. This was all he meant by withdrawing his troops from Spain, and therefore he did not do it, till he had put the duke of Anjou's affairs upon a pretty good foot, and he was ſure there could be no immediate want of them, the campaign there being at an end. And, that this removal of his troops might be of the leaſt prejudice poſſible to his grandſon, he contrived, that as many of his own troops ſhould deſert as would make ſeven or eight battalions; and, to ſupply the place of the reſt, as far as he could, he ſent his grandſon

to come to Holland, and renew the conferences; or that Petkum might be permitted to go to France, to try if his presence 1709.

'grandſon all the Walloon regiments from Flanders; from whence they began their march for Spain the beginning of the February following, which was as ſoon as money, arms, and cloaths could be provided for them. And not content with giving the duke of Anjou this aſſiſtance, and ſupplying him with great ſtores of ammunition, becauſe new-raiſed troops could not be much depended on, the king kept many of the troops he withdrew in Rouſſillon upon the borders of Spain, to be ready to return, when his grandſon's affairs ſhould make it neceſſary. And is not this very like the conduct of one, who means in earneſt to abandon Spain, and would reſtore it to the houſe of Auſtria, if he could? But poor man! he cannot do impoſſibilities. It is a pretty way to facilitate the reduction of a kingdom, to make it as difficult as poſſible; a great ſign of ſincerity to put things out of our power, which we cannot, without diſcovering our inſincerity, keep in it; and mighty reaſonable to create impoſſibilities, and then complain of them. Who can help believing ſuch a man, when he tells you, he would with all his heart, to procure a peace, give up the Spaniſh monarchy, if he could, but that he really cannot; and that this is the only hindrance? Or what pledge of his good-will is there, one may not expect from him, as a caution, that he will not, directly or indirectly, hinder your doing what he cannot poſſibly himſelf do for you? To expect a valuable pledge from a man, to be returned to him when that is done, which he intends never ſhall be done, is a great jeſt. And therefore, ſince the French king has ſo plainly diſcovered his intention, you muſt not wonder he makes ſuch difficulties in ſuffling an expedient, as you could not expect in a man, who means not one word of what he ſays.

'The firſt and only good expedient, you ſee, is impracticable, on purpoſe that it may not be inſiſted on. The next beſt was to put into the hands of the allies ſome French towns on the frontier of Spain, ſuch as Bayonne and Perpignan, which would have enabled the allies to ſend forces to Spain with infinitely leſs expence and trouble, and in a quarter of the time they can now; and, at the ſame time, have oblig'd the French pretty effectually to keep their promiſe not to aſſiſt the duke of Anjou, by cutting off in great meaſure the communication between France and Spain. This was an expedient, which the king could not ſay it was not in his power to comply with. But when one has not a mind to do a thing, nothing is ſo eaſy as to find out a reaſon for not doing it. If this could not be ſaid to be an impoſſible expedient, it was eaſy to pretend, that it did not

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1709. presence could help to find out an expedient, that had hitherto been in vain endeavoured by letters. The first the states

« suit either with the safety or « dignity of France, to put the « keys of his kingdom into the « hands of the allies, since he « could not be sure what use they « might make of them, or when « he should get them again. And « this was very right arguing for « a man, who never intended « that should be done, which is « made the condition on which « the caution he deposits shall be « restored. If the king does not « design Spain should be quitted « by his grandson, it must be « owned it would not be very « prudent in him to give the al- « lies such important places under « the notion of cautionary towns, « which must either defeat his « design of supporting his grand- « son; or, if that design succeed, « could never of right be de- « manded back of them; not « but that a prince of his known « abilities would, we may be sure, « soon find a pretence to ask for « them; and that pretence he « would justify, if not readily « submitted to, the same way he « has so many others no less « groundless, by force and arms, « which with him have always « been the measures of right and « wrong. But if he were sincere, « if he really meant that Spain « should be restored, what in- « convenience could there be in « complying with this expedient? « What ill use could the allies « make of it? Could they, by « the help of these towns, hurt « France, before they had re- « duced Spain? Can it be ima- « gined, that would not find them « work enough? Or is there any « room to fear an invasion from « Spain afterward? No sure; « however significant Spain may « be in French hands, it will not « in haste be very formidable out « of them. They would have « themselves too much business « in looking to themselves, to « think of disturbing so powerful « a neighbour. And there would « be a thousand times more rea- « son for them to be afraid of « France, than for France to ap- « prehend any thing from them. « Nor can there be the least pre- « tence for a suspicion, that the « allies, if these towns were once « in their hands, would never « part with them, supposing the « end answered for which they « were intrusted with them; for, « besides that such a breach of « faith is without example on the « side of the allies, they cannot, « for the reasons I gave you in « my last, act a false part in this « matter, if they would, espe- « cially not on this side of France; « where, if the allies had ever so « much justice on their side, they « could not long support them- « selves under the mighty disad- « vantages with which they must « make war on this frontier. But « there is no need of saying more, « to shew you how ridiculous it « is to pretend any fear of the « allies, if these towns should be « put into their hands. The « supporting of Spain has cost « France too dear, not to know « the low condition it is in; and « that nothing could be greater « weakness in king Charles, or his « allies,

states refused, till they knew precisely what they were to come for, since, under the appearance of some good, the presence 1709.

allies, than not to sit down quietly in peace, the minute that kingdom is reduced to his obedience, without seeking for new pretences to continue the war needlessly.

Nothing therefore can be thought to be the true reason, why the king of France rejected this expedient, but that he never intended the allies should obtain the end, for which it was asked, as you will see more plainly in what follows. On the side of Alsace, nothing was proposed, that I know of, but Thionville, a place of great consequence to France, were they in any danger from the empire. But, considering the feeble low condition of that enervated exhausted body, one cannot but think the strong places on that side are of no other use but to enable the French to invade the empire, and not to secure them against invasions from it. And what should be deposited as a pledge, would be to be restored long before the empire could be in a condition to make any use of it, that would be either unjust in itself, or troublesome to France. But France never intending to fulfil the condition on which the town should be restored, this proposal was rejected upon the same pretence as the former.

Nothing now was left, but to seek for an expedient in Flanders, which was what the French offered from the first, and all along pressed, as if they were very much in earnest. But, had they been so, it is very hard to give a good reason, why an expedient should be looked for here, rather than in any other part. The allies, though they were sensible whatever could be given on this side, was but a poor expedient at best; yet they were so sincerely disposed to put an end to the war, that they would not absolutely reject it. Whatever towns France could put into the hands of the allies on this side, if they were not such as lie nearest to those that are to be given up by the preliminaries, their tenure would be very precarious; and it would be very difficult to keep them, when France had a mind to have them again. This you may easily judge of by the impossibility the allies were under last campaign to make the siege of Arras, while they left Douay behind them; and the difficulty Ypres gave them in the siege of Aire. But if these cautionary towns were to be of those that lie nearest, they could not be of so much importance to France, as that they should not be willing to part with them to keep Spain, since this would only be making a little farther addition to the barrier of the Netherlands; which would secure them more from France. But, as bad an equivalent as this was at the best, the French refused to make it as good as they could, by excepting such towns as were of most

1709. preſence of French miniſters in Holland gave them an opportunity to do a great deal of harm, by ſowing ſeeds of jealouſy among the allies, poiſoning the minds of the people againſt their governors, and retarding the great preparations for another campaign, which can never be puſhed with the vigour they ſhould, while the people are amuſed with the ſpecious appearances of an approaching peace: for ſo the French endeavoured to make it every where thought, when they meant nothing leſs. For theſe reaſons the ſtates refuſed to give paſſes for any miniſters to come from France, till they knew more of their intentions. But, to ſhew their readineſs to hearken to any reaſonable propoſal, they conſented, that Petkum ſhould go to France, which he did about the latter end of November.

While theſe negotiations were carrying on by letters with France, king Philip did not only take all the proper meaſures he could to maintain himſelf in the monarchy, which his grandfather was, in appearance, treating to give up, but publiſhed a notable manifeſto, wherein he proteſted againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the Hague in his prejudice, as void and null, and declared his reſolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards, as long as there was a man of them that would ſtand by him; and was ſo far from quitting Spain and the Indies to his competitor, that he would not conſent he ſhould have thoſe parts of the monarchy, which he was then poſſeſſed of; and, in purſuance of this manifeſto, he named the duke of Alba and count Bergheyck for his plenipotentiaries, with orders to notify it to the maritime

' moſt conſequence, ſuch as ' Doway, Arras, and Cambray, ' which would lay them open to ' an invaſion from the allies; ' which, if the allies were able ' to make, they knew their own ' deſigns would give but too juſt ' a handle for; beſides, they ' were unwilling to part with, ' under the name of a caution, ' what they could not be willing ' to part with for good and all, ' ſince they intended to forfeit ' the condition, and not do themſelves, or rather not ſuffer that ' to be done, which would give ' them a right to aſk for it ' again.

' This being the deſign of ' France, all theſe negotiations ' by letters came to nothing; ' and one ſide would never offer ' what the other could accept, ' unleſs the allies would be content with the name of an expedient inſtead of the thing, ' which they were beforehand ' ſure could by no means anſwer ' the end it was given for; which ' the allies were too wiſe to ' do.

powers;

powers; which count Bergheyck did in a letter to the duke of Marlborough, dated from Mons, Aug. 21, with a copy of their inſtructions; and they ſent another, at the ſame time, to the deputy of the ſtates; which were accordingly tranſmitted to their principals. But no anſwer was thought fit, either by England or Holland, to be returned to them. And to admit plenipotentiaries from him now, would undo all that had been hitherto agreed on; and, inſtead of ſeeking for an expedient for the 37th article of the preliminaries, the whole of them would have been deſtroyed, and the treaty muſt have been begun intirely anew. 1709.

In count Bergheyck's letter there was alſo broad intimations, how grateful king Philip would be, if, by means of the duke of Marlborough's good offices, his juſt and reaſonable deſires might be complied with; and there was nothing he would not do to content England in general, or that might be to his ſatisfaction in particular. Torcy was likewiſe ſaid to write very unneceſſarily, and with great officiouſneſs, two or three very civil letters to the duke, till he found his civilities were loſt upon him. Petkum, after a ſtay at Paris of about ten days, and ſeveral fruitleſs interviews with the marquis de Torcy, returned to the Hague, on the 7th of December, without having been able to make the leaſt progreſs in the buſineſs he went upon, or bringing ſo much as the pretence of an expedient along with him; but, inſtead of that, he brought the ſenſe of the French court, in a paper drawn up by Torcy, and importing in ſubſtance, "That it would be impoſſible for the king of France "to execute the 37th article of the preliminaries, even "though his majeſty could reſolve to ſign it. That the "other articles were propoſed by the allies ſix months "ſince, in order to prevent, by a ſuſpenſion of arms, the "events of the campaign, which might change the diſpoſitions towards peace: and that reaſon now ceaſing, becauſe the winter-ſeaſon naturally produced a ceſſation of "arms, without any agreement in writing; that therefore, without farther mention of the preliminaries, the "three winter months might be ſpent in treating and concluding a peace. That, though the form of the preliminaries were ſuppreſſed, yet the king of France would "preſerve the ſubſtance, and treat on the foundation of the "conditions to which he had conſented, for the ſatisfaction of the emperor, England, and Holland, and their "allies, though he had declared that theſe conditions

1709 " ſhould be void, if they were not accepted during the ne-
" gotiation at the Hague. That his majeſty was ready
" to reſume the negotiations on the ſame foot, and ſend
" his plenipotentiaries to ſuch a place as ſhould be a-
" greed on, to begin the conferences with thoſe of the al-
" lies, on the firſt day of January. And, if this propoſal
" were accepted, the ſieur Petkum might forthwith return,
" for ſettling the paſſes, and other formalities, for the place
" and manner of meeting (f)." The ſtates-general, having

(f) Dr. Hare, in his 'fourth 'letter to a tory member,' p. 19, obſerves, that 'this anſwer 'was ſhort even of their expec-'tations, who hoped leaſt from 'it; for this overthrew all the 'preliminaries at once, while 'the king pretended to agree to 'all but one; and by promi-'ſing to keep the ſubſtance of 'them, while they deſtroy the 'form, they effectually defeat 'all that had been done, and 'recover to themſelves an in-'tire liberty to diſpute all points 'afreſh, and to lay hold of all 'the occaſions, which that 'would give them, to create 'diviſions and jealouſies be-'tween the ſtates and their al-'lies; which is plainly the great 'point they have all along aim-'ed at; which though they have 'been ſo terribly diſappointed 'in, they are unwilling to give 'over, in hopes their conſtancy 'and firmneſs to the common 'cauſe would in time be wea-'ried out, and yield to the im-'portunate ſollicitations with 'which they tempted them.

'Though to prevent a new 'campaign might be a reaſon 'for haſtening the preliminaries, 'it was not the only or chief 'deſign of them. Whenever 'a treaty ſhould commence, 'the allies had declared long 'before, in anſwer to the elec-'tor of Bavaria's letters at the 'end of the Ramilles campaign, 'they would not enter on it, till 'ſome fundamental points were 'firſt ſettled, the neceſſity of 'which they were convinced of 'by the dear-bought experience 'of former treaties: and the 'ſame experience has taught 'the allies, that no treaty with 'France can be effectual, if the 'fundamental articles are not 'executed as well as agreed on, 'before the general treaty is 'concluded; which ſecurity the 'marquis would intirely take 'away, by deferring the exe-'cution till after ratification. 'Thus the two great ends of a 'preliminary treaty, which are 'to agree on ſome fundamen-'tal points, and ſecure the exe-'cution of them, are by this 'anſwer intirely deſtroyed; and 'the allies are not only where 'they were before that treaty 'was begun, but are really the 'worſe for it; it being of greater 'advantage to the French to 'know beforehand what are the 'particular demands, which the 'emperor and maritime powers 'inſiſt on for themſelves, and 'in behalf of the allies. As 'for ſolving all now by two 'words,

ing conſidered both the anſwer and the report of their de- 1709.
puties, came to the unanimous reſolution, "That the ſieur "Petkum, who, at the deſire, and, upon the repeated in- "ſtances of France, was permitted, with the conſent and "knowledge of the high allies, to go for France, to ſee if "any expedient could be found out, for removing the dif- "ficulties about the 37th article of the preliminaries, was, "contrary to all expectation, returned, not only without "bringing any ſuch expedient with him, but with an an- "ſwer, in which France intirely receded from the founda- "tions agreed to with common conſent, and with a pro- "poſal to enter into a formal negotiation of peace, with- "out ſettling and adjuſting any thing beforehand; a pro- "poſal in all times adjudged dangerous, and contrary to "the declaration made on the part of France, 'That all "the preliminary articles ſhould remain firm, as they were "ſettled, only with ſuch alterations in the terms of the ex- "ecution, which the courſe of time had rendered neceſſary, "except only the 37th article.' That from this way of "proceeding, nothing could be expected, but that the ene- "my was not ſincerely diſpoſed to agree to a ſafe peace; "and that little regard was to be had to the aſſurances of "their good intentions, ſeeing the effects agreed ſo little "with their profeſſions; but rather, that all was concerted "and deſigned to ſow, if poſſible, diſtruſts and jealouſies "between the allies and that ſtate, while the French were "reſolved to continue the war. That therefore it was ab- "ſolutely neceſſary, that the allies in general, and every "one of them in particular, ſhould, in an extraordinary "manner, exert themſelves, and make early preparations "for proſecuting with vigour, in the next campaign, the "advantages obtained in the laſt. That a letter to that "purpoſe ſhould be written to the emperor and diet of the "empire at Ratiſbon; the confederated circles, the electors

'words, Form and Subſtance, 'two other words, the Letter 'and Spirit of the Partition-'treaty, are ſtill too well re-'membered for the allies to be 'again deceived by the French 'diſtinctions, which, if they 'could now paſs upon them, it 'is eaſy to ſee, that the form 'of theſe articles would have 'been found to be the ſubſtance 'of them, and the pretended 'ſubſtance would have proved 'a ſhadow only. Here then 'Dutch bluntneſs and plain-'dealing proved too hard for 'the fineſſe of the French: a 'word not more peculiar to 'them, than the thing meant 'by it.'

1709. "and princes of the empire, the queen of Great-Britain, "and the duke of Savoy. And that their imperial and "Britannic majeſties ſhould be deſired, that prince Eugene "of Savoy, and the prince and duke of Marlborough, "might come to the Hague very early in the ſpring, be- "fore the end of February, to concert the neceſſary mea- "ſures for the campaign." The queen of Great-Britain not only returned a favourable anſwer to the letter of the ſtates-general, but reſolved alſo to exhort all the allies to a vigorous proſecution of the war; and, in particular, wrote a very preſſing letter to the general diet of the empire.

About the time Petkum returned to the Hague, the French king wrote to king Philip, to acquaint him with what had paſſed, and to aſſure him, that, though he was obliged to recall his troops, he need not be alarmed at it, for that he would never abandon him; and that he had ordered twelve regiments, that were then in Spain, to join the Spaniards, in caſe king Charles ſhould make an irruption into Arragon. And a little after monſieur Ibbeville was ſent to Madrid; that both his journey and buſineſs were made ſo great a ſecret, that it was not for ſome time known whither he was gone: and when he came to Madrid, where he arrived on the 26th of December, his inſtructions were to communicate his buſineſs to nobody but the king himſelf. He did not make a long ſtay, nor was he in appearance well received; but no judgment could be made from thence what his errand was; there was no way to diſtinguiſh between what was real and what diſguiſe. But to judge from other ſteps, it is moſt reaſonable to think his buſineſs was to learn the ſtate in which king Philip's affairs were, and to give him his leſſon, how he ſhould manage in ſo nice a juncture; with aſſurances, that in ſpite of all appearances to the contrary, which the neceſſity of his affairs might oblige the French king to make, he would never deſert him, much leſs agree with the allies, upon any terms, to turn his arms againſt him. But this journey was made a great myſtery of, to make the allies believe, that the buſineſs of it was to perſuade king Philip to retire out of Spain, ſince it would be impoſſible for the French king to ſupport him any longer.

Palatines come to England.

About the beginning of May happened an extraordinary event, which raiſed much diſcourſe and argument in England, namely, the coming over of great numbers of Palatines, Swabians, and other Germans, moſt of them Lutherans, being driven from their habitations, either by the oppreſſive

preſſive exactions of the French, or the deſolation of their native country, occaſioned by the calamities of the war: ſo that, by the middle of June, they were increaſed to ſix thouſand five hundred and twenty men, women, and children; among whom were ſchoolmaſters, huſbandmen, vine-dreſſers, herdſmen, wheel-wrights, ſmiths, weavers, carpenters, maſons, bakers, coopers, brewers, and other handicrafts-men. It was never certainly known upon what motives, and with what views, theſe people were brought over; but it is certain, that, being come into Holland, with deſign to go for the Engliſh Plantations in America, upon an invitation of ſome of their countrymen, who were reported to be there in a thriving condition, they were furniſhed with ſhipping to come over to England by Mr. d'Ayrelles, the Britiſh ſecretary at the Hague, by direction from thoſe in the adminiſtration. Being deſtitute of all neceſſaries, they muſt inevitably have periſhed, had not the queen firſt ordered a daily allowance to be diſtributed to them, and, at the ſame time, a ſufficient number of tents to be delivered out of the Tower, for their incamping on Black-Heath near Greenwich, and in a large field near Camberwell; and afterwards, upon the petition of the juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex, granted a brief for the collection of charity-money within that county; which brief was ſhortly after made to extend through the whole kingdom of Great-Britain; and, at the ſame time, were appointed ſeveral perſons, in the moſt eminent ſtations, to be truſtees and commiſſioners, for receiving and diſpoſing of the monies ſo collected. The kind reception and entertainment which theſe diſtreſſed fugitives found here, having been reported abroad, encouraged many other Germans to leave their deſolate habitations, and to follow their countrymen, inſomuch that their numbers increaſed ſo faſt, that the ſecretary at the Hague was directed to put a ſtop to their coming over. As a conſiderable number of German Roman catholics had come along with the proteſtants, ſuch of them as did not voluntarily change their religion, were, at the queen's expence, ſent back to Holland, where ſhe ordered a ſum of money to be diſtributed to them, towards the charges of their journey home. As for the Palatines, who ſtaid behind in Great-Britain, ſome were entertained in private families, ſome ſent to Ireland, and others to Carolina, and the greateſt part to New-York, under the direction of commiſſary Du Pré, who ſailed with them for that country about the beginning

1709.

1709. of April 1710, together with colonel Hunter, governor of that country,

A parliament in Ireland. The earl of Wharton having been made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, arrived there the 2d of April 1709. A fortnight after his landing, he opened a ſeſſion of parliament, and made a ſpeech to both houſes, part of which was as follows:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I AM obliged and directed to lay before you another "conſideration of infinite conſequence; and that is, to "put you in mind of the great inequality there is, with re- "ſpect to numbers, between the proteſtants and papiſts of "this kingdom, and of the melancholy experience you have "had of this ſort of men, whenever they had it in their "power to diſtreſs or deſtroy you.

"Theſe reflections muſt neceſſarily lead you to think of "two things; the firſt is, ſeriouſly to conſider, whether "any new bills are wanting to inforce or explain thoſe "good laws, which you have already, for preventing the "growth of popery. And, in the next place, it makes "evident the neceſſity there is of inculcating and preſerv- "ing a good underſtanding amongſt all the proteſtants of "this kingdom. What the moſt proper methods are to "compleat ſo deſirable and neceſſary an end, yourſelves, "who have the opportunities of knowing the uneaſineſs that "any of your fellow-ſubjects may lie under, are the fitteſt "to judge.

"I will only add, That the queen, who is all goodneſs, "never had any thing ſo much at her royal heart, as the "bringing to paſs, and perfecting the union of her ſubjects "of Great-Britain: and I may venture to ſay, that ſhe "looks upon her ſucceſs in this great undertaking to equal, "if not to exceed, any other of the glories of her reign."

Union recommended, and popery diſcouraged by the earl of Wharton. In this ſpeech the lord Wharton recommended a good underſtanding between the churchmen and diſſenters, as the ſureſt means to weaken the popiſh intereſt, by ſtrengthening the proteſtant. The Iriſh papiſts doubted not, by dividing the proteſtants, to find an opportunity to deſtroy them. The lord Wharton was reſolved to let the papiſts know, at his firſt coming, they were to expect no favour from him. As popery had increaſed under the late adminiſtration, he procured a bill to prevent the growth of it, by enacting,

enacting, "That the eſtates of the Iriſh papiſts ſhould de- 1709.
"ſcend to their proteſtant heirs." But his care to diſcou-
rage popery did not hinder his being repreſented by the tories, in England, as a perſecutor of the church in Ireland. He had not only made Dr. Lambert dean of Downe, and Dr. Lloyd dean of Connor, but it was alſo reported, that he had ſent a biſhop to priſon. This matter was thus: the houſe of peers having (on the 28th of June) adjourned to the next day, the feaſt of St. Peter and St. Paul, Dr. John Pooley, biſhop of Raphoe, took upon him to proteſt againſt it. His reaſon was, "Becauſe he conceived it againſt the "laws of the church to do buſineſs upon a holiday, which "might hinder divine ſervice, prayers and ſacraments, ſer-"mons or homilies, and catechiſms, leſt it ſhould be a rob-"bery of God, as well as tythes and offerings." The lords, the next day, reſented this proteſt, and ſignified to the biſhop, that, unleſs he withdrew it, they muſt ſend him to the caſtle. But he being obſtinate, and adhering to his proteſt, the houſe ordered him to be taken into the cuſtody of the black-rod, and adjourning for a month, the uſher had him ſo long in durance, which, by the lord Wharton's direction, was made as eaſy to him, as was conſiſtent with the orders of the houſe.

The biſhop of Raphoe taken into cuſtody.

The provoſt and fellows of Trinity-College near Dublin, having lately expelled Edward Forbes for aſperſing the memory of king William, and they having ſhewn a ſteady adherence to the revolution, a motion was made in the houſe of commons for an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, that he would lay before the queen the deſire of the houſe, that five thouſand pounds might be given for erecting a public library in the college.

A fellow of Trinity-College expelled for aſperſing king William.

The commiſſioners appointed in England for the ſettlement of the Palatines, having ſent into Ireland five hundred families of theſe refugees; the commons took their diſtreſſed condition into conſideration, and agreed, that the ſending a proportion of theſe Palatines into Ireland was a ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt, and the encouraging them to ſettle there would greatly contribute to the ſecurity of the kingdom, and therefore that the queen be addreſſed to allow five thouſand pounds annually for three years towards their ſupport and ſettlement, which ſhould be made good to her in the next aids granted by parliament.

Votes about the Palatines.

The convocation of the clergy of Ireland ſat with the parliament, and by this time the ſame ill temper, that had prevailed in the Engliſh convocation, began to ferment and

Proceedings of the Iriſh convocation.

1709. ſpread itſelf among the clergy of Ireland. None of the diſputes about the power of proroguing had been thought of formerly in that church, as they had no records or minutes of former convocations. The faction in England found out proper inſtruments, to ſet the ſame humour on foot, during the earl of Rocheſter's government, and, as was ſaid, by his directions: and, it being once raiſed, it continued by reaſon of the indolence of the ſucceeding governors. So that the clergy were making the ſame bold claim in Ireland, that had cauſed ſuch diſputes in England. Accordingly, on the 5th of Auguſt, the power of proroguing was by the lower-houſe conteſted in a very high and warm debate. The lord-lieutenant (who was reſolved to put a ſtop to theſe matters) being informed of it by Dr. Brown, chairman of the committee, ſent orders in the midſt of the debate to prorogue the convocation to the 5th of October next, to their great ſurprize and mortification. Dr. Brown, for giving this intelligence, was ſome time after, by the procurement of the lord Wharton, promoted to the ſee of Cork; yet upon the change of the miniſtry he became the moſt violent of all the Iriſh prelates againſt the earl of Wharton, the archbiſhop of Canterbury (who was his friend) and indeed againſt the whole whig-party, to whom he rendered himſelf ſtill more obnoxious, by diſcountenancing the drinking to the glorious memory of king William. Againſt which he wrote and preached ſome tracts and ſermons, but ſo little anſwering the purpoſe, that king William's memory was afterwards more frequently drunk than before, with an additional mark of contempt to the biſhop, and the ſacredneſs, which he weakly imagined to be tacked to commemoration-healths, became univerſally exploded.

When the bill to prevent the further growth of popery, with thoſe for the ſupply, were ready for the royal aſſent, the earl of Wharton came, on the 30th of Auguſt, to the houſe of peers, and concluded the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which were theſe paragraphs:

My lords and gentlemen,

Lord-lieutenant's ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion.

"I Make no queſtion but that you underſtand too well "the true intereſt of the proteſtant religion in this king-"dom, not to endeavour to make all ſuch proteſtants as "eaſy as you can, who are willing to contribute what they "can to defend the whole againſt the common enemy.

"It

"It is not the law now paſt, nor any other law, that 1709.
"the wit of man can frame, will ſecure you from po-
"pery, whilſt you continue divided among yourſelves; it
"being demonſtrable, that, unleſs there be a firm friend-
"ſhip and confidence among the proteſtants of this king-
"dom, it is impoſſible for you either to be happy, or to be
"ſafe.

"And I am directed to declare it to you, as her ma-
"jeſty's fixed reſolution, That as her majeſty will always
"maintain and ſupport the church, as by law eſtabliſhed,
"ſo it is her royal will and intentions, that diſſenters ſhall
"not be perſecuted, or moleſted in the exerciſe of their
"religion."

The parliament being prorogued to the 13th of March, the lord-lieutenant, attended by Mr. Addiſon ſecretary of ſtate, imbarked for England, where he arrived on the 9th of September.

The great buſineſs of the ſeſſion of parliament this winter related to Dr. Sacheverel. This affair not only took up moſt of their time, but, in concluſion, had alſo great effects. As it was one of the moſt extraordinary tranſactions of the time, it will deſerve a particular notice. Dr. Sacheverel was a bold, inſolent man, with a very ſmall ſhare of religion, virtue, learning, or good ſenſe; but he reſolved to force himſelf into popularity and preferment by the moſt petulant railings at diſſenters, and low-churchmen, in ſeveral ſermons and libels, penned without either chaſtneſs of ſtile, or livelineſs of expreſſion, and full of indecent and ſcurrilous language (g). When he had purſued this method for Dr. Sacheverel's ſermons. Burnet.

(g) He was grandſon of John Sacheverel, the preſbyterian miniſter of Wincaunton in Somerſetſhire, who was bred in St. John's college Oxford, and ſilenced ſoon after the reſtoration. This John, being taken at a conventicle, ſuffered three years impriſonment, which occaſioned his death. John's eldeſt ſon (father of Dr. Henry Sacheverel) was bred in king's college Cambridge, and entertained notions very oppoſite to his father's principles, and died miniſter of St. Peter's church in Marlborough, leaving a numerous family in very low circumſtances. His ſon Henry was put to ſchool at Marlborough at the charge of Edward Hearſt an apothecary, who, being his godfather, adopted him for his ſon. Hearſt's widow ſent him afterwards to Oxford where he became fellow of Maudlin college. His mother, by procurement of biſhop Burnet, was admitted into the hoſpital

1709. for, ſeveral years without effect, he was at laſt brought up from the country by a popular election to St. Saviour's in Southwark, where he began to make great reflections on the miniſtry, repreſenting, that the church was in danger, being neglected by thoſe who governed, while they favoured her
Aug. 15. moſt inveterate enemies. At the ſummer aſſizes in Derby, where he preached before the judges, and this winter, on the 5th of November, at St. Paul's, he gave a full vent to his fury, in the moſt violent declamation, that he could contrive, upon theſe words of St. Paul, 'Perils among falſe 'brethren,' in which, after ſome ſhort reflections upon popery, he let himſelf looſe into ſuch indecencies, that both the man and the ſermon were univerſally condemned. He aſſerted the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in the higheſt ſtrain poſſible; and ſaid, that to charge the revolution with reſiſtance, was to caſt black and odious imputations on it; pretending that the late king had diſowned it, and cited for proof ſome words in his declaration, by which he vindicated himſelf from a deſign of conqueſt. He poured out much ſcorn and ſcurrility on the diſſenters, and reflected ſeverely on the toleration; and ſaid, the church was violently attacked by her enemies, and looſely defended by her pretended friends. He animated the people to ſtand up for the defence of the church, for which, he ſaid, he ſounded the trumpet, and deſired them to put on the whole armour of God. After the preaching of this ſermon, the lord-mayor, Sir Samuel Garrard, invited the doctor to dinner, took him

hoſpital for diſtreſſed widows at Saliſbury. He had not been long at Oxford, before he diſcovered his turbulent ſpirit. When he came to be ordained by biſhop Lloyd, he was by the biſhop charged with falſe Latin, but he confidently defended it, till the biſhop ſent for books to convince him. The biſhop, finding him very ignorant in divinity, refuſed to ordain him at that time, but did it afterwards on the biſhop of Oxford's recommendation, with particular marks of favour; yet he ungeneroufly traduced that learned prelate in a libel, called, 'The character of a low-church 'man.' Nor was he leſs virulent againſt biſhop Burnet, his mother's benefactor. Being preſented to a ſmall living in Staffordſhire, he fell in, both there and at Oxford, with the moſt furious of the high-church and jacobite party, made ſcurrilous reflections on the death of king William and the Hanover ſucceſſion, and, when the queen appeared againſt the high-church memorial, he called her a waxen queen, alluding to the jeſt paſſed upon her at Oxford by thoſe, who put her motto ſemper eadem upon a weather-cock. He was proceeding in this manner, when his friends got him preferment in London.

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in his coach, carried him to his houſe, gave him thanks for his good ſermon, and told him, that he hoped to ſee it in print. The doctor anſwered, that he was apprehenſive he had ſpoken ſome bold truths, which might diſpleaſe 'ſome people.' Notwithſtanding which, the lord-mayor undertook to propoſe to the court of aldermen, that they ſhould return the doctor thanks for his ſermon, and deſire him to print it. But, though that motion was rejected by the court of aldermen, yet the doctor, looking upon the encouragement already given him by the lord-mayor as a tacit command, ventured to publiſh his ſermon, with a dedication to his lordſhip. The party, who oppoſed the miniſtry, magnified this ſermon ſo highly, that, as was generally reckoned, about forty thouſand of them were printed and diſperſed over the nation. The queen ſeemed highly offended at it, and the miniſtry looked on it as an attack upon them, that was not to be deſpiſed. The lord-treaſurer was ſo deſcribed, that it was next to the naming him. A parliamentary impeachment was reſolved on; but Eyre, then ſollicitor-general, and others, thought the ſhort way of burning the ſermon, and keeping him in priſon during the ſeſſion of parliament, was the better method; but the more ſolemn method was unhappily choſen. 1709.

Books writ againſt the queen's title.

There had been, ever ſince the queen came to the crown, an open revival of the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, by Mr. Charles Leſley, who was the firſt man that began the war in Ireland, ſaying, in a ſpeech ſolemnly made, that king James, by declaring himſelf a papiſt, could no longer be our king, ſince he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our church, dignities ſo inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of theſe, could not hold it (h). As he animated the people with his ſpeech, ſo ſome actions followed under his conduct, in which ſeveral men were killed; yet he changed ſides quickly, and became the moſt violent jacobite in the nation, and was engaged in many plots, and in writing many books againſt the revolution, and the preſent government. Soon after the queen's acceſſion to the throne, he, or his ſon, as ſome ſaid, publiſhed a ſeries of weekly papers, under the title of the Rehearſal, purſuing a thread of arguments in them, all againſt the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe whatſoever; deriving government wholly from God, deny-

(h) Biſhop Burnet ſays, Dr. King, archbiſhop of Dublin, told him, He had ſeen Leſley's ſpeech under his own hand.

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1709. ing all right in the people, either to confer or to coerce it. The miniſters connived at this, but with what intention is not known.

Hoadly's writing in defence thereof.

While theſe ſeditious papers had a free courſe for many years, and were much ſpread and applauded, Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, the preſent biſhop of Wincheſter, being called to preach before the lord-mayor, choſe for his text the two firſt verſes of the thirteenth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans, and fairly explained the words there, that they were to be underſtood only againſt reſiſting good governors upon jewiſh principles; but that theſe words had no relation to bad and cruel governors; and he aſſerted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men, to reſiſt ſuch; concluding all with a vindication of the revolution and the preſent government. Upon this a great clamour was raiſed, as if he had preached up rebellion; ſeveral books were wrote againſt him; and he juſtified himſelf with a viſible ſuperiority of argument to them all, and ſo ſolidy overthrew the conceit of Sir Robert Filmer (at this time eſpouſed by Mr. Leſley) that government was derived by primogeniture from the firſt patriarchs, that for ſome time he ſilenced his adverſaries; but it was eaſier to keep up a clamour, than to write a ſolid anſwer. Dr. Sacheverel reflected with a great virulence upon him and on biſhop Burnet, and other of the biſhops carrying his venom as far back as to archbiſhop Grindal, whom, for his moderation, he called a perfidious prelate, and a falſe ſon of the church.

The parliament meets, Nov. 15.

On the 15th of November the parliament of Great-Britain being met, the queen, who had not been in perſon there during the laſt ſeſſion, came and made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The queen's ſpeech. Pr. H. C.

"IT is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I am able to give you ſo good an account of the progreſs of the war ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament.

"In the beginning of this year, our enemies made uſe of all their artifices to amuſe us with falſe appearances and deceitful inſinuations of their deſire of peace, in hopes, that from thence means might be found to create ſome diviſions or jealouſies among the allies. But they were entirely diſappointed in their expectation; and ſuch meaſures were taken upon that occaſion, as made it impoſſible for them long to diſguiſe their inſincerity. The operations

"of

"of the war were not delayed; and the campaign, which, 1709.
"notwithſtanding the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon, immedi-
"ately followed, has been at leaſt as glorious for the allies
"as any of thoſe which have preceded it.

"God Almighty has been pleaſed to bleſs us with a moſt
"remarkable victory, and with ſuch other great and im-
"portant ſucceſſes, both before and after it, that France is
"thereby become much more expoſed and open to the im-
"preſſion of our arms, and conſequently more in need of a
"peace than it was at the beginning of this campaign.

"However, the war ſtill continuing, I find myſelf oblig-
"ed again to deſire you, gentlemen of the houſe of com-
"mons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies as you ſhall judge ne-
"ceſſary for the aſſiſting our allies in all parts, and the vi-
"gorous proſecution of our advantages, that we may put
"the laſt hand to this great work, of reducing that exorbi-
"tant and oppreſſive power which has ſo long threatened
"the liberties of Europe.

"I aſſure you, that all you give ſhall be carefully applied
"to the uſes of the war, if it continues, or to the leſſening
"of the debts it has neceſſarily occaſioned, in caſe of a
"peace; which, though the wants and diſtreſſes of our
"enemies may naturally lead us to expect, yet, our own
"late experience may fully convince us, is not to be de-
"pended upon any other way, than by being in a condition
"to compel them to ſuch terms as may be ſafe and honour-
"rable for all the allies.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I think it proper to take notice to you, that the great
"dearth and ſcarcity, under which our neighbours abroad
"have ſuffered this year, begins to affect us in ſome mea-
"ſure at home, by the temptation of profit in carrying out
"too much of our corn, while it bears ſo high a price in
"foreign parts.

"This occaſions many complaints from the poor; for
"whoſe ſake I earneſtly recommend to you, to take this
"growing evil into your conſideration; having not neglect-
"ed any thing on my part towards the remedy of it, that
"the law would allow.

"I cannot conclude, without obſerving to you, of what
"great advantage it will be at this time, to the end we all
"propoſe to ourſelves, that the greateſt diſpatch be given to
"the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war."

The

1709. The lords, in their addreſs, expreſſed "their joy to ſee "her majeſty's royal perſon upon the throne, after the great "misfortune, which deprived them of her preſence during "the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; as alſo their thanks for her "ſpeech, whereby it appeared, how readily her tenderneſs "for her people inclined her to hearken to propoſals of "peace; how wiſely and ſteadily ſhe proceeded in the firſt "ſteps of the treaty; and how juſtly ſhe reſented the arti-"fices and inſincerity of the enemy by the vigorous proſe-"cution of the war; which ſoon made it appear, that peace "was the choice of her moderation, and muſt prove the "only refuge of her enemies:" concluding with congratu-lations "on the continued ſucceſs of her arms, and thoſe of "her allies, under her general, the duke of Marlborough, "whoſe conduct was worthy of the chief command in ſo "juſt a war, and his valour equel to the bravery of her "troops:" and aſſuring "her majeſty of their utmoſt ſup-"port to carry on the war, till France was compelled to "ſubmit to the terms of a ſafe and laſting peace."

The lords addreſs. Nov. 17. Pr. H. L.

The duke of Marlborough thanked by both houſes. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

The lord-chancellor, by order of the peers, returned the duke of Marlborough the thanks of that houſe, for his con-tinued and eminent ſervices during the laſt campaign. The commons alſo, after an addreſs to the queen, upon her con-tinued ſucceſſes, with aſſurances of granting ſpeedy and ef-fectual ſupplies for carrying on the war, unanimouſly voted him the thanks of their houſe, for the late victory, from which, and his other ſucceſſes, the kingdom, and the whole confederacy, had received ſuch honour and advantage. The thanks of both houſes ſerved to ſilence the duke of Marlbo-rough's enemies, who reproached him with having wantonly and unneceſſarily ſacrificed the lives of many thouſands, to raiſe his own reputation.

Supply readily granted by the commons.

The commons made good their aſſurances to the queen, for in leſs than a month they granted all the neceſſary ſup-plies for the next year's ſervice, amounting to 6,184,466l. 7s. Of this ſum, fifteen hundred thouſand pounds were raiſ-ed by way of lottery, and the reſt put on good funds. Pur-ſuant to the queen's ſpeech, the commons ordered a bill to be brought in againſt the exportation of the corn, and, at their requeſt, an embargo was laid on all ſhips laden there-with.

Sacheverel impeached by the commons. Burnet.

By this time the affair of Dr. Sacheverel was before the commons. Mr. Dolben, ſon to the late archbiſhop of York, moved with indignation that the lord-treaſurer ſhould be reflected on by the doctor under the nick-name of Valpone, complined,

complained, on the 13th of December, of the two ſermons before-mentioned. Several paragraphs were read out of each, and Sir Peter King and others having made ſpeeches againſt the audaciouſneſs of the doctor, who had advanced poſitions directly oppoſite to revolution-principles, to the preſent government, and to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and conſequently tending to cheriſh factions, and ſtir up rebellion. Thoſe, who favoured the doctor's cauſe, were ſurprized at this ſudden attack, and, no member offering to ſpeak in his defence, it was reſolved, that the two ſermons were malicious, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libels, highly reflecting on the queen, the late revolution, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, tending to alienate the affections of her majeſty's ſubjects, and to create jealouſies and diviſions among them. The doctor was ordered to attend at the bar of the houſe the next day, and, being examined, owned the two ſermons. He likewiſe told them, what encouragement he had from the lord-mayor to print 'the perils of falſe brethren.' Sir Samuel Garrard, being a member of the houſe, was aſked, whether the ſermon was printed at his deſire or order? if he had owned it, he would have been expelled the houſe: but he denied, that ever he deſired, or ordered, or encouraged, the printing thereof. Though the doctor offered to prove it, and brought witneſſes for that purpoſe, yet the houſe would not enter upon that examination, but it was thought more decent to ſeem to give credit to their own member, though few indeed believed him.

1709. Pr. H. C. Pr. H. L. Hiſt. of Eur.

My lord-mayor diſowns the doctor.

The doctor ſtanding to what he had ſaid, without expreſſing the leaſt conſciouſneſs of having done amiſs, he was directed to withdraw; and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors, and Mr. Dolben was ordered to do it at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of all the commons of Great-Britain. At the ſame time, a committee was appointed to draw up the articles againſt him, and the doctor was taken into cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms.

The commons having proceeded thus far, ſome members took occaſion to ſpeak in favour of Mr. Hoadly, whoſe principles were more agreeable to the ſenſe of the majority of that houſe; and who, in ſeveral writings, had vindicated the revolution (i). Upon which it was reſolved, "that the

Vote in favour of Mr. Hoadly.

"the

(i) Particularly in two books lately publiſhed, the one intituled, 'Some conſiderations humbly offered to the lord biſhop of Exeter, occaſioned by his lordſhip's ſermon preached before

1708. "the reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter's "Poor, London, for having often juſtified the principles, "on which her majeſty and the nation proceeded in the late "happy revolution, had juſtly merited the favour and re- "commendation of this houſe. 2. That an humble addreſs "be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly "pleaſed to beſtow ſome dignity in the church on Mr. "Hoadly, for his eminent ſervices both to the church and "ſtate." This addreſs having been preſented to the queen, ſhe anſwered, "that ſhe would take a proper opportunity to "comply with their deſires:" which, however, ſhe never did.

When Mr. Dolben carried up the impeachment againſt Dr. Sacheverel, the lord Haverſham made a ſhort ſpeech, importing, "that it ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange to ſee a divine "impeached for preaching a doctrine, for which he would "heretofore have been rewarded, and might, if times "changed, be made a biſhop. However, added his lord- "ſhip, ſince he is impeached, I hope a day will come for "the calling to account other criminals; for, which way "ſoever I caſt my eyes, I ſee matter for impeachments."

Dr. Sacheverel having petitioned the commons to admit him to bail, that he might have an opportunity of making his defence, the committee, who were to draw up the articles of impeachment, were ordered to ſearch for precedents concerning the taking bail in caſe of perſons committed for high crimes and miſdemeanors, and Mr. Dolben reporting they could find none, it was put to the vote, whether he ſhould be admitted to bail, and carried in the negative by a majority of an hundred and fourteen againſt ſixty-four.

The proceeding againſt Dr. Sacheverel occaſioned great jealouſies and animoſities between the two parties of high-church and low-church; the former gave it out boldly, and in all places, that a deſign was formed by the whigs to pull down the church; and that this proſecution was only ſet on foot to try their ſtrength; and that, upon their ſucceſs in it, they would proceed more openly. Though this was all falſhood and forgery, yet it was propagated with ſo much application and zeal, and the tools employed in it were ſo

'fore her majeſty, March 8, '1708:' the other intituled, 'An 'humble reply to the lord biſhop 'of Exeter's anſwer, in which 'the conſiderations lately offer- 'ed to his lordſhip are vindi- 'cated, and an apology is ad- 'ded for defending the founda- 'tion of the preſent govern- 'ment.'

well

well ſupplied with money (from whom, was not then known) that it is ſcarce credible how generally it was believed. 1709.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in an ill humour; it was a time of dearth and ſcarcity, ſo that the poor were much diſtreſſed. The coming over of the Palatines, and the relieving of them, both by the queen, and by the voluntary contributions of private people, filled our poor likewiſe with indignation, who thought thoſe charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by ſtrangers. And all, who were ill affected, ſtudied to heighten theſe their reſentments. The clergy generally eſpouſed Dr. Sacheverel as their champion, who had ſtood in the breach, and reckoned his cauſe as their own. Many ſermons were preached, both in London and other places, to provoke the people, in which they ſucceeded beyond expectation.

Articles againſt Dr. Sacheverel. Pr. H. C.

In the mean time the committee ſat ſeveral times at Sir Joſeph Jekyll's houſe, in order to draw up the articles of impeachment; ſo that, the parliament being met again after Chriſtmas, Mr. Dolben reported, that the articles were ready, which were read paragraph by paragraph. The preamble to the articles being read, a motion was made by the doctor's friends, that the report ſhould be recommitted, which occaſioned a very warm debate, wherein Mr. Robert Harding, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Ward, and ſome others, made ſeveral exceptions to the matter and form of the articles. Mr. Harley, in particular, inſiſted on the leaving out the word ſeditious, alledging a precedent in the reign of king Charles the Firſt in the proſecution of Prynn, Baſtwick, and Burton. But all objections were anſwered by Mr. ſecretary Boyle, Mr. Smith chancellor of the exchequer, lieutenant-general Mordaunt, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Thompſon, and ſome others: ſo, the queſtion for recommitting being put, it paſſed in the negative by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two againſt an hundred and thirty-one; and the articles of impeachment were agreed to, and ordered to be carried up to the lords. Then the laſt paragraph or recapitulation were alſo read and agreed to, and the whole ordered to be ingroſſed. The next day, January 12, the ingroſſed articles being read, Mr. Dolben was ordered to carry the ſame to the lords; which he did accordingly, accompanied by a great number of members. The ſaid articles imported, in ſubſtance, that Dr. Henry Sacheverel, in his ſermons and books, did falſly and malicioufly ſuggeſt and maintain,

"1. That the neceſſary means uſed to bring about the happy revolution were odious and unjuſtifiable; that his late

1709-01. majeſty, in his declaration, diſclaimed the leaſt imputation of reſiſtance; and that to impute reſiſtance to the ſaid revolution, was to caſt black and odious colours upon his late majeſty and the ſaid revolution. 2. That the toleration granted by law to diſſenters, was unreaſonable, and the allowance of it unwarrantable: and that he was a falſe brother with relation to God, religion, or the church, who defended the toleration or liberty of conſcience. That queen Elizabeth was deluded by archbiſhop Grindal (whom he ſcurrilouſly called a falſe ſon of the church, and a perfidious prelate) to the toleration of the Genevian diſcipline: and that it was the duty of ſuperior paſtors to thunder out their eccleſiaſtical anathema's againſt perſons intitled to the benefit of the toleration, and inſolently dared or defied any power on earth to reverſe ſuch ſentence. 3. That the church of England was in a condition of great peril and adverſity, under her majeſty's adminiſtration; and, in order to arraign and blacken the vote or reſolution of both houſes of parliament, approved by her majeſty (mentioned in the preamble, and importing, that the church of England was in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition under the queen's adminiſtration) he did ſuggeſt the church to be in danger; and, as a parallel, mentioned, that the perſon of king Charles was voted to be out of danger, at the ſame time that his murderers were conſpiring his death; thereby wickedly and maliciouſly inſinuating, that the members of both houſes, who paſſed the ſaid vote, were then conſpiring the ruin of the church. 4. That her majeſty's adminiſtration, both in eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs, tended to the deſtruction of the conſtitution; and that there were men of characters and ſtations, in church and ſtate, who were falſe brethren, and did themſelves weaken, undermine, betray, and did encourage and put it in the power of others, who were profeſſed enemies, to overturn and deſtroy the conſtitution and eſtabliſhment: and charged her majeſty, and thoſe in authority under her, both in church and ſtate, with a general male-adminiſtration: and, as a public incendiary, he perſuaded her majeſty's ſubjects to keep up a diſtinction of factions and parties; inſtilled groundleſs jealouſies, fomented deſtructive diſtinctions among them, and excited and ſtirred them up to arms and violence. And, that his malicious and ſeditious ſuggeſtions might make the ſtronger impreſſions upon the minds of her majeſty's ſubjects, he

did

" did wickedly wreſt and pervert divers texts and paſſages of 1709-10.
" holy ſcripture."

After the exhibiting of theſe articles, the ſerjeant at arms attending, the commons delivered Dr. Sacheverel to the deputy-uſher of the black-rod; and the lords, having read the articles, ordered, that a copy of them ſhould be given to the doctor, who was admitted to bail; Dr. Lancaſter, vice-chancellor of Oxford, and Dr. Bowes, being his ſureties: and, being now at liberty, he conſulted ſome eminent lawyers and divines, and, with their aſſiſtance, drew up an anſwer, wherein he either denied the falſe, malicious, and ſeditious poſitions and ſuggeſtions, charged upon him in the articles, or endeavoured to juſtify, palliate, and extenuate what he had advanced in his ſermons; concluding with the expreſſions: " Hard is the lot of the miniſters of the goſ-
" pel, if, when they cite the word of God in their general
" exhortations to piety and virtue, or in their reproofs of
" men's tranſgreſſions, or where they are lamenting the
" difficulty and conflicts, with which the church of Chriſt,
" whilſt militant here on earth, muſt always ſtruggle; the
" ſeveral paſſages, by them cited, ſhall be ſaid to have been
" by them meant of particular perſons and things, and ſhall
" be conſtrued in the moſt criminal ſenſe, and made, by
" ſuch conſtruction, one ground of an impeachment of high
" crimes and miſdemeanors." The doctor's anſwer.

This anſwer being ſent from the lords to the commons, and referred to the committee, Mr. Dolben, in a few days, reported, that it was in many things foreign to the charge, unbecoming a perſon impeached, and plainly deſigned to reflect upon the honour of the houſe. A replication being ordered to be drawn, a debate aroſe at the ſecond reading, wherein the doctor's friends inſinuated, " That it was ad-
" viſeable to leave the offender to the ordinary courſe of juſ-
" tice." But this was rejected by a great majority; and the replication ſent up to the lords, averring their charge, and declaring they would be ready to prove it, at ſuch convenient time as ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe.

The lords appointed the 9th of March for the trial at the bar of their houſe; and the commons ordered, that the committee, who had drawn up the articles, ſhould be the managers to make good the impeachment (k). Then it The doctor tried in Weſtminſter-hall.

was

(k) Theſe were,
Sir John Holland, comptroller of her majeſty's houſhold,
Mr. ſecretary Boyle,
Mr. Smith, chancellor of the exchequer,

1709-10. was debated, whether the houſe ſhould attend in a body, or in a committee of the whole houſe; and it was carried for a committee by a majority of an hundred and ninety-two againſt an hundred and eighty. This was done by the doctor's friends, who found, that, by gaining more time, the people were ſtill more inflamed; and therefore it was they moved, that the trial might be public in Weſtminſter-hall, where the whole houſe of commons might be preſent. They knew the preparing of that place would be a work of ſome weeks. Unthinking people were ſo taken with this, that it could not be withſtood, though the effects it would have were well foreſeen. Accordingly, upon the commons requeſt, which was brought up by Mr. Bromley, one of the doctor's chief friends, the lords addreſſed the queen for a place to be prepared in Weſtminſter-hall for the trial. In the mean time the doctor's friends in town and country were extremely buſy, and in their private meetings drank to his happy deliverance.

At length the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons to acquaint them, they had appointed the 27th of February for the trial. On that day (all things being prepared) the lords, in their formalities, went down to the court in Weſtminſter-hall, where vaſt numbers of ſpectators had been admitted. The managers of the commons, and the committee of the whole houſe, having taken their reſpective places, and Dr. Sacheverel, who was lodged in the Temple, and came every day with great ſolemnity in a coach to the hall, being brought to the bar, the trial began, and laſted three weeks; in which all other buſineſs was at a ſtand, for this took up all men's thoughts. The queen herſelf was preſent every day of the trial in a private manner. The managers for the commons opened the matter very ſolemnly. Their performances were very much and juſtly commended. Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr. ſollicitor-general Eyre,

Sir James Mountague, attorney-general,
Mr. Robert Eyre, ſollicitor-general,
Mr. Robert Walpole, treaſurer of the navy,
Sir Joſeph Jekyll,
Mr. Lechmere,
Mr. Dolben,
Sir Thomas Parker,
Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London,
Sir John Holles,
The lord William Pawlet,
The lord Coningſby,
Mr. Spencer Compton,
Mr. William Thompſon,
Lieutenant-general Stanhope,
Lieutenant-general Mordaunt,
Mr. Spencer Cowper,
Sir David Dalrymple.

lieutenant-

lieutenant-general Stanhope, Sir Peter King, but, above all, Sir Thomas Parker, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner. They copiouſly juſtified both the revolution and the preſent government. There was no need of witneſſes; for, the ſermon being owned by the doctor, all the evidence was brought from it by laying the words together, and by ſhewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his council, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Phipps, Mr. Dee, and Dr. Henchman, came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in extreme caſes, and plainly juſtified the revolution and our deliverance by king William. But they ſaid, it was not fit in a ſermon to name ſuch an exception. That the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without ſuppoſing an extraordinary caſe. And therefore the doctor had followed precedents ſet by our greateſt divines, ever ſince the reformation, and ever ſince the revolution. Upon this they opened a great field; they began with the declarations made in king Henry the Eighth's time; they inſiſted next upon the homilies; and from thence inſtanced, in a large ſeries of biſhops and divines, who had preached the duty of ſubmiſſion and non-reſiſtance in very full terms, without ſuppoſing any exception; ſome excluding all exceptions in as poſitive a manner as the doctor had done. They explained the word Revolution, as belonging to the new ſettlement upon king James's withdrawing; though, in the common acceptation, it was underſtood of the whole tranſaction, from the landing of the Dutch army, till the ſettlement made by the convention. So that, they underſtanding the revolution in that ſenſe, there was indeed no reſiſtance there. That if the paſſage quoted from the declaration of king William, while he was prince of Orange, did not come up to that, for which the doctor quoted it, he ought not to be cenſured, becauſe his quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his invective againſt the diſſenters and toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by ſaying, that he did not reflect on what was allowed by law, but on the permiſſion of, or the not puniſhing many, who publiſhed impious and blaſphemous books. And a collection was made of paſſages in books, full of crude impiety and bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a ſolemn publiſhing of ſo much impiety to the nation, by which more miſchief would be done than by the books themſelves: for moſt of them had been

1709 10.

1709-10. neglected, and known only to a ſmall number of thoſe who encouraged them; and the authors of many of thoſe books had been proſecuted and puniſhed for them. As to thoſe parts of the ſermon, which ſet out the danger the church was in, though both houſes had ſome years ago voted it a great offence to ſay it was in danger; the doctor's council ſaid it might have been in none four years ago, when theſe votes paſſed, and yet be now in danger: the greateſt of all dangers was to be apprehended from the wrath of God for ſuch impieties. They ſaid, the reflections on the adminiſtration were not meant of thoſe employed immediately by the queen, but of men in inferior poſts. If the doctor's words ſeemed capable of a bad ſenſe, they were alſo capable of a more innocent one; and every man was allowed to put any conſtruction on his words, that they could bear.

When the doctor's council had ended their defence, he concluded it himſelf with a ſpeech, which he read with much bold heat; in which, with many ſolemn aſſeverations, he juſtified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He ſpoke with reſpect both of the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. He inſiſted moſt on condemning all reſiſtance under any pretence whatſoever, without mentioning the exception of extreme neceſſity, as his council had done. He ſaid, it was a doctrine of the church, in which he was educated; and added many pathetical expreſſions, to move the audience to compaſſion. This had a great effect on the weaker ſort, while it poſſeſſed thoſe, who knew the man and his ordinary diſcourſes, with horror, when they heard him affirm ſo many falſhoods with ſuch ſolemn appeals to God. It was very plain, that the ſpeech was made for him by others, for the ſtyle was more correct, and far different from his own; and it was thought to be the joint work of Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smalridge, and Dr. Friend, ſupervised and corrected by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps (l).

During

(l) Mr. Mainwaring, in his letters to a friend in North-Britain, thus remarks on the doctor's ſpeech: 'But now comes 'the great ſcope of the doctor's 'performance, his own harangue 'at the bar of the houſe of lords: 'and here, without entering into 'a particular examination of the 'whole piece, I cannot help 'profeſſing, with ſome ſorrow, 'that I think he was too hardly 'dealt with by thoſe that made 'it for him, when they obliged 'him to aver, in the face of 'God and the queen, That he 'had neither ſuggeſted, nor did 'in his conſcience believe, that 'the

During the trial, the multitudes that followed him all the way as he came, and as he went back, ſhewed a great concern 1709-10.

'the church is in the leaſt peril 'from her majeſty's adminiſtra-'tion. If thoſe men, he means 'Attorbury, Smalridge, Friend, 'Moſs, &c. had been endued 'with the leaſt mercy, con-'ſcience, or humanity, they 'would never have put into his 'mouth ſuch a choaking provo-'cation as this; and I cannot 'help taking his part againſt 'them upon this occaſion, as 'abandoned a prieſt as he is. 'When this holy man had, in 'his ſermon at St. Paul's, plainly 'ſhewn, how obvious it were to 'draw a parallel between the 'ſad circumſtances of the church 'of England formerly, and of 'the church of England at pre-'ſent, whoſe walls and incloſures 'are pulled down, and this pure 'ſpouſe of Chriſt proſtituted to 'more adulterers than the ſcar-'let whore in the Revelations. 'What could enter into the 'heads of thoſe penmen of the 'ſpeech, to make the poor wretch 'ſwear, that he had never ſug-'geſted the church was in dan-'ger? With what indignation 'muſt every one hear ſuch ſo-'lemn appeals made to heaven, 'for the truth of a fact, which 'the whole aſſembly knew to be 'directly contrary? What ex-'cuſe ſhall we find out for this 'moſt hardened ſinner? Will it 'acquit him to ſay, that he did 'not compoſe his ſpeech, and 'only performed his part like 'an actor: indeed, it may be 'ſaid to reſemble a play in one 'reſpect, becauſe it was a farce 'very well wrought, and had a 'wonderful effect on the weak 'part of his audience: the reſt 'were amazed, continues Mr. 'Maynwaring, they trembled at 'his oaths, when he called the 'ſearcher of hearts to witneſs, 'in the moſt ſolemn and reli-'gious manner, as he expected 'to be acquitted before God and 'his holy angels, at that dread-'ful tribunal, before which, not 'only he, but even their lord-'ſhips muſt appear, that he was 'far from deſigning to defame 'her majeſty's adminiſtration. 'Good God! And is this the 'man for whom the people have 'made an inſurrection? Is this 'the man for whom their zeal 'has flamed out in all manner 'of appearance? Is this the 'man, whoſe effigies is ſold 'about, curiouſly done in met-'zotinto; whoſe health is drank 'before the queen's, and next 'in the ſame glaſs with that of 'the church? What can he have 'to do with any church, who 'is a ſhame to chriſtianity itſelf? 'And is this the man for whom 'tears were ſhed, when, by his 'inſolent behaviour, he had 'made that compaſſion ridicu-'lous, which would otherwiſe 'have been due to one in his 'circumſtances? How offenſive 'was his aſſurance? how nau-'ſeous his preſumption? and 'how atheiſtical was his pur-'poſe, in wickedly perverting 'divers texts of ſcripture, in-'ſtead of preaching the truths. 'He ſaid, he had no intention 'to aſperſe the memory of his 'late majeſty; and he has been

1709-10. cern for him, preſſing about him, and ſtriving to kiſs his hand. And when the queen went, in the afternoon of the day, on which the trial began, to the houſe of lords, to give the royal aſſent to ſome bills, a great multitude of people gathered about her ſedan, crying out, 'God bleſs your majeſty and the church! we hope your majeſty is for Dr. Sacheverel.' The next day the mob was ſtill more numerous and louder about Dr. Sacheverel's coach, and obliged all perſons they met to pull off their hats to him, and abuſed thoſe who refuſed to comply; among whom were ſome members of both houſes of parliament. The ſame evening, the rioters went to Mr. Daniel Burgeſs's meeting-houſe, in a court near Lincoln's-inn-fields, of which they broke the windows, and committed ſeveral other outrages and diſorders. Their fury increaſing with their numbers, they advanced to greater enormities, and even to overt-acts of rebellion. For, after they had attended upon Dr. Sacheverel, as uſual, they repaired to that meeting-houſe again, broke it open, pulled down the pulpit, pews, benches, in ſhort, all that was combuſtible; and, having carried theſe materials into Lincoln's-inn-fields, made a bonefire of them, with repeated cries of High Church and Sacheverel. About the ſame time, other parties of the mob demoliſhed and deſtroyed ſeveral other meeting-houſes (m). They alſo battered and plundered the houſes of ſeveral diſſenters, threatened to pull down the houſes of the lord chancellor, earl of Wharton, biſhop of Sarum, Mr. Dolben, and other managers for the commons, againſt Dr. Sacheverel; and talked of deſtroying Mr. Hoadly's church and houſe, Salters-hall, Mr. Shower's, and other meeting-houſes in the city; and even of attacking the bank of England, of which the directors being apprehenſive, they took the neceſſary precautions for its ſecurity, and ſent to Whitehall for aſſiſtance. Theſe diſorders were directed by ſome of better faſhion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were ſeen ſending meſſages to them. Upon the firſt notice of theſe tumults, the earl of Sunderland made his report to the queen, who commanded him to ſend her horſe and foot-

A great diſorder at the trial.

'often heard to ſay, he ought 'to be De-witted, of which I 'have myſelf ſeen an affidavit, 'under the hand of Mr. Ebe-'ral.'

(m) Particularly thoſe of Mr. Earle in Long-acre; of Mr. Bradbury in New-ſtreet, Shoe-lane; of Mr. Taylor in Leather-lane; of Mr. Wright in Black-Fryars; and of Mr. Hamilton in Clerkenwell.

guards

guards to diſperſe the mob; and the earl repreſenting the danger of leaving her perſon unguarded at that time (it being between ten and eleven o'clock at night) ſhe anſwered, 'God would be her guard.' The earl being returned to his office at the Cockpit, where were alſo the lord chancellor, the duke of Newcaſtle, and ſome other noblemen, he ſent for captain Horſey, an exempt, who then commanded the guard, and ordered him to mount immediately, and diſperſe the mob. And, as the captain was going out, the earl whiſpered him, and bid him ſend a party to the bank. Before the horſe and foot-guards could reach Lincoln's-inn-fields, the officers had notice, that the mob, which had gathered there, was returned to Drury-lane, where they were making another bonefire with the furniture of Mr. Earle's meeting-houſe; whereupon the guards bent their march that way. At their approach moſt of the mob fled before them; and only one of their ring-leaders, George Purchaſe, a bailiff (who had before been a life-guard-man, but was diſmiſſed for ſome miſdemeanor) offered to make a ſtand, with a few of the moſt reſolute of his followers, crying out for High Church and Dr. Sacheverel. From Drury-lane the guards marched towards the city, and met with ſome oppoſition, near Fleet-ditch, from the mob that were rifling the meeting-houſe in Black-Fryars; but having wounded ſome of the moſt daring, and ſecured others, the reſt were ſoon ſcattered; and the guards, patrolling all night, prevented any farther miſchief. On the 2d of March, the horſe and foot-guards at Whitehall and St. James's were doubled; and the trained-bands at Weſtminſter under arms, in divers poſts, where they continued as long as Dr. Sacheverel's trial was depending; which both leſſened the number of the mutineers (many of the trained-band being men of low circumſtances, hired by ſubſtantial houſekeepers) and kept the reſt in awe. The ſame day, the commons reſolved to addreſs the queen, to take effectual meaſures to ſuppreſs the preſent tumults, ſet on foot and fomented by papiſts, nonjurors, and other enemies to her title and government; and to iſſue out a proclamation, promiſing a reward to ſuch as ſhould diſcover and ſeize thoſe incendiaries, who had been the occaſions of the late tumults and diſorders. To this addreſs the queen anſwered, "That ſhe "was extremely ſenſible of the great care and concern of "the houſe of commons for the public peace upon this oc-"caſion; and, as ſhe had a juſt reſentment at theſe tumul-"tuous and violent proceedings, ſo ſhe would take imme-"diate 1709-10.

1709-10. "diate care for ſuppreſſing them, and would loſe no time "in endeavouring to find out the authors and abettors, in "order to bring them to puniſhment, according to the "deſire of this houſe." The commons, upon this anſwer, unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs, importing, "That they begged leave to return their moſt hearty thanks "for her moſt gracious anſwer to their addreſs, and for her "effectual care in ſuppreſſing thoſe rebellious tumults, "which were ſet on foot and fomented by papiſts, nonju-"rors, and other enemies to her title and government, in "defiance of the juſt proſecution of the commons againſt "Dr. Henry Sacheverel. And they humbly beſought her "to believe, that as this proſecution proceeded only from "the indiſpenſable obligation, which her faithful commons "looked upon themſelves to lie under, not to ſit ſtill, "and patiently ſee the juſtice of the late happy revolution, "and the glory of their late royal deliverer reflected upon; "her majeſty's undoubted title ſtruck at; her adminiſtra-"tion, by which ſo many bleſſings were derived upon "them, endeavoured to be rendered odious to the people, "and repreſented as deſtructive of the church and conſti-"tution; the preſent eſtabliſhment and proteſtant ſucceſ-"ſion undermined; the reſolutions of the parliament "treated with contempt; the governors of the church, "and her majeſty, as ſupreme, aſperſed and vilified; the "toleration expoſed, as wicked; and ſedition inſolently in-"vading the pulpit: ſo the maintenance of her ma-"jeſty's right, the ſafety of her perſon, the quiet of her "government, the continuance of their happineſs under "her excellent adminiſtration, the ſucceſſion in the pro-"teſtant line, the ſupport and honour of the church of "England, as eſtabliſhed by law, with that toleration, "which was by act of parliament allowed to proteſtant diſ-"ſenters, ſhould be their conſtant care and concern. And "they would, upon all occaſions, venture all that was dear "to them, in defence of ſuch ineſtimable bleſſings." It was moved, that in the firſt paragraph it might be ſug-geſted, that the 'rebellious tumults were ſet on foot and 'fomented by republicans, as well as by papiſts and non-March 3. 'jurors:' but the motion was rejected. The day before this addreſs was preſented, a proclamation was publiſhed for ſup-preſſing the tumults, purſuant to which ſeveral perſons, who had been active in the late riots, were apprehended, and committed to divers priſons; particularly, George Pur-chaſe the bailiff; Daniel Damaree, one of the queen's water-

men;

men; and Francis Willis, a footman; which three were some time after tried for high-treaſon: but, though the two firſt were ſentenced to die, yet neither of them ſuffered. The remiſſneſs, in puniſhing ſo great a diſorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging men to new tumults; and there was a ſecret management in the whole affair, that amazed all people. 1709-10.

When Dr. Sacheverel had ended his defence, the managers for the houſe of commons replied, and ſhewed very evidently, that the words of his ſermon could not reaſonably bear any other ſenſe but that for which they charged him. This was an eaſy performance, and they managed it with great ſtrength and vivacity. But the humour of the town was turned againſt them, and all the clergy appeared for the doctor. Many of the queen's chaplains ſtood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the queen herſelf favoured him, though upon biſhop Burnet's firſt coming to town, which was after the impeachment was brought up to the lords, ſhe ſaid to him, that it was a bad ſermon, and that he deſerved well to be puniſhed for it. Continuation of the trial.

Sir John Holt, lord chief juſtice of the queen's-bench, died during the trial of the doctor, upon the 6th of March. He was very learned in the law, and had, upon great occaſions, ſhewed an intrepid zeal in aſſerting its authority; for he ventured on the indignation of both houſes of parliament by turns, when he thought the law was with him. He was a man of good judgment and great integrity, and ſet himſelf with great application to the functions of that important poſt. Sir Thomas Parker was immediately made lord chief juſtice in his room. This great promotion ſeemed an evident demonſtration of the queen's approving the proſecution; for none of the managers had treated the doctor ſo ſeverely as he had done: yet ſecret whiſpers were very confidently ſet about, that though the queen's affairs put her upon acting the part of one, who was pleaſed with this ſcene; yet ſhe diſliked it all, and would take the firſt occaſion to ſhew it. Chief juſtice Holt's death and character.

On the 10th of March the earl of Nottingham ſaid, that he had ſomething to propoſe; and the lords being adjourned to their houſe, he ſtarted an unexpected queſtion, "Whether in proſecutions by impeachments for high crimes and "miſdemeanors, by writing, or ſpeaking, the particular "words, ſuppoſed to be criminal, are neceſſary to be expreſsly ſpecified in ſuch impeachments?" After ſome debate

1709-10. debate, the lords reſolved to conſult the judges, who very readily delivered their unanimous opinions, "That, accord-"ing to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment "ought to be expreſsly mentioned in both." Thoſe, who were for puniſhing Dr. Sacheverel, were not a little ſurprized at this unforeſeen difficulty, which was of no leſs conſequence, than to annul the whole proſecution, and to make it neceſſary for the commons to begin anew, which they could not expect to have time to do. But it being ſuggeſted, that the judges had delivered their opinion according to the rules of Weſtminſter-hall, and not according to the uſage of parliament, the lords at laſt reſolved, "That "in impeachments they were to proceed according to the "laws of the land, and the law and uſage of parliaments;" and, upon ſearching the journals of the houſe for precedents, they found a parallel inſtance to that of Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment, which was that of Dr. Mainwaring in king Charles I's reign, wherein the words, for which he was impeached, were not expreſsly mentioned in the articles. Whereupon it was voted after ſome debate, "That "by the law and uſuage of parliaments in proſecutions "by impeachments for high-crimes and miſdemeanors, by "writing or ſpeaking, the particular words, ſuppoſed to be "criminal, are not neceſſary to be expreſsly ſpecified in "ſuch impeachments:" againſt which reſolution many lords entered their proteſt.

On the 16th of March, the queen went incognito to the houſe of lords, where a motion being made to declare, "That the commons had made good the firſt article againſt "Dr. Sacheverel," a warm debate aroſe. The earl of Wharton, who ſpoke firſt, ſaid, "There is a different "ſtrain between the doctor's ſermon and his ſpeech; the "ſpeech is a full confutation and condemnation of the ſer-"mon. All he has advanced about non-reſiſtance and "unlimited obedience, is ridiculous and falſe; as is alſo his "diſtinguiſhing in the affair of the revolution, in which "there was notorious reſiſtance in the aſſociation begun at "Exeter, and in the ſeizing of York and Oxford gates, "and breaking the bridge. The doctrine of paſſive obe-"dience, as preſſed by the doctor, is not reconcileable to "the practice of churchmen. If the revolution is not law-"ful, many in that houſe, and vaſt numbers without, were "guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injuſtice; and the "queen herſelf is no lawful queen, ſince the beſt title ſhe "had to the crown, was her parliamentary title, founded

on

" on the revolution." The lord Haversham made a long speech in answer to this; and the lord Ferrers endeavoured likewise to excuse the doctor, alledging, " That the revolution was not mentioned in his sermon: that nothing but plain matter of fact should ground such a solemn accusation: that, if the doctor were guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried in Westminster-hall: but he doubted, whether even in the inferior courts there would be sufficient matter to convict him." He was supported by the earl of Scarborough, who said, the revolution was a nice point, and above the law; and moved, that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider, before they gave their judgment. 1709-10.

The lord Haversham having reflected on some bishops voting contrary to their doctrines, Dr. Talbot, bishop of Oxford, took from thence occasion to speak on the other side. But Dr. Hooper, bishop of Bath and Wells, endeavoured to excuse Dr. Sacheverel; " he allowed, indeed, of what the bishop of Oxford had advanced, about the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion, that this ought to be kept from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist; and that the opposite doctrine ought rather to be maintained and inforced. That the revolution was not to be boasted of, and made a precedent; but we ought to throw a mantle over it, and rather call it a vacancy or abdication: and the original compact were too very dangerous words, not to be mentioned without a great deal of caution. That they, who examined the revolution too nicely, were no friends to it; for, at that rate, the crown would roll like a ball, and never be fixed." He concluded, " That there seemed to be a necessity to preach up non-resistance and passive obedience at that time, when resistance was justified." The duke of Argyle, who spoke on the other side, said, among other things, " That the clergy, in all ages, have delivered up the rights and liberties of the people, and preached up the king's power, in order to govern him; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics." The earl of Anglesey answered to this; " That political sermons were sometimes necessary, and allowed on the 30th of January, and other occasions. As to the revolution, which was the chief matter now in debate (he said) the vacancy of the throne was properly the thing; and therefore

1709-10. "fore the mentioning neceſſary means, were mere nonſenſe "in the doctor; and he would not find him guilty for non- "ſenſe; the rather, becauſe the doctrine of reſiſtance, which "the doctor had confuted, juſtifies rebellion, murder, and "all manner of crimes." The duke of Leeds, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, made a very long ſpeech, wherein he owned, "he had a great ſhare in the late revolution, but "ſaid, he never thought, that things would have gone ſo "far, as to ſettle the crown on the prince of Orange, whom "he had often heard ſay, that he had no ſuch thoughts "himſelf. That they ought to diſtinguiſh between reſiſt- "ance and revolution; for vacancy or abdication was the "thing they went upon, and therefore reſiſtance was to "be forgot; for, had it not ſucceeded, it had certainly "been rebellion; ſince he knew of no other but hereditary "right." Upon this the biſhop of Saliſbury made a ſpeech, "wherein he ſhewed the falſhood of an opinion too com- "monly received, that the church of England had always "condemned reſiſtance, even in the caſes of extreme ty- "ranny. The books of the Maccabees, bound up in our "bibles, and approved by our articles, as containing ex- "amples of life and inſtruction of manners, though not as "any part of the canon of the ſcripture, contained a full and "clear precedent for reſiſting and ſhaking off extreme tyran- "ny. The Jews, under that brave family, not only defended "themſelves againſt Antiochus, but formed themſelves into "a free and new government: our homilies were only "againſt wilful rebellion, ſuch as had been againſt our "kings, while they were governing by law. But, at that "very time, queen Elizabeth had aſſiſted, firſt the Scots, "and then the French, and to the end of her days conti- "nued to protect the ſtates, who not only reſiſted, but, "as the Maccabees had done, ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke, "and ſet up a new form of government. In all this ſhe "was not only juſtified by the beſt writers of that time, ſuch "as Jewel and Bilſon, but was approved and ſupported in "it. Both her parliaments and convocations gave her "ſubſidies to carry on thoſe wars. The ſame principles "were kept up in all king James's reign. In the begin- "ning of king Charles's reign he protected the Rochel- "lers, and aſked ſupplies from the parliament, to inable "him to do it effectually, and ordered a faſt and prayers "to be made for them. It is true, ſoon after that, new "notions of abſolute power, derived from God to kings, "were taken up: at the firſt riſe given to theſe by Mayn-

"waring,

" waring, they were condemned by a ſentence of the lords; 1709-01.
" and though he ſubmitted, and retracted his opinion, yet
" a ſevere cenſure paſſed upon him. But, during the long
" diſcontinuance of parliaments that followed, this doctrine
" was more favoured: it was generally preached up, and
" many things were done purſuant to it, which put the na-
" tion into the great convulſions, that followed in our civil
" wars. After theſe were over, it was natural to return
" to the other extreme, as courts naturally favoured ſuch
" doctrines. King James truſted too much to it; yet the
" very aſſerters of that doctrine were the firſt, who pleaded
" for reſiſtance, when they thought they needed it."

Several other peers, particularly the duke of Devonſhire, the lord-chancellor, and the lords Sommers, Halifax, and Mohun ſpoke alſo in vindication of the late revolution; and maintained, that in extraordinary caſes reſiſtance is neceſſary and lawful; and concluded, that the commons had made good the firſt article. The archbiſhop of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, the lords Guernſey, North and Grey, and Caermarthen, and the biſhops of London, Rocheſter, and Landaff, who ſpoke on the other ſide, declared, " That they never
" read ſuch a piece of madneſs and nonſenſe, as Dr. Sa-
" cheverel's ſermon, but did not think him guilty of a miſ-
" demeanor." After a long debate, which laſted till paſt nine in the evening, it was at laſt carried by a majority of nineteen, that the commons had made good their firſt article of impeachment againſt Dr. Sacheverel.

The next day, March 17, the lords took into conſideration the ſecond article of the commons impeachment, and Dr. Wake, biſhop of Lincoln, began the debate with a ſpeech, wherein he gave an account of the deſign of a comprehenſion ſet on foot, towards the end of king James II's reign, by archbiſhop Sancroft, and promoted by the moſt eminent divines of the church of England, particularly Dr. Patrick, late biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Sharp, the preſent archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Ely, which was,
" to improve, and, if poſſible, to inforce our diſcipline, to
" review and inlarge our liturgy, by correcting ſome things,
" and adding others; and by leaving ſome few indifferent
" ceremonies, in order to reconcile diſſenters to the church.
" That Dr. Sacheverel had made a ſtrange and falſe repre-
" ſentation of this deſign, which was again ſet on foot, and
" openly eſpouſed by king William and queen Mary, but
" which unhappily miſcarried." He then proceeded to offer

1709-10. offer ſuch paſſages out of Dr. Sacheverel's ſermon, as plainly and fully made out the ſecond article of the commons impeachment, including, "That ſomewhat ſhould be done "to put a ſtop to ſuch preaching, as, if not timely cor- "rected, may kindle ſuch heats and animoſities among us, "as may truly endanger both our church and ſtate. As "for the preacher himſelf, I am (ſaid the biſhop) very wil- "ling to come into any meaſures of favour to him, that "are conſiſtent with your lordſhips honour and juſtice, and "will anſwer the ends of the impeachment, that has been "brought before us againſt him." Dr. Trimnel, biſhop of Norwich inforced what the biſhop of Lincoln had ſaid "about toleration; inveighed againſt the inſolence of "Dr. Sacheverel, who had arraigned archbiſhop Grin- "dall (one of the eminent reformers in the reign of "queen Elizabeth) as a perfidious prelate, for favour- "ing and tolerating the Genevian diſcipline; checked "his preſumption, in taking upon him, in his ſermon, to "preſcribe rules to his ſuperiors, by telling them when they "are to thunder out their anathema's againſt ſchiſmatics; "ſhewed, that the proper uſe of thoſe ſpiritual weapons is "to ſuppreſs vice, immorality, and profaneneſs, among the "members of the church; and that they were altogether "uſeleſs to convince heretics or ſchiſmatics, who are rather "to be won by gentle methods and chriſtian forbearance. "And to that purpoſe his lordſhip took notice of the good "effects of the toleration act; and mentioned ſeveral in- "ſtances, wherein he had himſelf been inſtrumental in re- "conciling diſſenters to the church. I ſhall not take upon "me (ſaid he in the concluſion) to charge the doctor, or "any of his particular friends, with this practice (meaning "the late tumults) as great temptation as one is under to "do ſo from ſeveral circumſtances. And it is not the "leaſt, that occurs in his prayers, which he has publiſhed "on this occaſion, to repreſent, not ſo much to God, as "to the World, that he is under perſecution, when he is "proſecuted for offending againſt the law, by thoſe, who, "in common juſtice, ought to be thought the faireſt ac- "cuſers, and, before your lordſhips, who are juſtly acknow- "ledged to be the moſt impartial judges. However, I will "never believe, till I cannot avoid it, that any members "of the church of England, who have acknowledged the "government, much le s any clergyman, who has ſo often "profeſſed his obedience to it in church and ſtate, ſhould "have been any way acceſſary to theſe threatnings, that

"have

"have been given out, particularly against such bishops, 1709-10.
"as should happen to condemn the doctor's proceedings.
"As far, my lords, as I have seen of this cause, I am
"likely to be one of those bishops; and, though I do not
"pretend to any great share of courage, I am very free to
"declare to your lordships, that I am in no comparison so
"apprehensive of what may befall myself, for condemning
"this person, as I am of what will probably befall the
"public, if your lordships should not condemn him. How-
"ever, I wish he may be treated with all possible modera-
"tion; and that the wholsome severities he recommends in
"his sermon, may not be used against him. But that is in
"your lordships judgment, to which I humbly submit it;
"and only beg pardon for having detained your lordships
"so long in giving my reasons, why I think the commons
"have made good this second part of their charge." No peer offering to speak in favour of the doctor, it was voted, That the commons had made good the second article of their impeachment. The party, that was for the doctor, made no opposition to the third, and but little to the fourth. They contented themselves with protesting against them, as they had done against the two first. The four articles being thus voted to be proved, the lords went down to the hall, when the question being put upon the whole impeachment, guilty or not guilty, the doctor was voted not guilty by fifty-two *, and guilty by sixty-nine †.

The

* The archbishop of York; the dukes of Ormond, Beauford, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Leeds, Buckingham, Hamilton; the earls of Pembroke, Northampton, Denbigh, Berkshire, Thanet, Scarsdale, Anglesea, Sussex, Yarmouth, Nottingham, Rochester, Abingdon, Plymouth, Scarborough, Jersey, Poulet, Mar, Wemys, Northesk; the viscounts Say and Seal, Weymouth; the bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Bath and Wells, Chester; the barons Ferrers, Willoughby of Brooke, North and Grey, Howard of Escrick, Chandos, Leigh, Lexington, Berkley, Craven, Osborn, Dartmouth, Stawel, Guilford, Butler, Lempster, Haversham, Guernsey, Conway.

† The lord-chancellor, lord-treasurer, lord-president, lord-privy-seal, lord-steward of the household; the dukes of Cleveland, Richmond, Grafton, St. Albans, Bolton, Schomberg, Bedford, Montrose, Roxburgh, Dover; the marquisses of Kent and Dorchester; the earls of Derby, Lincoln, Dorset, Bridgewater, Leicester, Westmoreland, Manchester, Rivers, Stamford, Winchelsea, Sunderland, Carlisle, Radnor, Berkley, Holderness, Portland, Warwington, Bradford, Orford, Greenwich, Grantham,

1709-10. The next debate was, what cenſure ought to paſs upon him (n). And here a ſtrange turn appeared; ſome ſeemed to

tham, Wharton, Cholmondeley, Crawford, Loudoun, Leven, Orkney, Seafield, Roſeberry, Glaſgow, Ilay; the biſhops of Sarum, Ely, Peterborough, Oxford, Lincoln, Norwich, St. Aſaph; the barons De la War, Fitzwalter, Paget, Hunſden, Mohun, Biron, Colepeper, Rockingham, Cornwallis, Oſſulſton, Herbert, Hallifax, Harvey, Pelham.

(n) The proceedings of the peers more at large were as follows:

In relation to the third article, the lord Halifax made a ſhort ſpeech, and was anſwered by the lord Ferrers and the earl of Nottingham. The fourth article occaſioned a longer debate, which was begun by the earl of Wharton, in the commendation of the preſent adminiſtration. The biſhop of Saliſbury ſeconded him, and ſpoke with vehemence againſt Dr. Sacheverel, 'who, by inveighing againſt the revolution, toleration, and unioh, ſeemed to arraign and attack the queen herſelf, ſince her majeſty had ſo great a ſhare in the firſt, and had often declared, that ſhe would maintain the ſecond; and that ſhe looked upon the third as the moſt glorious event of her reign. That nothing could be more plain than his reflecting on her majeſty's miniſters; and that he had in particular ſo well marked out a noble peer the preſent lord Volpone, by an ugly and ſcurrilous epithet (which he would not repeat) that it was not poſſible to miſtake him.' Upon this ſome of the younger peers fell a laughing, and cried out, Name him, name him; but the lord chancellor interpoſed, declaring, 'That 'no peer was obliged to ſay 'but what he thought fit.' The lord Ferrers ſaid ſomething in favour of Dr. Sacheverel, but was anſwered by the earl of Ilay; and then the lord Haverſham made a ſhort ſpeech about that part of the fourth article, wherein Dr. Sacheverel was charged, with wreſting and perverting divers paſſages of ſcripture. He ſaid, 'No man on earth has 'authority to interpret the ſcripture; which, he thought, muſt 'be interpreted by itſelf: ſince 'the reformation, we had contended againſt the church of 'Rome, who pretended to that 'authority: and ſhall we (added he) allow infallibility in 'the commons, which we deny 'to the pope of Rome?' And in concluſion he repeated his deſire, that the reverend prelates there preſent would tell the houſe, 'How Dr. Sacheverel 'could be charged with wreſting 'the ſcripture?' But none of the biſhops offered to ſatisfy him. The duke of Hamilton having ſaid ſomething in favour of the doctor, he was anſwered by the lord Mohun. The duke of Buckingham, the lord Ferrers, the earls of Scarſdale and Abingdon, and the lord Cadmarthen, endeavoured likewiſe to extenuate the doctor's offences, but it was voted that the commons had made good the fourth article of the impeachment. However,

* Volpone.

to apprehend the effects of a popular fury, if the cenſure was ſevere; to others it was ſaid, the queen deſired it might be mild; 1709-10.

ever, thirty-eight lords entered their diſſent to the queſtion upon the ſecond, third, and fourth articles. At the cloſe of the debate, the earl of Wharton ſaid, 'That ſince the houſe had reſolved, that the commons had made good their four articles of impeachment againſt Dr. Sacheverel, the lords ought, by a neceſſary conſequence, to reſolve and declare likewiſe, That the doctor was guilty of the high crimes and miſdemeanors charged upon him.' But the earls of Abingdon and Rocheſter, the lord treaſurer, the lord North and Grey, and the lord Ferrers, ſtarting ſome difficulties, it was propoſed, that the queſtion to be aſked every lord in Weſtminſter-hall ſhould be as follows: 'That the commons having made good the ſeveral articles of the impeachment againſt Henry Sacheverel, doctor in divinity; the ſaid doctor Henry Sacheverel is guilty of high crimes and miſdemeanors.'

Accordingly, on the 18th of March, the queſtion being read, the earl of Rocheſter moved, that the judges ſhould be conſulted; but no peer ſeconding that motion, the lord Guernſey ſaid, 'The queſtion, as ſtated, was not fit to be put in Weſtminſter-hall, becauſe it would ſubvert the conſtitution of parliament, and preclude the peers from their right of giving their judgment, both of the fact, as well as of the law. For in this caſe ſome peers might be ſatisfied as to the fact, but not as to the law, and if they were to give their judgment as the queſtion was ſtated, their freedom of voting would be taken away. Therefore he moved, That the firſt part of the propoſed queſtion be left out.' The lord North and Grey, who ſpoke next, ſaid, 'There is no neceſſity of putting the queſtion in Weſtminſter-hall, but only acquainting the commons there, that Dr. Sacheverel is guilty in general: for how can any peer, that thinks him not guilty (as for my part, I don't) ſay in the face of the commons, he is not guilty, and allow at the ſame time, that the commons have made good their articles of impeachment?' The earl of Wharton ſaid, 'He wondered at the lord Guernſey's making that motion, after the houſe had come to a reſolution, that the commons had made good their articles. The queſtion, as ſtated by the lord chancellor, did not preclude any peer from his right of giving his judgment; for every lord was at liberty to proteſt and enter his diſſent, if he would not be conviaced by the majority of the houſe; and that the lords, being in the nature of a jury, ought to deliver their opinions ſeriatim.' The lord Ferrers ſupported the lord Guernſey's motion, objecting againſt the preamble of the queſtion as unneceſſary, and urging, that it was only the majority of the houſe, and not the houſe, that come to a reſolution, 'That

1709-10. mild; it was therefore propoſed to ſuſpend him from preaching for one year, others were for ſeven years; but by a vote

'the commons had made good 'their impeachments.' On the other hand, the lord Guernſey, in anſwer to the earl of Wharton, ſaid, 'That the lords were 'not as a jury, for every lord 'was both a judge and a juror; 'that ſome peers might think 'Dr. Sacheverel guilty of one 'part, and innocent of the 'other; and yet if they were 'to give their judgment, as this 'queſtion was ſtated, how could 'they ſay he was not guilty, 'when the preamble ſet forth, 'that the commons had made 'good their impeachment?' The earl of Wharton replied, 'That 'this objection had been much 'more proper before the houſe 'had proceeded ſo far.' However the earl of Rocheſter having moved, that the preamble be left out, the earl of Wharton and the reſt agreed to it; and the lord chancellor ſtated the queſtion thus: 'That the 'queſtion to be put to each lord 'in Weſtminſter-hall, beginning at the junior baron firſt, 'ſhall be, Is Dr. Henry Sacheverel guilty of high crimes and 'miſdemeanors?' The earl of Nottingham moved, that the words of high crimes and miſdemeanors be left out, and was ſeconded by the lord North and Grey. But the earl of Wharton ſaid, 'That what was offered was unfair; for the commons having impeached Dr. 'Sacheverel of high crimes and 'miſdemeanors, and the lords 'having agreed and reſolved, 'that the commons had made 'good the impeachment, it neceſſarily followed, that he was 'guilty of the ſaid crimes and 'miſdemeanors.' To moderate the matter, the duke of Buckingham propoſed, that the queſtion be thus altered, of the crimes and miſdemeanors charged upon him by the impeachment; to which the earls of Wharton and Sunderland readily agreed; but the earl of Jerſey excepted againſt the queſtion, as being complex or complicated. The lord Guernſey purſued the ſame objection, for the reaſon he alledged before, viz. 'That ſome peers might 'think Dr. Sacheverel guilty of 'ſome of the crimes charged 'upon him by the impeachment 'of the commons, and innocent 'of the other; and urged an 'inſtance of an indictment concerning ſeveral charges, in 'which caſe the jury is not to 'anſwer generally, but particularly to each offence, becauſe the judge goes by the 'verdict, and impoſes the fine 'accordingly.' Therefore his lordſhip moved, 'That each 'peer ſhould give his judgment 'ſeverally to each article.' To this the lord Sommers anſwered, 'That the matter of fact was 'already ſettled, though every 'peer might proteſt and diſſent: 'that the lord Guernſey's objection, grounded on the inſtance he brought in of indictments in the courts below, 'was very improper, becauſe, 'as his lordſhip himſelf had 'ſuggeſted, the lords are both 'judges and jury. That, as 'jury, they might, in conſcience, pronounce the doctor guilty

vote it was fixed to three years. It was next moved, that he ſhould be incapable of all preſerments during theſe three years; 1709-10.

'guilty, though they thought 'him guilty only of one article: 'but that the lords, who did 'not think him guilty of all the 'four articles, might, after-'wards, as judges, moderate 'the puniſhment.' The earl of Nottingham replied, 'That, for 'his part, he thought Dr. Sa-'cheverel guilty of no crime;' and moved, that the particle be left out, and the queſtion put thus; 'Is Dr. Henry Sacheve-'rel guilty of high crimes and 'miſdemeanors charged upon 'him by the impeachment?' which was agreed to.

Then it being propoſed to conſider what anſwer each lord ſhould give, the lord Haliſax ſaid, That, according to the uſage of parliament, the lords ought to anſwer content, or not content. But the lord Ferrers alledged, 'That content, or 'not content, was not an ade-'quate anſwer to the queſtion:' and both the earl of Notting-ham, and the lord Guernſey, his brother, urged, 'That there 'were ſeveral precedents for 'guilty, or not guilty, upon my 'honour; but did not remem-'ber any for content, or not 'content.' The lord Haliſax maintained his aſſertion, and ſaid, 'He wondered, the lord 'Nottingham did not know there 'were precedents for content 'or not content; and inſtanced 'in the lord Sommers's trial, 'in which the lords gave their 'judgment that way.' On the other hand, the lord Guernſey inſiſted upon anſwering guilty or not guilty; and was ſeconded by the lord treaſurer, who ſaid, 'That there was a difference 'between the lords voting in 'their houſe promiſcuouſly, 'ſometimes in confuſion, and 'their giving their judgments 'in Weſtminſter-hall; and that 'the precedent mentioned by 'the lord Haliſax was an ex-'traordinary one, made in an 'extraordinary caſe.' The lord Haliſax moved for ſearching the journals; and the earl of Wharton for following precedents. The clerk turned to, and read the precedent of the lord Sommers's impeachment, in which the peers gave their judgment by content or not content. But the earl of Rocheſter deſiring, that other precedents might be ſearched, and urging, that there was a difference between the lords voting in their houſe and in Weſtminſter-hall; the duke of Buckingham anſwered, 'That the trial was the 'ſame in Weſtminſter-hall, as 'if the lords were in their 'houſe; that they removed to 'the hall only for the ſpacious-'neſs of the place: and there-'fore the queſtion ought to be 'anſwered, as if they were in 'the houſe, content, or not con-'tent.' To this the earl of Ilay replied, 'That content, or 'not content, was a very im-'proper and ungrammatical an-'ſwer to the queſtion, Is Dr. 'Sacheverel guilty of high 'crimes, &c. And therefore 'either the queſtion ought to be 'altered, or the anſwer be, 'guilty, or not guilty.' Then the lord Ferrers endeavoured to ſhew the inconveniencies, that might

1709-10. years; upon that the houſe was divided, fifty-nine were for the vote, and ſixty againſt it; ſo that that was laid aſide.

The

might attend the putting the queſtion, as propoſed, alledging, 'That ſome of the peers 'there preſent, might hereafter 'be impeached, and repent too 'late the having made ſuch a 'precedent of giving judgment 'generally.' The earl of Angleſey purſued the ſame argument; adding, that if the queſtion was put, and anſwered generally, the majority of the people, would not know what the doctor was condemned for. To which the lord chancellor readily replied, 'That every body would 'know he was either guilty, 'or not guilty of the crimes 'charged on him by the impeachment of the houſe of 'commons.' But the earl of Mar inſiſted, 'That every peer 'ought to be at liberty to vote, 'guilty or not guilty to every 'article; otherwiſe it might 'happen, that the majority of 'the houſe might think Dr. Sacheverel innocent upon each 'article; yet, by this method 'of a general anſwer, he might 'be condemned of all; which 'ſeemed inconſiſtent with the 'uſual method of juſtice in that 'houſe.' The duke of Buckingham urged on the ſame ſide. 'That, ſince the judgment of 'the houſe in this caſe ought to 'be a declaration of the law, 'the condition of the people 'would be moſt miſerable, to 'have puniſhment for high 'crimes and miſdemeanors, and 'not have a probability of informing themſelves, what the 'crimes thereby puniſhed were, 'which they could not learn 'from this general determination: and that, this uncertainty being in the caſe of a 'clergyman for preaching, it 'might create ſome fears in 'good men, when they preach 'ſome doctrines of the church 'of England, particularly that 'of non-reſiſtance.' The earl of Sunderland calling for the queſtion, the earl of Angleſey inſiſted on the inconveniencies of anſwering generally to it. Whereupon the lord chancellor mentioned four inconveniencies that enſue: 'Firſt, That 'clergymen would know, that 'to preach againſt the revolution, was a high crime and 'miſdemeanor: ſecondly, to 'preach againſt the toleration: 'thirdly, againſt the union: 'and, fourthly, that to reflect 'on the queen's miniſters, and 'ſuggeſt, that the church is in 'danger under her majeſty's 'adminiſtration, were likewiſe 'high crimes and miſdemeanors. Theſe, ſaid his lordſhip, are the only inconveniencies, that I can foreſee, 'will attend this judgment.' The earl of Wharton calling then for the queſtion, the duke of Shrewſbury ſaid, 'That he 'did not think the doctor guilty 'of the firſt article, though he 'had as great a ſhare as any 'man in the late revolution, 'and would ever go as far as 'any to vindicate the memory 'of our late glorious deliverer. 'That he thought the church 'ſafe under her majeſty's adminiſtration; but he would not 'have it made a high crime and 'miſdemeanor

The ſermons were ordered to be burnt in the preſence of the lord-mayor and the ſheriffs of London, which was done; only 1705-10.

'miſdemeanor to ſay, That the 'church is in danger, becauſe 'times might come, when it 'might really be in danger.' And, in concluſion, his grace inſiſted on his voting article by article. The lord Caermarthen, the earl of Angleſey, and the earl of Nottingham did the like: but, the ſame being oppoſed by ſome other peers, the lord chancellor at laſt propoſed this queſtion, 'Whether the anſwer to be 'given by each lord ſhould be 'guilty or not guilty only?' Which being reſolved in the affirmative, then the main queſtion was put, whether it ſhould be aſked, 'Is Henry Sacheverel, doctor in divinity, guilty 'of high crimes and miſdemeanor, charged upon him by the 'impeachment of the houſe of 'commons?' This was likewiſe carried in the affirmative; when four and thirty lords entered their proteſt, importing, in ſubſtance, 'That the obliging 'every lord to anſwer generally 'guilty or not guilty, to a queſtion containing all the articles of his impeachment, was 'a kind of tacking upon themſelves by an unneceſſary joining of matters of a different 'nature, and ſubjecting them to 'one and the ſame determination; and conſequently, might 'prejudice the right every peer 'had to give a free affirmative 'or negative; ſince whoever 'thought Dr. Sacheverel guilty 'of one part, and innocent of 'the other, would be obliged 'either to approve what he 'condemned, or condemn what 'he approved. 2. They conceived, there was at leaſt a 'poſſibility, that though a majority of the houſe was admitted to vote to the articles ſeparately, and might think him 'innocent upon each article; 'yet, by this method of a general anſwer, he might be 'condemned of all; which 'ſeemed not to be conſiſtent 'with the uſual method of juſtice in this houſe. 3. That 'ſince the judgment of the 'houſe, in this caſe, ought to 'be a declaration of the law; 'the condition of the people 'would be moſt miſerable, to 'have puniſhment inflicted for 'high crimes and miſdemeanors, 'and not have a poſſibility of 'informing themſelves, what the 'high crimes and miſdemeanors, 'thereby puniſhed, are. For 'the people's only guide is the 'law; and they can never be 'guided by what they can never 'be informed of. And that, 'this uncertainty being in the 'caſe of a clergyman for preaching, it might create ſome fear 'in good men, when they preach 'ſome doctrines of the church 'of England, particularly that 'of non-reſiſtance; and might 'be made uſe of by ill ones, 'as an excuſe for the neglect of 'that duty, which upon ſome 'occaſions is required.'

On the 20th of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the lords and commons having taken their reſpective ſeats, and their lordſhips houſe being reſumed, the lord chancellor declared, that they had agreed upon

1710. only the lord-mayor being a member of the houſe of commons, did not think he was bound to be preſent (o).

With

upon a queſtion to be put to each lord ſeverally. And then his lordſhip having put the queſtion, beginning at the junior baron, firſt, ſixty-nine lords declared Dr. Sacheverel guilty, and fifty two not guilty. The lord chancellor, having caſt up the votes, declared Dr. Sacheverel guilty; and the uſher of the black-rod having brought the doctor to the bar, and cauſed him to kneel down, the lord chancellor told him, that the lords having with, their uſual candour and equity, examined and conſidered the articles exhibited againſt him, with the allegations to make good the ſame, and what had been offered by his council and himſelf in his defence, had found him guilty of high crimes and miſdemeanors charged upon him by the commons of Great Britain. Then the doctor, ſtanding up, made a ſhort ſpeech importing, 'that not 'having been ſuffered to be at 'their lordſhips bar, while their 'lordſhips were giving their 'votes; he hoped he might now 'be permitted to put in a plea, 'before their lordſhips paſſed 'ſentence upon him, That he 'was adviſed by his council to 'offer, firſt, that, by the opi'nion of all the judges, the par'ticular words, ſuppoſed to be 'criminal, ought to have been 'expreſsly ſpecified in the arti'cles of impeachment againſt 'him. Secondly, that, in the 'title of the ſaid articles, the 'ſame were ſaid to be "exhibi'ted in the name of all the "commons of Great-Britain," 'and yet the commiſſioners of 'ſhires, who make part of the 'commons of Great-Britain, 'were not mentioned with the 'knights, citizens, and bur'geſſes in parliament aſſembled. 'Both which he begged their 'lordſhips to take into conſider'ation.' The lords, being returned to their houſe, conſidered of the doctor's plea; and reſolved, that the ſame was frivolous, and that they would the next day conſider what cenſure to paſs upon him. Pr. H. L.

(o) The ſentence paſſed upon him was, that Henry Sacheverel, doctor in divinity, ſhall be, and is hereby injoined not to preach during the term of three years next enſuing. That Dr. Henry Sacheverel's two printed ſermons, referred to by the impeachment of the houſe of commons, ſhall be burnt before the Royal Exchange in London, between the hours of twelve and one, on Monday the 27th day of this inſtant March, by the hands of the common hangman, in the preſence of the lord-mayor of the city of London, and the two ſheriffs of London and Middleſex.

The lord-mayor, who was not a little mortified at his being, by the lords ſentence, obliged to aſſiſt at the burning of a ſermon, which he had approved, and commanded to be printed (as Dr. Sacheverel aſſerted in the dedication) deſired and moved, that he might be excuſed from attending at the execution, he being a member of the houſe: and a debate ariſing, it was deferred till the

With Sacheverel's ſermons, the famous decree of the univerſity of Oxford paſſed in their convocation, July 21, 1683, was, at the ſame time, voted by the lords to be burnt, as containing ſeveral poſitions contrary to the conſtitution of the kingdom, and deſtructive to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. This decree had been given in evidence by the doctor at his trial, in which the abſolute authority of princes, and unalterableneſs of the hereditary right of ſucceeding to the crown, were aſſerted in a very high ſtrain. 1710. The Oxford decree voted to be burnt Pr. H. L.

The commons alſo, upon a complaint made to them of a book intitled, 'collections of paſſages referred to by Dr. 'Sacheverel, in his anſwer to the articles of his impeach-'ment,' ordered the ſame to be burnt. On the other hand, the doctor's friends complained to the houſe, of a book intitled, 'the rights of the chriſtian church, &c.' and a defence of it, in two parts, with a letter from a country attorney to a country parſon, concerning the rights of the church; and Le Clere's judgment of that book in his bibliotheque choiſie. All which were condemned to the flames; as was alſo a treatiſe of the word perſon, by John Clendon of the Inner-Temple. Not content with this, the tories moved for an addreſs for a faſt, to deprecate the divine vengeance, which there was juſt reaſon to fear, on account of the horrid blaſphemies lately publiſhed in the kingdom. Thoſe who ſupported this motion, thought not only to caſt a reflection on the whigs, as encouragers of ſuch writings, but alſo to juſtify what the doctor had advanced in his ſermon about the danger of the church, which he had aſcribed to the heretical and blaſphemous poſitions lately printed. But their deſign was eaſily ſeen through, and therefore the majority added to the addreſs, "many of which blaſphe-"mies have again, in a moſt irregular, extraordinary, and "inſolent manner, been printed, publiſhed, and diſperſed, "throughout the kingdom, to the ſcandal of good chriſti-"ans, by Dr. Henry Sacheverel." Upon this addition the tories would have dropped the addreſs, but it was preſented to the queen, who, probably, on that account anſwered, "that, a faſt having lately been obſerved, ſhe did not "think proper to appoint another ſo ſoon, but would con-"ſider of it at a more convenient time." Sacheverel's collections, and other books burnt. Pr. H. C.

the houſe was informed what anſwer the lord-mayor had returned to the ſheriffs, when they ſhould demand of him, whether he would attend, or not; and ſo that buſineſs was dropped.

As

1710. As ſoon as it was known what a mild ſentence the lords had paſſed upon Dr. Sacheverel, thoſe, who ſupported him during his trial, expreſſed an inconceivable gladneſs, as if they had got a victory; bone-fires, illuminations, and other marks of joy, appeared not only in London, but over the whole kingdom. However, much greater effects than theſe rejoicings were produced by it, as will hereafter be ſeen.

The parliament prorogued. April 5. Pr. H. C. This affair being over, and the ſupplies all granted, beſides which little more was done this ſeſſion (p), the

(p) During the trial a bill was ordered to be brought in for limiting the number of officers, military or civil, in the houſe of commons. Mr. Wortley Montague was chairman of the grand committee, and general Stanhope, and other leading men of the whig party, promoted it. It paſſed the houſe of commons, but was rejected by the houſe of lords; where not only the earl of Wharton, but the earl of Scarborough, and the lord North and Grey ſpoke againſt it. The houſe of commons, having examined the ſubject-matter of the petition of the creditors of the mine-adventure, reſolved unanimouſly, March 31, 'that Sir 'Humphrey Mackworth, deputy-governor of the Mine-Adventurers, was guilty of many notorious and ſcandalous 'frauds, and indirect practices, 'in violation of the charter granted to the ſaid company, in 'breach of his truſt, and to the 'manifeſt wrong and oppreſſion 'of the proprietors and creditors of the ſaid company:' and, that he might not run away, a bill was ordered to be brought in, 'to prevent Sir Humphrey 'Mackworth leaving this kingdom, and alienating his eſtate 'till the end of the next ſeſſion 'of parliament.' This gentleman had written ſeveral polemical as well as devotional tracts, and was for many years of great note with the high-party. For which reaſon, on the change of the miniſtry, nothing more was heard of his proceedings.

A bill was alſo brought in for ſettling the African trade, but was not brought to perfection.

Some of the French refugees, ſettled in England, petitioned the houſe of commons, that as the French proteſtants were by the French king declared to be outlawed and excluded from claiming any inheritance in France, and as, on the contrary, many perſons living in France, did frequently claim here and inherit the eſtates of their deceaſed relations, to the prejudice of the remoter relations ſettled in her majeſty's deminions; they begged leave for a bill 'to preclude the ſubjects of the French 'king, reſiding in his dominions, from claiming any eſtates 'of their relations dying in 'her majeſty's dominions.' Mr. Hampden brought in a bill for this purpoſe; but upon the private ſuggeſtions of ſome eminent French proteſtants, that it would be prejudicial to themſelves and other refugees, who from time to time received conſiderable remittances from their relations in France, the bill was dropped.

queen

queen, on the 5th of April, came to the houſe of peers, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes: 1710.

My lords and gentlemen,

"IT is with great ſatisfaction, that I come hither at this time, to return you my hearty thanks for the marks of duty and affection, which you have given me through the whole courſe of this ſeſſion.

"And I am to thank you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, in a very particular manner for the great diſpatch, which you have made in providing, ſo early in the year, ſuch great and effectual ſupplies for the public ſervice. This cannot but make me very deſirous to repeat the aſſurances I gave you at the opening of the ſeſſion, that they ſhould be very carefully applied to the uſes, for which you have deſigned them."

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot ſufficiently expreſs to you my great concern, that you have had ſo neceſſary an occaſion of taking up a great part of your time towards the latter end of this ſeſſion.

"I am confident no prince, that ever ſat on the throne, has been more really and ſincerely kind to the church than myſelf, nor ever had a more true and tender concern for its welfare and proſperity than I have, and always ſhall continue to have.

"The ſuppreſſing immorality, and profane and other wicked and malicious libels, is what I have always earneſtly recommended, and ſhall be glad of the firſt opportunity to give my conſent to any laws, that might effectually conduce to that end. But, this being an evil complained of in all times, it is very injurious to take a pretence from thence to inſinuate, that the church is in any danger from my adminiſtration.

"I could heartily wiſh, that men would ſtudy to be quiet, and do their own buſineſs, rather than buſy themſelves in reviving queſtions and diſputes, of a very high nature, which muſt be with an ill intention, ſince they can only tend to foment, but not to heal our diviſions and animoſities.

"For my own part, as it has pleaſed God to give ſucceſs to my endeavours for the union of my two kingdoms,

"which

1710. "which I muſt eſteem one of the greateſt bleſſings of my "reign; ſo I hope his divine goodneſs will ſtill continue fa- "vourable, and make me the happy inſtrument of that yet "more deſirable union of the hearts of all my people in the "bonds of mutual affection, that ſo there may remain no "other contention among you, but who ſhall exceed the "other in contributing to advance our preſent happineſs, "and ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

"Finding by the advices from abroad, that our army has "not yet taken the field, and that the plenipotentiaries of "France are ſtill in Holland, I think it proper at preſent to "make the prorogation but for a very ſhort time."

Accordingly the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament only to the 18th of April, when it was farther prorogued.

The queen's expreſſing thus her concern, that there was a cauſe given for what had taken up ſo much time, and her wiſhing that all her people would be quiet and mind their own buſineſs, rather than employ themſelves in reviving ſuch diſputes, ſeemed to look a different way from what had been whiſpered about. But ſoon after her proceedings (as will be ſeen) revived thoſe whiſpers again.

The queen ſpoke to with great freedom by biſhop Burnet.

As the biſhop of Sarum had been encouraged, this winter by the queen, to ſpeak more freely to her of her affairs, than he had formerly ventured to do, he told her what reports were ſecretly ſpread of her through the nation, as if ſhe favoured the deſign of bringing the pretender to ſucceed to the crown, upon a bargain that ſhe ſhould hold it during her life: he was ſure theſe reports were ſpread about by perſons, who were in the confidence of thoſe, that were believed to know her mind: he was well aſſured, the jacobites of Scotland had, upon her coming to the crown, ſent up one Ogilby of Boyne, who was in great eſteem among them, to propoſe the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the party full aſſurances that ſhe accepted of it: this, he ſaid, he had from ſome of the lords of Scotland, who were then in the ſecret with the profeſſed jacobites. The earl of Cromarty made a ſpeech in parliament contradicting this, and, alluding, to the diſtinction of the Calviniſts, made between the ſecret and the revealed will of God; he aſſured them, the queen had no ſecret will contrary to that ſhe declared: yet, at the ſame time, his brother gave the party aſſurances to the contrary. The biſhop told the queen all this, and ſaid, if ſhe was capable of making ſuch a bargain

for

for herſelf, by which her people were to be delivered up and ſacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, ſo it muſt ſet all her people to conſider of the moſt proper ways of ſecuring themſelves, by bringing over the proteſtant ſucceſſors, in which he told her plainly he would concur, if ſhe did not take effectual means to extinguiſh thoſe jealouſies. He ſaid, her miniſters had ſerved her with that fidelity, and ſuch ſucceſs, that her making a change among them would amaze all the world. The glory of queen Elizabeth's reign aroſe from the firmneſs of her councils, and the continuance of her miniſters, as the three laſt reigns, in which the miniſtry was often changed, had ſuffered extremely by it. He alſo ſhewed her, that, if ſhe ſuffered the pretender's party to prepare the nation for his ſucceeding her, ſhe ought not to imagine, that, when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would ſtay for the natural end of her life, but that they would find ways to ſhorten it: nor did he think, it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the pretender was upon the ſea, they had ſome aſſaſſinates here, who, upon the news of his landing, would have tried to diſpatch her. It was certain, that their intereſt led them to it, as it was known that their principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, the biſhop laid before the queen, who heard him patiently, and, for the moſt part, ſilently; however, by what ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſeemed deſirous to make him think, ſhe agreed to what he had repreſented to her; but he found afterwards it had no effect upon her; for ſhe ſoon began the change of the miniſtry, by the introduction of the duke of Shrewſbury, and diſmiſſion of the earl of Sunderland, as will be related. 1710.

It is now time to take a view of the tranſactions abroad, particularly in relation to the negotiations for peace, which ſeemed to be proſecuted with warmth.

The treaty at the Hague the laſt year having proved fruitleſs, the French court thought proper to make new overtures of peace. In the beginning of January 1710, the marquis de Torcy ſent another project to Mr. Petkum, reſident of Holſtein, conſiſting of the five following articles: New overtures of peace by France. Hare. Burnet. Hiſt. of Eur.

I. Immediately after the ſigning of the peace, the French king would acknowledge king Charles as king of the whole monarchy of Spain; and not only withdraw all the ſuccours he had given his grandſon, but alſo forbear ſending him any

1710. aſſiſtance for the future, and forbid his ſubjects to liſt in his ſervice; and conſent likewiſe, that no part of the monarchy of Spain ſhould ever be united to France.

II. As for the emperor and empire, the French king would reſtore Straſburg and Briſac; content himſelf with Alſatia, according to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of Munſter; leave the empire Landau; raze the fortifications he had built on the Rhine from Baſil to Philipſburg; and acknowledge both the king of Pruſſia and the elector of Hanover.

III. As to England, he would acknowledge queen Anne, and the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; reſtore Newfoundland, and agree to a mutual reſtitution of all, that had been taken in the Weſt-Indies on both ſides; demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and ruin the harbour thereof; and conſent to the pretender's leaving France.

IV. As to the ſtates-general, he would yield to them for a barrier all the places ſpecified in the twenty-ſecond article of the preliminaries, and confirm what he had offered to them with reſpect to their trade.

V. As to the duke of Savoy, that he was willing to grant the demands made for him by the allies; but that he likewiſe demanded, that the electors of Cologne and Bavaria ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates and dignities.

This project being rejected by the allies, the French reſolved to make other overtures, and diſpatched a cabinet-courier to the Hague with a letter from the marquis de Torcy to Petkum. The courier arrived the 2d of February, at the Hague, and brought a freſh project of peace to be communicated to the allies, which differed little from the former, or rather was an amplification of it. It was in the main the ſame with the preliminaries, but caſt into another form, which, as effectually deſtroyed the preliminaries, as if it had been put into no form at all, beſides ſeveral material alterations. For the reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy, there was a promiſe only. The clauſe in the fourth article, whereby the French king engaged to take in concert with the allies proper meaſures to oblige his grandſon to it, was left out. The reſtoring the electors of Cologne and Bavaria was inſiſted on as a preliminary, and of the elector of Bavaria in particular to the palatinate, in contradiction to the preliminaries, by which it was agreed it ſhould remain to the elector palatine, whom the emperor had ſome time before put into poſſeſſion of it; than which nothing could be more reaſonable, no prince having ſuffered ſo much from France

France as one of them, or deſerved ſo ill of the emperor as the other. As for the thirty-ſeventh article, tho expedient offered was three towns in Flanders of his own chuſing; an offer of no conſequence, ſince he would never give any towns, that the allies could think a tolerable ſecurity for ſo important a point. But to compleat the project, and that the deſign and end of the preliminaries might be intirely ſubverted, it was propoſed, that the execution of all the articles be deferred, till the treaty be concluded, and the ratifications exchanged. The marſhal d'Uxelles and the abbot de Polignac, afterwards a cardinal, were appointed the French king's plenipotentiaries, and to meet thoſe of the allies at Antwerp, or any other place, if the allies would ſend the neceſſary paſſports. This project being communicated by Petkum to the penſionary, and by him to the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the queen of Great-Britain, ſeveral conferences were held between theſe miniſters and the deputies of the ſtates-general. The reſult of which was, that the French courier was ſent back, the 13th of February, N. S. with an anſwer from Petkum to the marquis de Torcy's letter, importing, "that the allies required, that "his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould declare, in plain and expreſſive words, that he conſented to all the preliminaries, "except the ſeven and thirtieth article; which done, the allies would ſend paſſports to his miniſters, to treat of an "equivalent for that article." When the French court ſaw ſo much firmneſs on the part of the allies, they thought fit to recede, and give the ſtates all the aſſurances the moſt expreſs words could do, that the king agreed to all the preliminaries; and if they would conſent, that his miniſters ſhould come and confer with them on the thirty-ſeventh article, he did not doubt, but what ſhould be propoſed from him, would be to their ſatisfaction. The ſtates therefore ſent back the expreſs (which had brought the French king's anſwer) with paſſports for the French plenipotentiaries. But as the ſuſpicions, which the French gave of their inſincerity, made the ſtates purſue the moſt effectual meaſures for an early campaign; ſo it put them upon taking the beſt care they could, that, if no good ſhould come from the renewing of the conferences, they might prevent the miſchief, which they apprehended was deſigned by them. As they foreſaw the ill effects of ſuffering the French miniſters to come into their country, who, by their agents, were every where ſtirring up the people againſt the government, as if the war was prolonged without neceſſity; they propoſed, upon Antwerp

1710.

1710. Antwerp being diſliked, to ſend their deputies, Buis and Vanderduſſen, to treat with the miniſters of France, either at Maerdyke or Gertruydenberg. The French liked neither of theſe places, but, when no other could be obtained, they choſe the laſt, where they arrived the 19th of March, but were met the day before by Buis and Vanderduſſen at Maerdyke, who had a conference with them. The next day they had another with them, which laſted ſeveral hours, and then the deputies ſet out for the Hague to make their report to the ſtates.

Addreſs to the queen to ſend over the D. of Marlborough. Pr. H. C.

By this time the duke of Marlborough was come to the Hague. When the ſtates ſent the paſſports for the French miniſters, they wrote in very preſſing terms to the queen, to ſend over the duke of Marlborough before the end of February. The houſe of commons likewiſe being informed, that advances were made towards renewing a negotiation of peace, voted an addreſs to the queen to ſecond the requeſt of the ſtates-general, about ſending the duke of Marlborough to Holland. The lords concurring in the addreſs, it was preſented by both houſes on the 18th of February. As this was the laſt parliamentary reſpect ſhewn the duke, it will not be improper to inſert it at large:

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

" WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, " the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, " in parliament aſſembled, having reaſon to believe, that " the negotiations of peace will ſuddenly be renewed in " Holland; and being juſtly apprehenſive of the crafty and " inſinuating deſigns of our enemies, to create diviſions a- " mong your allies, or by amuſing them with deceitful ex- " pectations of peace, to retard their preparations for war, " do think ourſelves bound in duty, moſt humbly to repre- " ſent to your majeſty, of how great importance we con- " ceive it is to the intereſt of the common cauſe, that the " duke of Marlborough ſhould be abroad at this critical " juncture.

" We cannot but take this opportunity to expreſs our " ſenſe of the great and unparalleled ſervices of the duke of " Marlborough, and, with all imaginable duty, do applaud " your majeſty's great wiſdom in having honoured the ſame " perſon with the great characters of general, and plenipo- " tentiary, who, in our humble opinion, is moſt capable " of diſcharging two ſuch important truſts. We therefore

" make

" make it our humble requeſt, that you will be pleaſed to 1710.
" order the duke of Marlborough's immediate departure for
" Holland, where his preſence will be equally neceſſary, to
" aſſiſt at the negotiations of peace, and to haſten the pre-
" parations for an early campaign, which will moſt effec-
" tually diſappoint the artifices of our enemies, and pro-
" cure a ſafe and honourable peace for your majeſty and
" your allies."

Her majeſty's anſwer.

My lords and gentlemen,

" I am ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity of the duke of Marl-
" borough's preſence in Holland, at this critical juncture,
" that I have already given the neceſſary directions for his
" immediate departure; and I am very glad to find, by this
" addreſs, that you concur with me in a juſt ſenſe of the
" duke of Marlborough's eminent ſervices."

There is no doubt but the States letter, and the parliament's addreſs, were intended to let the queen ſee what confidence they put in the duke of Marlborough, and how neceſſary they thought his ſervice for carrying on the common cauſe, whether by arms or treaty. But it was without any effect; for, whatever ſoft words the queen made uſe of in her anſwer, ſhe was at that time determined to change miniſters and meaſures. The duke ſet out the next day for Harwich, and landed in Holland the 7th of March.

Four days after, Buys and Vanderduſſen returned to the Hague. The next morning they had a conference with the duke of Marlborough, the lord Townſhend, and count Zinzendorf, in the preſence of the penſionary and the deputies of the ſtates, wherein they made the following report: 'The French plenipotentiaries had endeavoured, in the firſt 'place, to perſuade them, that it was the intereſt of the 'allies to make a ſeparate peace with France, excluſive of 'Spain; and to render the ſame more effectual, and remove 'the umbrage the allies ſeemed to have taken, that the 'king of France might underhand aſſiſt his grandſon, his 'moſt chriſtian majeſty was willing to enter into the moſt 'ſolemn engagements to the contrary, and give cautionary 'towns for the performance of his promiſe.' The deputies of the ſtates anſwered, 'Theſe offers of France were not 'ſufficient; and the allies having chiefly undertaken this 'war for reſtoring the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of

1710. 'Auſtria, they could not treat with the French king (who 'had placed his grandſon on the Spaniſh throne) without 'ſtipulating, that he ſhould relinquiſh the ſame; adding, 'the high allies would be very much ſurprized to hear, 'that, after the preſſing inſtances, the French had made for 'theſe conferences, their plenipotentiaries were come to offer 'what had been already rejected; and would doubtleſs take 'it as an evidence, that their court was not ſincere, and 'ſought only to amuſe the allies.' Meſſieurs d'Uxelles and de Polignac pretended, 'They did not know that any ſuch 'thing had been yet offered; but they were told, that, 'though miniſters might be allowed ſometimes to diſſemble, 'yet this was not a fit time to make uſe of that privilege; 'and they ought plainly to ſpeak their minds. Thoſe gen-'tlemen made large proteſtations of their maſter's ſincere in-'clination for peace: that he could never be prevailed upon 'to enter into a war with his grandſon, or take any other 'violent meaſures againſt him. They enlarged on the af-'fection of the Spaniards for that prince; and at laſt de-'clared, they ſaw no other expedient for procuring the 'Spaniſh monarchy to king Charles, than to give a ſhare of 'it to king Philip; concluding, if the allies would conſent 'to give him Naples and Sicily, king Philip might be in-'duced to reſign the reſt to the archduke. They urged, 'this was the only way for preventing a farther effuſion of 'chriſtian blood, and which would ſave the allies abundance 'of trouble, and ſecure to the houſe of Auſtria the monar-'chy of Spain; whereas, the fortune of the war being un-'certain, it might ſtill happen that the allies would be 'obliged to make peace upon other terms. The deputies 'confuted theſe reaſons without any great difficulty; and 'having repreſented that ſuch a partition was contrary to 'the treaties, which the allies had amongſt themſelves, and 'to the whole tenor of the preliminaries, which the French 'themſelves acknowledged for the foundation of the treaty, 'they declared, in expreſs terms, they were ſent to hear 'what equivalent they had to propoſe for the thirty-ſeventh 'article of the preliminaries, which they excepted againſt; 'but not to debate upon any other point. Whereupon they 'parted.'

The ſame day, to prevent any jealouſies among the other miniſters of the allies, the deputies of the ſtates communicated to the Pruſſian plenipotentiaries what had been tranſacted at Maerdyke; and, the next day, the ſame was in a more ſolemn manner communicated to all the miniſters of the

the allies, who were desired to use their interest with their respective masters, that their troops might be in a readiness to begin the campaign as early as possible, as the most effectual means to force the common enemy to accept such conditions, as might secure a safe and lasting peace. 1710.

Six days after, an express from the French plenipotentiaries arrived at the Hague, and acquainted the pensionary, that they had received an answer from the court to their last dispatches; and desired, either that they might be permitted to come to the Hague, or that the states deputies might again confer with them at Gertruydenberg. The first being denied, and the latter granted, messieurs Buys and Vanderdussen set out for Gertruydenberg, where, on the 21st and 22d of March, they had several conferences with the ministers of France, who again proposed a separate peace, exclusive of Spain; offering, as before, all manner of security, that the most christian king should not assist his grandson: which being rejected, they proposed several schemes of partition of the Spanish monarchy. They mentioned, in the first place, Naples and Sicily for king Philip: afterwards, that the allies would leave him in possession of the kingdom of Arragon; and lastly, that he would content himself with Sicily, Sardinia, and the Spanish places on the coast of Tuscany. The Dutch deputies told the French ministers, they were surprized to hear of no equivalent for the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries, as their court had promised, and on which consideration alone the present negotiation was agreed on by the allies; adding, they had no power to treat of any partition. Having said this, they took their leave of the French plenipotentiaries, who sent an express to Versailles for farther instructions. On the other hand, Buys and Vanderdussen, being returned to the Hague, made a report of these conferences to the pensionary, in the presence of the imperial and British ministers, who dispatched expresses to their respective courts, with an account of the proposals made by France, which were also communicated to the states of Holland, and other provinces.

On the 22d of March, Petkum went from the Hague to Gertruydenberg, but without any commission on the part of the allies, and solely at the desire of the French plenipotentiaries; who, not many days after, having given notice of the return of the express they had sent to their court, the deputies of the states set out again for Gertruydenberg. In these new conferences, the French plenipotentiaries insisted on a partition of the Spanish dominions, according to the

1710. ſchemes they had propoſed before; but ſeemed, however, to depart from what they had advanced in relation to Sicily and Sardinia, pretending that was only by way of converſation, and demanded either Naples, with the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the kingdom of Arragon; which occaſioned great debates. The French miniſters mentioned afterwards the article of ſecurity for the performance of what ſhould be ſtipulated in the preliminaries, and propoſed what they expected from the allies for themſelves; but would not explain their meaning on the ſecurity to be given by France to the allies, for the performance of the preliminaries. The deputies of the ſtates, being very much diſſatisfied with the plenipotentiaries of France, frankly told them, 'The allies were tired with this way of treating, and 'therefore expected a full and clear declaration on the part 'of France on the matters already debated; or elſe they 'would break off all manner of conference with them.' Hereupon d'Uxelles and Polignac deſired time to ſend another courier to Verſailles for further inſtructions, pretending, 'That the final reſolution of their maſter depended upon 'that of the court of Madrid, which was expected about 'that time at Verſailles.' This dilatory way of treating confirmed the general opinion, that the French had not a real intention to come to a peace, even by way of partition; and that they had no other deſign in theſe conferences, than either to divide or amuſe the allies. In both of which, however, they were equally diſappointed: for, prince Eugene being come to the Hague on the 12th of April, and having, with the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the ſtates, concerted the operations of the next campaign, for the early opening of which great magazines of dry forage and other neceſſaries had been provided, thoſe two generals ſet out, on the 15th, for Tournay, near which place the confederate forces, quartered on the Meuſe, and in Brabant and Flanders, were ordered to rendezvous.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Tournay.

It was by many expected, that the early ſucceſs of the confederate armies in paſſing the lines, and inveſting Douay, would have quickened the negotiation at Gertruydenberg. But Buys and Vanderduſſen being again returned thither on the 24th of April, at the deſire of the French plenipotentiaries, they had the ſame day a conference, in which they deſired to know, 'Whether by the laſt courier they had re-'ceived any further inſtructions on the grand affair, for 'which they were come into theſe provinces?' The French miniſters anſwered, they had no other propoſals to make, but

but what they had already offered; and told the deputies, 1710.
they had expected the answer of the allies on their propoſals. This declaration occaſioned ſome warm debates among them; and the deputies complained of the inſincerity of the French court, telling them in expreſs terms, 'That the mi-'niſters of France having ſo often and ſo poſitively declared 'by letters, and otherwiſe, that their plenipotentiaries were 'to propoſe an expedient for the thirty-ſeventh article; the 'allies could not but be ſurprized, that, after ſo many con-'ferences, they ſhould hear nothing from them but a pro-'poſal for the partition of the Spaniſh monarchy.' And ſo the conference broke up without any ſucceſs. The next morning the deputies of the ſtates went to take their leave of the French plenipotentiaries, and inſinuated to them in general terms, 'That the armies being actually in the field, 'and no advances made in the late conferences towards pro-'curing a general peace, they thought it was to no purpoſe 'to continue them.' The French miniſters alledged, they had made ſeveral propoſals, which, in their opinion, might have conduced to a general peace; and that they wondered the allies had made none on their part, ſince they were not ſatisfied with thoſe of France. They deſired likewiſe the Dutch deputies to give them their anſwer or declaration in writing, that they might tranſmit it to their court: but, this being denied, the deputies took their leaves, and the French plenipotentiaries diſpatched d'Uxelles's ſecretary to Verſailles. Many were ſtill of opinion, that the late ſucceſs of the allies, and the ſiege of Doway, would have obliged the court of France to alter their ſtyle; and it was then ſtrongly reported, that, in the council held at Verſailles, upon the firſt advice of the allies having paſſed the lines, there appeared a great diviſion among the princes of the blood; ſome inſiſting upon the neceſſity of peace to preſerve France from intire ruin; and others perſiſting in their former opinion, that it was better to venture the fate of another campaign, than to ſubmit to ſuch ignominious terms, as were inſiſted on by the confederates.

Upon the report made at the Hague by Buys and Vanderduſſen of the laſt fruitleſs conferences, the imperial miniſter thought fit to declare, 'That the emperor, his maſter, 'could not conſent to any partition of the Spaniſh domi-'nions; and therefore propoſed, that the French plenipo-'tentiaries ſhould be forthwith diſmiſſed.' But the Dutch were of a different opinion, alledging, that, ſince the French miniſters had ſent an expreſs to their court, it was but rea-

1709. ſonable to expect his return, and ſee whether the late progreſs of the confederate arms had cauſed any alteration in the meaſures of that court. The expreſs being returned on the 3d of May, the French plenipotentiaries wrote the next day the following letter to Petkum:

"We could wiſh our conferences had produced a peace; "but, as we have no order to make any other propoſition "than thoſe we have already made, we patiently expect, "that the deputies will come hither, to declare themſelves "in a more open manner than they have done hitherto, or "to give us our diſmiſſion; or, at leaſt, that the penſio- "nary will ſend us an order to be gone."

This letter being communicated to the ſtates-general, and by the penſionary to the imperial and Britiſh miniſters, it was thought fit to impart it to all the miniſters of the allies, who, being met on the 9th of May, unanimouſly reſolved, monſieur Petkum ſhould be deſired to write to the French plenipotentiaries, That, ſeeing they had nothing further to propoſe, and the allies nothing more to ſay than what they had ſaid before, it was to no purpoſe to continue uſeleſs conferences; but he ſhould avoid to ſpeak any thing of diſmiſſion, or order to depart. Petkum having writ a letter to that purpoſe to the French plenipotentiaries, they ſent him the next day an anſwer, importing, They were extremely concerned to ſee, that, notwithſtanding all the advances of the king their maſter for procuring peace, the ſtates and the allies ſo reſolutely refuſed it; and, ſince it was thought fit to break off the negotiations, they were preparing to depart. Upon this declaration, it was generally believed the French plenipotentiaries would have ſet out for Paris, for which purpoſe they had cauſed their baggage to be packed up. But, having received another courier from Verſailles, they gave notice of it to Petkum, deſiring, at the ſame time, that the ſtates would once more ſend their deputies to Gertruydenberg. Theſe new conferences met with ſome difficulties, count Zinzendorf, the imperial miniſter, having inſiſted on his being preſent: but his demand being over-ruled (by reaſon the other miniſters of the allies, particularly Britiſh, might with equal juſtice have claimed the ſame privilege) Buys and Vanderduſſen ſet out the 23d of May for Gertruydenberg. Being returned to the Hague, they made the next day their report to the penſionary, in the preſence of the imperial and Britiſh miniſters,

fers, to this effect: After many proteſtations of their maſter's ſincere inclination to peace, the French plenipotentiaries ſaid, his moſt chriſtian majeſty had been prevailed upon to recede from the former demand he had made of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany; and therefore was willing, that Naples ſhould remain to the houſe of Auſtria, and that king Philip ſhould content himſelf with Sicily, Sardinia, and the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany. The deputies upon this thought fit, without granting any part of the propoſals, to aſk the French plenipotentiaries, what ſecurity they had to propoſe to the allies for the evacuation of Spain and the Indies by the duke of Anjou, ſuppoſing that theſe propoſals of a partition ſhould be accepted. But they declined to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer. Whereupon the deputies told them, the allies being daily more and more convinced, that the French court continued the negotiation, not out of a ſincere deſire of peace, but only to encourage their ſubjects to bear the more patiently the burthen of the war, they would be obliged to break off all further conferences with them, to remove all occaſions of jealouſy amongſt themſelves. The French made great proteſtations of their maſter's ſincerity; and ſaid, they would ſend him another expreſs, with an account of theſe conferences. 1710.

The Dutch deputies having made the like report to the ſtates of Holland, they took no final reſolution, but deferred it to another meeting, in order to give the French plenipotentiaries time to receive new inſtructions from their court; which they did the 6th of June, and immediately writ a letter to Petkum, with one incloſed for the penſionary, acquainting him, that, having new overtures to make, they deſired that meſſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen would once again return to Gertruydenberg. The imperial plenipotentiary renewed his former pretenſion of aſſiſting at the conferences; and being again refuſed, and his orders from Vienna, to perſiſt in his demand, being poſitive he ſent an expreſs to prince Eugene for his opinion, who adviſed him to follow the example of the Britiſh miniſters, whoſe miſtreſs, though ſhe contributed more to the war than any other of the allies, was yet ſo well ſatisfied of the wiſdom and integrity of the ſtates-general, as to truſt to them that preliminary negotiation of peace.

Buys and Vanderduſſen being abſent from the Hague, when the French courier, ſent to Petkum, arrived there, they did not ſet out for Gertruydenberg till the 14th of June.

1710. The two following days they had ſeveral conferences with the French plenipotentiaries, who declared, their maſter receded from the demand made in the laſt conference of the Spaniſh places on the coaſt of Tuſcany, and would content himſelf with Sicily and Sardinia for king Philip, and uſe all poſſible means to perſuade his grandſon to conſent to that partition. This required ſome time; but, if that prince would not acquieſce in this propoſal, the moſt chriſtian king, though he could by no means declare war againſt his grandſon, would yet furniſh a ſum of money towards the charges of a war to be continued againſt him, till he had ſurrendered Spain and the Weſt-Indies to the houſe of Auſtria. This declaration of the French plenipotentiaries being reported to the penſionary, in the preſence of the imperial and Britiſh miniſters, occaſioned two or three conferences between them, and confirmed the general opinion, that the French had no other deſign, than either to amuſe the allies, or to decoy them to a ſeparate peace, excluſive of Spain; where, notwithſtanding their promiſes to the contrary, they might underhand aſſiſt king Philip, and carry on the war with ſuch advantage, as might in the end tire out, if not exhauſt, the principal members of the alliance. The imperial miniſter was ſtill of opinion, that, ſince the French plenipotentiaries did not propoſe any equivalent or expedient for the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, which was the main intention of the preſent negotiation, they ought to be immediately diſmiſſed; and therefore moved, that Petkum, who, on the 21ſt of June, went to Gertruydenberg, as he pretended, for ſome private concerns, ſhould be deſired to ſignify to the French plenipotentiaries, that the allies would not conſent to any further conferences. But it was thought more adviſeable to ſend him to make the following declaration on the part of the allies: I. The laſt propoſal made by the French king, of contributing a ſum of money towards the charges of the war, to oblige the duke of Anjou to quit the monarchy of Spain, and content himſelf with Sardinia and Sicily, if he would not do it voluntarily, was not acceptable to the allies upon ſeveral accounts; and namely, becauſe this would produce but a ſeparate, and not a general peace, which was the end the allies propoſed to themſelves. II. The allies inſiſted to have Spain and the Indies delivered up, according to the tenor of the preliminaries. III. This foundation being laid and agreed upon, the allies would conſent to continue the conferences on other articles. The French miniſters deferring their anſwer

swer to this declaration, Buys and Vanderduſſen were directed to ſend an expreſs to Gertruydenberg, who returned to the Hague the 10th of July, with an anſwer, importing, "That, by virtue of their powers and inſtructions, they "were always in a condition to explain the ſentiments of "the king their maſter; and therefore deſired that the de-"puties would come once more to Gertruydenberg." This being communicated to count Zinzendorf and the lord Townſhend, thoſe miniſters met at the penſionary's, where, after a long debate, it was reſolved to ſend back the Dutch deputies to Gertruydenberg with this inſtruction, That they ſhould inſiſt upon a plain and poſitive anſwer to the articles delivered to the plenipotentiaries by Petkum. Buys and Vanderduſſen ſet out the next day, and had a conference with the French plenipotentiaries, that laſted about four hours, though to as little purpoſe as the former. For, the Dutch deputies inſiſting on the declaration made on the part of the allies by the reſident of Holſtein, the French ſaid, they had no further inſtructions, but would ſend another expreſs to their maſter for a final anſwer, which they would communicate upon the return of the courier, for whoſe journey fifteen days were allowed. The Dutch deputies being by this time convinced of the inſincerity of the French, Vanderduſſen could not forbear making ſome warm expoſtulations about it; to which the abbot de Polignac replied in very high terms, not without reproaching the Dutch with ingratitude towards the crown of France, which had been their main ſupport upon their defection from Spain. Whereupon the conference, which proved to be the laſt, broke off unkindly. The French miniſters, not thinking it proper to demand another interview, on the 20th of July, ſent a letter to the penſionary, wherein they repreſented the propoſals made in the laſt conference by the deputies to be unjuſt, and impoſſible to be executed, and complained of the ill treatment they pretended they had received in contempt of their character; of the injurious, falſe, and ſcandalous libels, which had been ſuffered to be diſperſed during their ſtay at Gertruydenberg, to inflame the minds of thoſe, whom they were endeavouring to reconcile; and of all the letters, which they either received or writ, having been opened, in breach of the public faith. This letter, being communicated to the ſtates-general, they came to a reſolution, "That the contents of it concerned not "only their ſtate, but likewiſe all the allies, and therefore "they thought it their duty to communicate it to their mi-"niſters 1710.

1710. ‘ niſters, reſiding at the Hague, that every thing might be ‘ done in concert with them, as it had been hitherto. ‘ That the French plenipotentiaries rejecting, by their an- ‘ ſwer, the propoſitions made to them, declaring, that it ‘ was uſeleſs to hold any more conferences upon theſe pro- ‘ poſitions, and thereby breaking off the negotiations on ‘ that ſubject, nothing more remained to be done on the ‘ part of the allies, than to acquieſce therein, and to enter ‘ into no more conferences, as long as the enemy ſhould ‘ continue in ſuch ſentiments. And the ſieurs Buys and Van- ‘ derduſſen were, by this reſolution, required to ſignify the ‘ ſame by a letter to the French plenipotentiaries, without ‘ entering into a debate upon the contents of their letter, ‘ notwithſtanding it might be eaſily confuted, as well with ‘ reſpect to things as words.’ Accordingly Buys and Van- derduſſen returned a ſhort anſwer to the French miniſters, importing, ‘ That, ſince their court would not give a ſuffi- ‘ cient ſecurity for the delivering up of Spain, it was to no ‘ purpoſe to continue the conferences.’ Upon this, the French plenipotentiaries ſet out the 25th of July, from Ger- truydenberg, to return home (q). It was obſerved, that, about

‘ (q) Dr. Hare, in his Fourth Letter to a Tory-member, part ii. p. 42. obſerves, ‘ That the ‘ ill ſucceſs of theſe negotiations ‘ was intirely owing to the ‘ French; the king of France ‘ having put it out of the power ‘ of the allies to make a general ‘ peace, by refuſing to give them ‘ Spain and the Indies, without ‘ which a good peace could never ‘ be made, or the end for which ‘ they went into the war, tolera- ‘ bly anſwered. And the more, ‘ ſays he, this affair is examined ‘ into, the more you will be ‘ convinced of the inſincerity of ‘ the French, and the neceſſity ‘ the allies were under to act as ‘ they did.

‘ Firſt, It is indiſputably true, ‘ and confeſſed on all hands, ‘ that the reſtitution of Spain and ‘ the Indies, whatever became ‘ of the reſt of the monarchy, ‘ was promiſed from the very ‘ firſt. They did not pretend to ‘ deſire ſo much as one ſingle ‘ conference for peace on any ‘ other terms.

‘ Now if the king could do ‘ what he promiſed, what be- ‘ came of the pretended impoſ- ‘ ſibility? And if he could not, ‘ what could he mean by ſuch a ‘ promiſe, but to amuſe and de- ‘ ceive? But if he deſigned that, ‘ then it undeniably follows, all ‘ theſe negotiations, on his part, ‘ have been one continued cheat ‘ from the beginning to the end. ‘ And, that this is the truth of ‘ the caſe, I have given you ‘ many proofs both in my laſt ‘ letter and in this. All the ex- ‘ pedients he propoſed, were ſo ‘ many ſchemes, and had no other ‘ meaning in them but to gain ‘ time,

about this time, the French began to talk of peace with indifference, either, as ſome conjectured, in hopes of a diverſion 1710.

time, quiet his people, and ſow jealouſies among the allies; and deſeat, if poſſible, by a treaty thoſe he cannot deſeat by his arms. What elſe could he mean by propoſing a partition as an expedient, and yet refuſing to let it have the effect of one? To aſk the ſtates to conſent to a partition, and not ſuffer them to aſk for what, is a little too bare-faced. Could they think the Dutch would conſent to this expedient, for the ſake of a general peace, without being ſure a general peace would be purchaſed by it? I ſcarce believe they expected that of them; but nevertheleſs hoped, they ſhould gain their ends by it; and that the very hearkening to the propoſal of a partition would create jealouſies, and divide the allies, in which they did not judge very ill; for the conferences upon this foot very much alarmed the miniſters of the emperor and king Charles, who were utterly averſe to a partition of any kind; and it was with great difficulty they were prevailed with to conſent to let the conferences with the miniſters of France be managed by the deputies of the ſtates, without their being themſelves preſent at them; which would have rendered the negotiations for a general peace much more difficult than they were, though France had been in earneſt for it. And this was all France aimed at by propoſing a partition: ſome of the allies, they knew, would be extremely againſt it, while the ſtates, they hoped, would, for ſo deſirable an end, be willing enough to come into it. And this difference they promiſed themſelves much from. But, for fear this difficulty ſhould be overcome, and the allies ſhould take them at their words, and accept ſome of the expedients offered, they had another reſort behind, by which they could at any time confound all that had been done, and had great hopes, at the ſame time, that the alliance might be broke by it. And that was this; they pretended they could not execute any part of the preliminaries, unleſs the allies would oblige themſelves not to make any further demands than what were already contained in thoſe articles, or that they ſhould be now declared; which is contrary to the 32d article, in which there is a power expreſly reſerved for the empire, the four aſſociated circles, the kings of Portugal and Pruſſia, and the duke of Savoy, to make what further demands they ſhould find reaſonable. This the French inſiſted on for no other reaſon, but becauſe they knew it was impoſſible for the allies in juſtice to comply with it, unleſs the reſpective powers above-named, had had miniſters at the Hague, with full inſtructions from each of them, which they know they neither had, nor could have, without loſing a great deal of time.

1710. verſion in the north, or, which is much more probable, from an expectation, that the ferment, raiſed in England by the late

time. Beſides, this demand of the French, is, contrary, not only to the expreſs terms of the preliminaries, but to the very nature of them; for, if nothing is to be left to be adjuſted at a general treaty, how does a preliminary treaty differ from it? But it was very much for the purpoſe of the French, — who meant nothing but to amuſe the allies, and make miſchief, to inſiſt on it; which accordingly they did, being ſure which ever part the allies took, they ſhould find their account in it. For, if the allies would not agree to this demand, then there was always a handle ready to break off the treaty upon: as long as further demands may be made upon them, they cannot be ſure any conceſſions will procure a laſting peace, and they ſhall be in danger of having the war renewed upon them, after all they ſhall have done to put an end to it. And this is very plauſible and ſpecious, but has at the bottom nothing at all in it. But if the allies had complied with this demand, and declared no further demands ſhould be inſiſted on, what a fine game would the French have had? They had nothing elſe to do to break the alliance, but to repreſent to ſome of theſe members of it, how their intereſts were neglected, and what poor terms the maritime powers and the emperor had made for them. You ſee, gentlemen, the utmoſt your allies ask for you; you ſee the whole you are to expect from them. Theſe are the terms they have made for you; and they have promiſed to oblige you to acquieſce in them. Are theſe allies worth adhering to? Come over to the intereſt of the king, and ſupport his firſt pretenſions; and you will find both him and his grandſon more grateful. You ſhall have this and that, and the other good thing; this town, that principality, ſo much money, ſuch a valuable match; in ſhort, terms infinitely more advantageous to your maſters, and the intereſt of their families, than any thing the allies will do for you. This artifice the French found the good effects of the laſt war; and their fingers itch to be at it again: for this was the way they drew off a certain prince then, which was the ruin of that confederacy. After their emiſſaries had been for ſome time in Holland, propoſing underhand terms of peace, and endeavouring to find what articles the principal allies would be content with for the reſt; when they had learned this, the uſe they made of it, was to ſeduce one of them, by offering much better terms than had been aſked for him. The bait took, and it was agreed to leave the ſide he thought himſelf ill uſed by. Nothing remained but to contrive how this might be done moſt decently. The way agreed on was to invade his country with a great army,

and

late trial of Dr. Sacheverel, would be ſo induſtriouſly fomented and improved by their friends, as to produce a favourable 1710.

and lay ſiege to his capital. What could the unhappy prince do in theſe circumſtances? He is in the utmoſt danger; his allies neither do, nor can ſupport him. There is no ſafety for him but in a peace. Thus a member was brought off from the laſt confederacy; and the ſame play they want to be again at. This is ſo certain, that we are ſure they were trying this very trick with the ſame prince. While the marquis de Torcy made at the Hague ſuch mighty difficulties in complying with the terms demanded for the duke of Savoy, whom he pretended his maſter had great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with, this falſe perfidious court was at that very time tempting him with better offers at Turin; but that prince underſtood his intereſts too well to hearken again to them.

This is the uſe the miniſters of France hoped to make of this demand of their's, if the allies had been weak enough to have agreed to it. But they were not to be ſo impoſed on, nor would they act in ſo arbitrary a manner, as to force any of their allies to ſubmit to terms made againſt their conſent, or without their knowledge; and therefore could not, by all the artifice of France, be prevailed with to preclude them from making ſuch further demands, as they ſhould think reaſonable. But to ſhew they were ſincere, they were willing to deſiſt from all further demands for themſelves, according to the 31ſt article. This they could do; more injuſtice they could not. And had the French been in earneſt on their part, they would, without difficulty, have truſted the allies in this point; for they could not, with any colour of reaſon, believe, that when the maritime powers and the emperor were ſatisfied, they would renew the war at the end of two months, or what other time ſhould have been agreed on, for the ſake of any further demands on the part of the other allies, which it would not be very reaſonable for France to grant them. And therefore it cannot be thought they meant any thing elſe by urging this point, but to make miſchief, and, draw the allies, if they could, into a ſnare; and, if that did not ſucceed, that they might always have it in their power to go off.

To reduce the whole management of the French in this affair under one ſhort view: they preſs the allies to an impoſſibility contrary to the preliminaries, and complain at the ſame time of being preſſed to an impoſſibility themſelves; though the allies aſk nothing but what they themſelves offered from the beginning; and the ſteps they have taken are very extraordinary. Firſt, negotiations are broke off upon the ſingle point of the 37th article. Then an expedient is offered of cautionary towns;

then

1710. vourable turn. On the other hand, the ſtates-general were ſo exaſperated by the late evaſive conduct of the court of France,

' then the conferences are again
' deſired to be renewed, upon
' repeated aſſurances of agreeing
' to all the other preliminaries,
' except the 37th. Then, as
' what would ſolve all difficulties,
' a partition is propoſed, which
' is at laſt reduced to Sicily and
' Sardinia. And what is all this
' for? Will they ſign the preli-
' minaries, if this partition be
' agreed to? By no means; they
' take the very aſking of this que-
' ſtion for a plain deſign in the
' allies to break off the confer-
' ences; and they who would
' have given you before all the
' preliminaries, except the 37th
' article and three cautionary
' towns, now take it very ill you
' will not accept the prelimina-
' ries, not only without that arti-
' cle, but without any cautionary
' towns, or other expedients, tho'
' Sardinia and Sicily be taken out
' of them, without having for
' this any more ſecurity given
' than before, that Spain and the
' Indies ſhall be reſtored, though
' the propoſing a partition could
' not poſſibly have any other
' meaning in it. For it was pro-
' poſed as an expedient, but for
' what? To leave the allies where
' it found them? No ſure; but to
' remove the pretended difficulty
' of evacuating Spain and the In-
' dies, in favour of king Charles.
' But if this be the plain meaning
' of this propoſal, how came the
' treaty to break off upon this
' point? What can be more un-
' juſt, than to deſire the allies to
' quit part of what the prelimina-
' ries give them, for the ſake of
' the reſt, and yet not tell them,
' which way the reſt is to be had?
' What is more ridiculous than
' to preſs the ſtates to all the in-
' conveniencies, which the con-
' ſenting to a partition might be
' attended with, without allowing
' them the leaſt advantage from
' it? How can one reconcile the
' aſking a partition at the begin-
' ning of the conferences, and
' then breaking them off, be-
' cauſe the allies deſire to be ſe-
' cured of the effect propoſed
' from it? Now after all that has
' been ſaid upon this ſubject, can
' there be any doubt, which ſide
' is in fault, or at whoſe door it
' lies, that thoſe conferences did
' not ſucceed? It is plain they
' broke off, becauſe the French
' would not ſecure to the allies
' the reſtitution of Spain and the
' Indies. And it is as plain the
' French ought to have done this:
' it is what they promiſed from
' the beginning, and undertook
' for at the opening of thoſe con-
' ferences, the propoſal of a par-
' tition being incapable of any
' other fair conſtruction. And
' therefore the blame of the rup-
' ture can lie only upon the
' French, or on thoſe who have
' encouraged them to act thus,
' by diſcovering the mighty haſte
' they were in for peace. For
' whether the French, when they
' firſt began theſe conferences,
' intended they ſhould end as
' they did, may poſſibly be a
' queſtion. I muſt own, when I
' heard they had propoſed a par-
' tition, I thought the neceſſity
' of their affairs had at laſt forced
' them

France, that on the 27th of July, N. S. they came to another vigorous reſolution, in confutation of the letter from d'Uxelles 1710.

'them to be ſincere; and that 'they would have ſtruck up a 'peace before Doway was taken, 'that the allies might not extend 'their conqueſts beyond the 'bounds of their preliminaries: 'And perhaps, even after this, 'they might balance with them-'ſelves, and were ſome time ir-'reſolute with intention to con-'ſent, or not conſent to the al-'lies, as they found themſelves 'preſſed by the war. And, 'could the duke of Marlborough 'have either beat their army, or 'beſieged Arras, I believe they 'would have thought the king 'might with honour have aban-'doned his grandſon, after he 'had ſacrificed ſo much for the 'ſupport of him; and the ſafe-'ty of France would have ex-'cuſed to all the world his quit-'ting Spain. And it was with 'this view principally they kept 'their miniſters ſo long at Ger-'truydenberg, that they might 'be upon the ſpot, to clap up a 'peace immediately, if there 'ſhould be occaſion. By this 'they were ſure to have an ad-'vantage in caſe of a battle, 'which ever way it turned; for, 'if they loſt it, they would have 'been able to prevent the fatal 'conſequences of a great defeat, 'by cloſing with the terms of 'the allies, before a victory could 'be purſued; and, if they had 'won it, they would have made 'uſe of the firſt conſternation, 'which the loſs of a battle would 'have put the Dutch into, to 'preſs them to a peace on their 'terms. That this was the moſt 'the French meant by theſe con-'ferences, is evident from what 'was doing at the ſame time in 'Spain. I have obſerved before, 'that either the Spaniards or we 'muſt have been deceived; and 'therefore the French kept it 'in their power, by the moſt 'artful ways they could, to do 'either as they found moſt con-'venient; but that the king's 'inclination and intereſt were 'too well known to leave room 'to doubt, that he would keep 'his promiſe to the Spaniards, 'if he could. Accordingly we 'ſee, he did not only enable his 'grandſon, as I have obſerved 'before, to put Spain into the 'beſt poſture of defence it was 'capable of, and ſupply him with 'every thing that was neceſſary; 'but promiſed to make the ſiege 'of Gironne early in the ſpring, 'and was making a new offen-'ſive and defenſive treaty with 'him during theſe very confer-'ences. And the aſſiſtance and 'aſſurance, the duke of Anjou 'had given him, made him think 'of nothing leſs than quitting 'Spain. In the ſpring he pre-'tended to have an army of 'one hundred and twenty-two 'battalions, and one hundred 'and forty-five ſquadrons, be-'ſides the troops that were com-'ing to him from Flanders. 'Before the conferences begun, 'the king received an expreſs 'from his grandſon, to acquaint 'him with the zeal the Caſtilians 'expreſs for him, and his reſo-'lution to ſtand by them; and 'the French miniſter at Madrid 'in April gave out, that the 'conferences were broke off.

At

1710. d'Uxelles and Polignac to the penſionary, and in particular to ſhew, 'that the enemy had departed from the foundation,

'At the ſame time the duke of 'Anjou was haſtening to put 'himſelf at the head of his army, but was ſtopped by the affair of the duke de Medina 'Celi; which, as great a myſtery as it was, was probably at 'bottom a French trick. It was 'very natural for the Spaniards 'to take umbrage at the conferences, and to think it was 'time to take care of themſelves; and that, if the king 'ſhould in earneſt abandon them, 'it was to no purpoſe for them 'to adhere to his grandſon. To 'feel their pulſe upon this point, 'it is probable the French miniſters, either Blecour or Iberville, or ſome others of 'their emiſſaries, had pretended 'to treat with ſome of the grandees upon this foot, and acquainted them, that the king's 'affairs would not permit him 'to ſupport his grandſon any 'longer, and that the king did 'not expect they ſhould ruin themſelves to maintain him on 'the throne, ſince in that caſe 'it would be impracticable: 'but that, if they would diſpoſe 'him to reſign, the king would 'endeavour to get ſome partition 'for him. It is extremely probable, this trick was tried at 'Madrid, to find how the grandees were inclined to act on 'this occaſion; the duke of 'Medina in particular, who was 'the firſt miniſter; and that, 'when they had got out of him 'the ſenſe of him and his friends 'on this nice ſubject, the uſe 'they made of it was to betray 'him to the duke of Anjou. 'And poſſibly the thing went 'farther; and that in concert 'with the French to ſave the 'king's honour, they had agreed 'to ſeize his perſon, and carry 'him off; which I remember, 'was the firſt report we had upon that miniſter's diſgrace. After this affair was over, which 'had ſufficiently intoxicated the 'Spaniards, the duke of Anjou 'left Madrid, and joined his 'army near Lerida. And the 'duke of Noailles was advanced 'to the banks of the Ter, the 'river Gironne ſtands upon, to 'favour his deſigns. In June 'the duke of Anjou was ſo ſanguine, that he made no doubt 'of being able to drive king 'Charles out of Catalonia that 'campaign, eſpecially if the 'duke of Noailles could but 'make the ſiege of Gironne. 'This appears at large in ſome 'letters of his, that were intercepted, to the king and the 'duke of Burgundy, writ to 'congratulate the marriage of 'the duke of Berry, which he 'ſhews himſelf not at all pleaſed 'with. Upon his diſappointment in Catalonia, when he 'could neither attack marſhal 'Staremberg, nor beſiege Balaguer, he grew diſatisfied with 'his Spaniſh generals: and in 'July both he and his princeſs 'ſollicit the king in very preſſing terms to ſend the duke of 'Vendoſme to him; which 'ſoon complied with, and, that 'the duke might have no apprehenſion of the king's deſigning to abandon him, he entered into a new alliance with 'him.

'tion, on which the negotiation had begun, and ſtudied 1710.
'pretences to evade the execution of the capital points;
'the

'him. This alliance was framing while the miniſters of France were at Gertruydenberg; which place they left but the 25th, and the 8th of Auguſt, or before, the articles of this new treaty were known publicly at Paris: which makes it plain to a demonſtration, that this treaty was forming before the conferences were broke off.

'From this account, it is exceeding evident, that the French were taking the moſt effectual methods to ſupport the duke of Anjou, and make the Spaniards faithful to him, while they were perſuading the allies, the king would in earneſt abandon him, and give him no aſſiſtance directly or indirectly: nay, while they were making terms for him, upon which they would oblige him to reſign. And, if this be not inſincere in the laſt degree, I would be glad to know what is. If he was ſincere, why did he treat for a general peace, when either he would not, or could not make the neceſſary conditions of it practicable? why, when he meant nothing but a ſeparate peace, did he not frankly from the beginning tell the allies, that he was willing to make terms with them for himſelf, but that he could make none for Spain? was this for any thing elſe but to amuſe the allies, who, he knew, would flatly have refuſed entering into any negotiations, if he had ſpoke out plainly what he meant? did not he intend, 'from the beginning, to defeat by an exception a general peace, while he pretended all the while to be for it? as old managers ſometimes do with a bill in parliament, which they contrive ſhould be loſt by an amendment, while they would be thought zealous for it; which they would not have been able to effect, had they openly declared againſt the bill itſelf. Thus they gain the point they would have, by ſeeming to be for what in truth they would not have: and the ſame part the king of France has acted with reſpect to peace, but not with the ſame ſucceſs. He has not got yet what he wants, I mean a ſeparate peace, by affecting to treat for a general one, which he would of all things keep off. A man muſt ſhut his eyes very hard, not to ſee the French meant nothing by theſe conferences but to amuſe the allies, and keep it in their power to make what uſe of them they ſhould have occaſion for; and that they never deſigned to conſent to what was neceſſary to make a general peace practicable. They meant either no peace at all, or only a ſeparate one for themſelves; which they hoped from the temper of the Dutch, the nature of their government, and the experience they have formerly had of them, they might be ſtrained into. To which end they affected from the very firſt conference to let nothing fall from them, that might look like a

1710. ‘ the reſtitution of Spain and the Indies; and, in ſhort, that
‘ France had no other view, than to ſow and create jealou-
‘ ſy,

‘ deſire to retard the operations
‘ of the campaign, but on their
‘ own part threatened what migh-
‘ ty things they would do upon
‘ the Rhine and in Spain; and,
‘ to intimidate them the more,
‘ marſhal Villars condeſcended
‘ to the mean artifice of writing
‘ to the French miniſters, from
‘ time to time, letters filled with
‘ the groſſeſt gaſconade, what a
‘ brave army he had; how de-
‘ ſirous they were to come to an
‘ engagement; and that, if the
‘ allies had a mind to a battle,
‘ they ſhould meet with no in-
‘ trenchments, but ſhould find
‘ him ready to receive them in an
‘ open plain. Theſe poor tricks
‘ they fancied would paſs upon
‘ the Dutch deputies; but they
‘ were too well known to be be-
‘ lieved; and the event ſhewed
‘ there was nothing elſe in all
‘ theſe boaſts aimed at, but
‘ to deceive; for, the minute
‘ Doway began to capitulate, the
‘ marſhal retired to ſafe ground,
‘ and intrenched with all his
‘ might, and dared not offer
‘ them battle all the reſt of the
‘ campaign, though more bat-
‘ talions had been weakened by
‘ the ſiege of Doway and Be-
‘ thune, than the battle of Blen-
‘ heim was fought with; and al-
‘ moſt as many more were after-
‘ wards at the ſame time em-
‘ ployed in the ſiege of St. Ve-
‘ nant and Aire. But theſe and
‘ all the other artifices of France
‘ could not delude or drive the
‘ ſtates to quit the common in-
‘ tereſt, or induce the allies to
‘ hearken to a ſeparate peace
‘ with the French, who, they
‘ knew, were taking the moſt
‘ effectual means to make the re-
‘ duction of Spain impoſſible,
‘ while they were treating of
‘ terms for the ſurrender of it.
‘ But nothing can diſcover more
‘ plainly the inſincerity of France,
‘ than what happened after theſe
‘ conferences were ended. Two
‘ days after their plenipotentia-
‘ ries were gone, the duke of
‘ Anjou received a conſiderable
‘ diſgrace at Almanara; and, in
‘ about three weeks after that,
‘ his army was intirely defeated
‘ at Saragoſſa, beyond a poſſibi-
‘ lity of maintaining his ground,
‘ or recovering his affairs, with-
‘ out the aſſiſtance of France.
‘ Here was now a fair occaſion
‘ for the French king to ſhew
‘ himſelf; his language had been
‘ all along, that he could not be
‘ active to dethrone his grand-
‘ ſon, but would conſent abſo-
‘ lutely to abandon him, if that
‘ would procure a peace. The
‘ allies cannot take his bare
‘ word: his miniſters make the
‘ moſt ſolemn proteſtations in his
‘ name, and give repeated aſ-
‘ ſurances of this in the moſt ex-
‘ preſs words, and complain hea-
‘ vily, that they are not believ-
‘ ed. Now, in leſs than a month
‘ after the conferences were end-
‘ ed, there happens the beſt op-
‘ portunity in the world for the
‘ king to ſhew his great ſinceri-
‘ ty: the obſtruction to a peace
‘ is the evacuation of Spain.
‘ Let now the king but keep
‘ his word, and be paſſive only,
‘ and the thing will do itſelf:
‘ the allies cannot fail of Spain,
‘ if the king does not ſupport
‘ his

'ſy and diſunion among the allies.' As to the complaint of the plenipotentiaries relating to their perſons, the pretended contempt 710.

'his grandſon againſt them. 'What part now does the king 'take? does he ſend to the al- 'lies, that he will abandon his 'grandſon in earneſt, if that 'will content them? nothing 'like it; he balances, indeed, 'for ſome time what to do, and 'holds frequent councils: but 'for what? not becauſe he was 'in any doubt, whether he 'ſhould act agreeably to his 'word, or ſhew he is ſincere; 'for that I have already obſerved 'he could not be; he muſt de- 'ceive either us, or the Spani- 'ards. All the debate therefore 'was, which he ſhould do: At 'firſt their affairs ſeemed to be in 'ſo deſperate a condition, as to 'be beyond retrieve; and that 'all the ſupport he could give 'his grandſon would be inſigni- 'ficant; and therefore there were 'ſome thoughts of making a 'virtue of neceſſity, and to pro- 'cure a peace to France by 'abandoning Spain; ſince, if he 'did not abandon it, it muſt be 'loſt. And, had the action of 'Saragoſſa happened a month 'ſooner, it is very likely it had 'proved ſo, for the hands of 'the French were too full of 'other work to ſend any con- 'ſiderable force to Spain, till the 'campaign was in other parts, 'Savoy particularly, drawing to 'an end.' After many conſulta- tions, it is reſolved to make the utmoſt efforts to ſupport the 'duke of Anjou, nowithſtand- 'ing all their pretences to leave 'him to himſelf, or rather to 'perſuade him to quit a king- 'dom, which, without their help, 'all the world ſees he could not 'have kept. What ſucceſs this 'aſſiſtance, that has been given 'him, has had, I need not tell 'you; nor what further miſ- 'chief the common cauſe is like 'to ſuffer from it. It is a great 'pity the conference did not 'laſt one month longer, which 'would have put the French un- 'der a neceſſity of keeping their 'word, or in the moſt infamous 'manner breaking it, to ſupport 'a cauſe they had ſo often, and 'with ſo much ſeeming earneſt- 'neſs, promiſed to renounce. 'As it is, there is but one excuſe 'for them,—which thoſe, I am 'arguing againſt, had rather 'ſhould not be made; and that 'is, to plead, that the caſe is 'altered: affairs are not in the 'ſame condition they were in, 'when they made thoſe promiſes. 'They have a political obſervato- 'ry at Paris, where the marquis 'de Torcy and the French mi- 'niſters frequently examine what 'appearances there are in the 'heavens of all the countries in 'war with them; and accord- 'ing to theſe they take their 'meaſures of war and peace; 'and it is by this they juſtify 'their aſſiſting the duke of An- 'jou. What paſſed in Spain, 'the 20th of Auguſt, they 'thought ſufficiently balanced by 'what happened to the north- 'weſt of them the 19th. What 'preceded that phænomenon, 'and has ſince followed it, has 'determined the French not on- 'ly to ſupport the duke of An- 'jou, but to deſiſt for the pre- 'ſent from all further offers of

1710. contempt of their character, the publication and abuſive libels, the opening of their letters, the hindering the making any viſits to them and their lodging, as if they had been in a kind of priſon; the ſtates obſerved, that, purſuant to the agreement, the plenipotentiaries came without any character, for which reaſon no ceremonial was obſerved on either ſide: but that all manner of conſideration was had for their birth, quality, and merit. That libels were ſeverely forbidden in Holland, and the authors and printers liable to puniſhment. That none of the many couriers, the French plenipotentiaries had received and diſpatched, had been ſtopped; nor were any of the letters, which they ſent by the ordinary poſt, intercepted. That no perſon was ever hindered from going to them; nor was any order given to take notice who viſited them. But as, in all frontier towns, it is the cuſtom, that none enter, unleſs they declare who they are, both at the gate and to the governor; it ought not to be thought ſtrange, nor ought exceptions to be taken, if this cuſtom were not diſcontinued during the ſtay of the French miniſters at Gertruydenberg. And, in the laſt place, they could not call a kind of priſon the town, which they pitched upon for their reſidence, and which they preferred to Antwerp, a large and noble city. On the 7th of Auguſt, the lord Townſhend delivered to the ſtates-general a memorial, wherein he acquainted them, that the queen intirely approved their reſolution, in anſwer to the letter of the French plenipotentiaries, and all the ſteps they had taken during the late negotiations; giving them, at the ſame time, freſh aſſurances of her majeſty's firm reſolution to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour, till the enemy was brought to accept ſuch terms of peace, as might ſecure the tranquility of the chriſtian world.

Campaign in Flanders. Brodrick. Hiſt. of Eur. Burnet.

By this time the confederate armies, under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, had made a conſiderable progreſs in Flanders. On the 14th of April, the earl of Albemarle, governor of Tournay, in concert with lieutenant-general Cadogan, cauſed the caſtle of Mortagne to be attacked, which was executed with ſo much ſucceſs, that the garriſon, conſiſting of a captain, four ſubalterns, five ſerjeants, and ſixty-five private men, ſurrendered priſoners of war. But the next morning the enemy retook that poſt with

' peace, by which we are as ' much plunged into the war, as ' we were ſeven years ago; and ' there ſeems no remedy for it, ' but what is worſe than the diſ- ' eaſe, an ill peace.'

about

about ſixty men. The earl, reſolving to be maſter of it again, made a ſecond attack with ſix hundred men of the garriſon of Tournay; and though the French garriſon, which conſiſted of two hundred grenadiers, were aſſiſted by twelve or fifteen galliots from Condé; yet the confederate troops, being ſupported by a detachment from the body of count Felix, and favoured by the cannon, which they had planted on the heights of Munde, the enemy were obliged again to ſurrender priſoners of war. The allies, conſidering the great conveniency and advantageous ſituation of that poſt, left there two hundred men, and four pieces of cannon. 1710.

The French had all the winter been ſtrengthening their lines for covering Doway, and other frontier-towns, and boaſted they were impregnable; but not being able to ſupply their troops with proviſions, and eſpecially forage for their horſe, the two confederate generals, with count Tilly and monſieur de Claerbergen, one of the ſtates deputies, made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for advancing towards the enemy's lines: and the army began their march in two columns; April. 20. the right commanded by the duke of Marlborough to Pont-a-Vendin, and the reſt by prince Eugene to Pont-Oby on the Deule. This march was ſo well contrived, and ſo ſudden, that notwithſtanding the great preparations, which the French had made for fortifying and defending their lines; the chevalier de Luxemburg, being for that purpoſe incamped with about four thouſand men near St. Amand, and the marſhal de Monteſquiou, having aſſembled about forty battalions, and ſixty ſquadrons, near Lens, and Bethune; yet the prince of Wirtemberg, and lieutenant-general Cadogan, with a detachment of fifteen battalions and fifty ſquadrons from the duke of Marlborough's column, entered thoſe lines at Pont-a-Vendin, without any oppoſition. The few troops they had there, for the defence of that poſt, retired without firing a gun; and the battalions and ſquadrons, poſted near Lens and Bethune, made likewiſe their retreat, partly towards Arras, and partly towards Doway. The allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the prince of Heſſe Caſſel was detached with twelve ſquadrons to fall upon their rear; but they broke down ſo many bridges, and retired ſo faſt that he could not put his deſigns into execution, and only took a few priſoners. The army under the April 22. duke of Marlborough paſſed the Scarpe, incamping his right near Vitri, and his left at Gouy; the extremity of his left at Gouleſſin. The army under prince Eugene remained on

1710. the other ſide of the river to inveſt Doway, the ſiege of which was reſolved upon; and for that purpoſe lieutenant-general Cadogan marched to take poſt at Pont-a-Rache, and other detachments were made to open a communication over the lower Scarpe with Liſle and Tournay. The enemy quitted St. Amand, Marchienne, and the abbey of Haſnon below Doway; and their army retired towards Cambray, upon the news that the confederates had paſſed the Scarpe at Vitri. This opened the way to Doway, which was immediately inveſted.

Doway beſieged and taken.

On the 8th of May, eight hundred men were detached from prince Eugene's army to attack the caſtle of Pignonville near Fort-Scarpe, which would have diſturbed the beſiegers in their approaches; and after an hour's reſiſtance, the garriſon, conſiſting of about one hundred men ſurrendered priſoners of war. At the ſame time the neceſſary preparations for the attack of Doway being made, forty battalions were appointed for that ſervice, under the command of the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, and the prince of Naſſau-Frieſland, both generals of foot. And, on the 4th at night, the trenches were opened with ſo much precaution and regularity, that the men were covered before they were perceived from the town; ſo that all the fire, which the enemy then made, proved ineffectual. The ſiege was carried on in the uſual methods till the 7th; when about ten at night the beſieged, to the number of one thouſand foot (moſt grenadiers) and two hundred dragoons, made a vigorous ſally, under the command of the duke of Mortemar, againſt the left attack, commanded by the prince Naſſau; put the workmen into great diſorder, and levelled ſome paces of the parallel. Colonel Sutton's regiment ſuffered very much, being the firſt, that ſupported the workmen; but, Maccartney's and ſome other regiments coming up to their relief, the enemy were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and purſued to their counterſcarp. The beſiegers had above three hundred men killed or wounded upon this occaſion, and among the latter, lieutenant-colonel Gledhil, who was taken priſoner.

By this time the enemy's troops began to aſſemble in different bodies near Bethune, Bapaume, Arras, Cambray, Landeci, and behind the river Somme; and, marſhal Villers, whom the French court had appointed to command their forces in the Netherlands, being arrived at Peronne on the 14th of May, the confederate generals received advice, that he deſigned to paſs the Scheld, between Bouchain and Denain,

Donain, in order to advance towards the allies. And indeed he made ſuch ſpeeches to his army, that it was generally believed he would venture a battle, rather than look on and ſee Doway loſt. 1710.

On the 17th of May, in the morning, the beſieged made a ſecond ſalley with nine companies of grenadiers, and a detachment of dragoons upon the left. But colonel Preſton, who commanded there, gave them ſo warm a reception that, upon the firſt firing of his men, the enemy retired with precipitation. The 21ſt, at night, the beſieged made another ſalley on the left, wherein ſeveral men were killed on both ſides; and, notwithſtanding they were diſappointed, they made a fourth attempt on the trenches, the 23d at night. But, the beſiegers, who had notice of it, having killed about twenty of their men, upon the firſt diſcharge, the reſt retired in great confuſion.

During theſe tranſactions before Doway, Villars ſet out from Peronne, and arrived the ſame day at Cambray, where he held a grand council of war, in which it was reſolved, immediately to aſſemble the French army, in order to attempt the relief of Doway. Accordingly, Villars ſent expreſſes to ſome reinforcements, that were commanded to join him from the Upper Rhine, to advance with all poſſible expedition; and having drawn together all his troops, paſſed the Scheld, and incamped with his right near Bouchain, and his left at Ribecour. Upon advice of this motion, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene thought fit to alter the diſpoſition of their forces, except thirty battalions left at the ſiege, and twelve ſquadrons at Pont-a-Rache. The 24th, all the cavalry of the duke of Marlborough's army marched over the Scarpe, and incamped near Gouleſſin; and, the next day, the infantry moved the ſame way, incamping with the right over againſt Vitri, and the left near Arleux. At the ſame time prince Eugene made a motion with his army, placing his right at Iſe-les-Eſquerchien; by which ſituation, the confederate troops were ready to repair immediately to either of the fields of battle already marked out, according to the next motions of the enemy; for which purpoſe roads were made for the armies to march in four columns either way. The 25th, bridges were laid in ſeveral places over the Scarpe (which parted the two armies) for the more eaſy communication of the troops; and, the ſame day, upon advice, that the enemy were in motion, all the troops were ordered to be in a readineſs to march. The four following days, both armies made ſeveral motions; May 19.

1710. motions; and, on the 30th, the Dutch infantry, under count Tilly, was ordered to join the duke of Marlborough's army; which was by this time reinforced by the arrival of the Pruſſians, Palatines, and Heſſians, and the recalling of ſeveral detachments. Upon intelligence, that Villars had poſitive orders from court to venture a battle, the expectation of a ſudden engagement increaſed on both ſides; and that general, who was incamped with his right at Roquelincourt near Arras, and his left at St. Eloy, advancing with his troops in order of battle, the confederate generals repaired to their reſpective poſts; the cannon was placed on the batteries, that defended the avenues to their camp; and all other neceſſary diſpoſitions were made to receive them. Villars, with a great detachment, advanced ſome time after, within muſket-ſhot of the confederates guard, and took a view of the army and its ſituation. But inſtead of attacking them, as he had ſo confidently given out in the morning, he marched back, and joined the center of his army, and incamped between Noyelles Sous-Lens and the heights of of St. Laurens. The confederates judging, he did not deſign to attack them, but only to retard the ſiege, ſent the troops back, which they had drawn from before Doway; and thoſe under general Fagel returned into the lines on the other ſide of the Scarpe. And, to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, orders where given to join the ſeveral redoubts, in the front of the camp by a line to extend from Montignon to Vitri, which was finiſhed on the laſt of May.

The ſiege of Doway, which by all theſe motions had been retarded, was carried on with all imaginable vigour, notwithſtanding the many obſtacles the allies met with in their approaches, both from the difficulty of the ground, and the reſolute defence of the garriſon. On the 29th of May, the beſieged made a fifth ſalley on the right attack, and penetrated into the trenches; but, after an obſtinate engagement, they were repulſed with the loſs of twenty-five officers, and about one hundred private men. The next day a party of the garriſon of Fort-Scarpe made a ſalley, and advanced to Pont-a-Rache, with a deſign to intercept the bread-waggons of the allies. But colonel Caldwell, who commanded there with three hundred dragoons, vigorouſly repulſed them, though he had the misfortune of being wounded in one of his arms. The laſt day of May the beſieged made a vigorous ſalley, burnt ſeveral villages, took part of the equipage of general Fagel, and returned into

into the town with a good number of cattle. The beſieged continued to defend their out-works with the utmoſt obſtinacy; but notwithſtanding their frequent ſallies and mines, on the 5th of June, the allies made two lodgments on the glacis of the counterſcarp at the right attack; as alſo lodgments on the right and left of the other attack of the counterſcarp of the ravelins, and fired briſkly from the batteries of cannon and mortars, to drive the enemy from their traverſes. The 10th in the morning, the allies fired five pieces of cannon into the covered-way, and continued the ſap, which went on but ſlowly, by reaſon of the great fire of the enemy. However the beſiegers in the night, between the 14th and 15th, perfected a lodgment on the covered-way at the right attack, and repaired the damages their works received at the left by the great number of bombs, that were thrown into them. On the 16th, the beſiegers began to fire againſt the ravelins, from a battery of ſeven pieces of cannon, and made a line of communication on the left attack. They ſprung likewiſe two mines, that night, at the right attack with ſo much ſucceſs, that the enemy abandoned all their places of arms, and the beſiegers made lodgments at both attacks. After this they brought ſeveral pieces of cannon on their batteries, and fired ſo effectually, that, the breaches in the ravelins being judged wide enough, and all things being in a readineſs to ſtorm both of them by the 19th, the troops commanded for the aſſault performed that ſervice with great bravery, but met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that many were killed on both ſides. On the 23d at night the prince of Anhalt having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the two ravelins at the right attack, they ſtormed the ſame on the 24th, and lodged themſelves thereon after a ſmall reſiſtance. Soon after the enemy ſprung two mines under the ravelin of the right, whereby the beſiegers loſt ſome workmen: however they inlarged the lodgments and communication at the left. At length the garriſon, being reduced to the laſt extremity, on the 25th at two in the afternoon beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town only, without including Fort-Scarpe. But, this being refuſed, they ſent hoſtages to both attacks, who were conducted to the duke of Marlborough's quarters; where being again told, that no capitulation could be granted to the town without including Fort-Scarpe; on the 26th in the morning, monſieur Albergotti ſignified, that he was willing to ſurrender that fort with the town, provided he might have liberty to remove all 1710.

there

1710. their proviſions and ammunition. This pretenſion occaſioned a conference in prince Eugene's quarters, where it was agreed, that the garriſon of Fort-Scarpe ſhould be allowed to march out with two cannon, two covered wagons, twenty others, and two days proviſions; but they were to leave their muſkets in the magazine. So the capitulation for the town and Fort-Scarpe were ſigned on the 26th, after fifty-two days open trenches. Purſuant to this capitulation, on the 29th, about ten in the morning. Albergotti marched out of Doway (r) with his garriſon (which amounted to no more than four thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven men) and lieutenant-general Hompeſch took poſſeſſion of the town as governor. Brigadier Des Roques, engineer-general of the ſtates, was likewiſe made governor of Fort-Scarpe at the ſame time. The allies found in the place forty pieces of braſs cannon, two hundred of iron, and eight mortars, with ammunition and ſmall arms, but a very ſmall ſtock of proviſions (s). As ſoon as the trenches and other works before the place were levelled, and the breaches repaired, the confederate armies, being joined by
July 10. N. S. ſeveral detachments, advanced to Vitri, and from thence to the camp at Villars-Brulin. Villars being likewiſe reinforced with ſeveral detachments, and having drained the garriſons of Condé, Queſnoy, Valenciennes, and Cambray,

(r) Doway, or Dovy, a ſtrong city of the Low-Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquiſate of the territory of Doway. An univerſity, ſubject to the French, and taken by them in 1667. It ſtands on the river Scarpe, between Artois and Hainault, thirteen miles almoſt north of Cambray, fifteen almoſt eaſt of Arras, and thirty-five weſt of Mons.

(s) The French, according to their cuſtom, very much magnified the loſs ſuſtained by the allies in the ſiege of Doway. And it is certain, the reduction of ſo ſtrong and important a place muſt be attended with no ſmall danger and difficulty; and according to the computation, which was made by the allies of their killed and wounded, there were three lieutenant-colonels, three majors, twenty-three captains, thirty-five ſubalterns, one hundred ſerjeants, and one thouſand eight hundred and ninety-nine private men killed: two lieutenant-colonels, four majors, fifty captains, one hundred and fifty-two ſubalterns, two hundred and forty-two ſerjeants, and five thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſeven private men wounded. Of the artillery fifty-four killed, and ninety-ſix wounded: engineers, thirteen killed, and thirty-three wounded: miners twelve killed and twelve wounded. Total at both attacks, two thouſand one hundred and forty-two men killed, and five thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-five wounded.

inſtead

inſtead of attacking the confederates, incamped within his new lines from Arras, towards Miramont. The confederate generals finding it impracticable, either to attack the enemy, or beſiege Arras, turned their army againſt Bethune (t), which was inveſted the 15th of July, N. S. and on the 29th of Auguſt the place was ſurrendered by monſieur du Puy Vauban, who commanded there, and was nephew to the famous engineer of that name. 1710. Bethune taken.

During the ſiege of Bethune, Villars, with his army, marched out of their intrenchments, and poſitively declared, that he would attack the confederates, and endeavour to raiſe the ſiege. Upon this the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene formed their armies in order of battle, and the duke advanced with a detachment to obſerve the French army, who, inſtead of preparing for a battle, were caſting up a new line and intrenchments for the better ſecurity of their troops. On the 24th of Auguſt, the right wing of prince Eugene's army foraged in the front towards St. Pol near the enemy's camp, under a guard of five hundred horſe, and one thouſand Daniſh and Heſſian foot. Villars, having notice of it the night before, detached thirty ſquadrons under the command of the count de Broglio, to attack the foragers; and, in order to be an eye-witneſs of that enterprize, he followed in perſon, and arrived on the mount of St. Pol, where he ordered four ſquadrons of carabineers to attack the foragers on that ſide, while ſome other ſquadrons were advancing to attack them another way. They fell upon three ſquadrons of the allies, which gave way; but the foragers, joining with their guard, beat the enemy back with great ſlaughter. However, the French growing too numerous, the allies retired in very good order to an adjacent village, from whence the Daniſh and Heſſian infantry made ſuch a fire upon the enemy, that they loſt a great many men. Villars advanced in perſon, and, having Aug. 1.

(t) Bethune is a town of the Low-Countries, in the earldom of Artois, vaſtly ſtrong, and in extraordinary repair. A nobleman, in his travels, was ſo extremely pleaſed with it, that he declared, it gave him ſuch ſurprizing ideas of the great loſs of France, in the death of monſieur Vauban (who drew the plan of it) that he could not but paſs away a melancholy thought upon mortality, and regret the ſhort duration of inventors of arts and ſciences, when the works, that are done by them, are of ſo long continuance. It ſtands on the river Biette, eighteen miles north-weſt of Arras, and eighteen ſouth-eaſt of Aire.

ſurrounded

1710. ſurrounded that poſt, ſummoned the infantry to ſurrender, and, upon their refuſal, ordered part of his horſe to diſmount and attack them; but they were ſo warmly received, that they retired in diſorder. In the mean time the picquet guard of the army advancing, and prince Eugene marching with part of his cavalry, Villars thought fit to retreat, leſt this ſkirmiſh ſhould occaſion a general engagement, having loſt a great many men in this fruitleſs attempt, beſides a colonel, twenty other officers, with three hundred private men, who were made priſoners, and a booty of one hundred and fifty horſes.

Aire and St. Venant beſieged and taken.

As Villars ſtill declined an engagement, the confederate general, in order to ſecure the head of the Lys, reſolved to beſiege St. Venant (u) and Aire (w) at the ſame time. Both theſe places were inveſted on the 6th of September, and both ſurrendered on honourable terms. St. Venant the 30th of September, and Aire the 9th of November.

Notwithſtanding the great precaution of the allies, for the ſecurity of their artillery and ammunition, which were to be uſed in the ſieges, the enemy formed a deſign of ſurpriſing a convoy of ſeveral boats coming up the Lys from Ghent, under a guard of twelve hundred men, who were to be reinforced by another detachment. But monſieur de Ravignan with four thouſand men from Ypres, not far from Courtray, beat the guard; killed about two hundred men; took ſix hundred ſoldiers; blew up ſome boats laden with ammunition, ſunk others laden with cannon-ball and bomb-ſhells, to interrupt the navigation of the Lys, and then retired with ſo much precaution, that a detachment of the allies, ſent out to cut off his retreat, could not effect it. There was no time loſt in repairing the damages occaſioned by this misfortune; and the country people were immediately ſummoned to weigh up the boats, which the enemy ſunk in the Lys, and clear the paſſage of that river.

On the 26th of September, the chevalier de Luxemburg having formed a deſign to ſurpriſe Fort-Scarpe, marched from Bouchain with a ſtrong detachment to Pont-a-Rache, ſent two hundred men in the night into the wood of Belli-

(u) St. Venant is a town of the Low-Countries, in the earldom of Artois. It ſtands by the borders of Flanders, about four miles eaſt of Aire, twenty-ſix ſouth of Dunkirk, and as many north of Arras.

(w) Aire is a large and handſome city of France. It ſtands upon the Lys, twenty-five miles ſouth of Dunkirk, twenty-eight north-weſt of Arras, and twenty-ſix eaſt of Boulogne.

fonties

ſanties near the fort, and had two waggons loaded with hay, in which ſeveral grenadiers were concealed. Theſe waggons were driven by ſome other ſoldiers diſguiſed as boors, who were to ſeize the barrier, and, upon a ſignal, to be ſupported by others, and then by the chevalier himſelf. But major-general Almama coming at the ſame time to viſit general Horſpeſch, who, having ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign of the enemy, was gone into the fort to give the neceſſary orders for its ſecurity, left his guard without the barrier, who walking their horſes, and following the waggons by mere chance, the enemy believed they were diſcovered, and ſo ran away, leaving their captain and one of their men priſoners. 1710.

Six days after the ſurrender of Aire, the confederate armies broke up and marched into winter-quarters.

Thus ended the campaign in Flanders, which, though not of ſuch luſtre as the former, becauſe no battle was fought, yet was, by military men, eſteemed very extraordinary in this reſpect, that our men were about a hundred and fifty days in open trenches, a thing ſaid to be without example.

Campaign on the Rhine inconſiderable;

Nothing conſiderable paſſed on the Rhine, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both ſides. The French, who, in the winter, had threatened the empire with a new invaſion, were obliged to weaken their forces, in order to cover their frontiers, and ſtrengthen their armies in the Netherlands; and the Germans were not in a condition to improve ſo fair an opportunity of invading France. The elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the imperial army, diſſatisfied with theſe proceedings, deſired leave to reſign a command, from which, as he ſaid, he could not promiſe himſelf any honour, nor the public expect any advantage. As he could not be prevailed with to deſiſt from his purpoſe, the command of the army of the empire was given to count Gronsfelt.

and likewiſe that in Piedmont.

Nor was the campaign on the ſide of Piedmont more conſiderable than on the Rhine. The march of the confederate troops met with ſuch difficulties and delays, that the army was not formed till about the middle of July; and the duke of Savoy, beſides his former pretences for not putting himſelf at the head of the army, was, now indiſpoſed, as well as the prince of Piedmont, his eldeſt ſon, and his brother, the duke of Aoſta. In this ſituation, count de Thaun, veldt-marſhal of the imperial forces, took upon him the command of the confederate army; the Piedmonteſe generals being directed to comply in every thing with his orders.

1710. orders. But, notwithſtanding the preparations made to paſs the Alps, and penetrate into Dauphiné, they found it impoſſible to force their way through the mountains; ſo that, after having diſlodged the French from Arches, and ſome other poſts at the entrance of the valley of Barcelonette, they gave over that deſign, and the army marched to Suza, where they continued, as long as the ſeaſon permitted, to hinder the duke of Berwick, who commanded the enemy's forces, from making any detachments into Spain. The French were ſo apprehenſive of an invaſion on the ſide of Dauphiné, that, beſides the intrenchments they caſt up in the mountains with great labour and expence, they were obliged to keep there ſeventy-two battalions, and a good number of horſe.

Affairs in Spain. M. S.

The campaign this year in Spain was very remarkable, where both parties were conquerors and conquered by turns. In April a great council of war was held (ſays our author *) in which it was reſolved to take the field on the firſt of May, and that the fleet (lately arrived at Barcelona, under the command of Sir John Norris) ſhould immediately ſail for Cagliari, to ſecure the iſland of Sardinia, which was performed in a ſhort time. Purſuant to this reſolution, our army aſſembled near Agramont. The enemy, under the command of the marquis de Villadarias, had already taken the field, and were incamped at Balaguer. Upon our approach they marched to Lerida, and we took poſſeſſion of their camp. Here king Charles, with general Stanhope (who was come from Italy with money and a thouſand recruits) came and reviewed the whole army. On the other hand, king Philip, who was likewiſe come to head his army, gave it out, that he was reſolved to put all to a deciſive battle; and, accordingly, the enemy, conſiſting of forty-two battalions and ſixty ſquadrons, marched along the plain in our full view, in nine columns, to attack us. Marſhal Staremberg immediately prepared to receive them, but they did not think fit to come within cannon ſhot that day, and only drew up in battle on the hills on our left, from whence they could eaſily diſcern every thing in our camp. In the evening they retired to Belcaire, in the way to Balaguer, about four miles diſtant. The next day they came again, and, forcing in our grand guard, halted an hour or two; after which they marched towards our front, raiſed a

* Namely, of the manuſcript account of the campaigns in Spain. This manuſcript uſes the old ſtyle.

battery,

battery, and began to fire. This was anſwered by one of ours, which did ſome execution on their foot. Having halted ſome time, they retired a ſecond time to the ſame place, and were purſued by general Stanhope with ſome ſquadrons, who fell upon their rear, and killed ſeveral hundreds. A few days after, the enemy ſent a large detachment, with ſix pieces of cannon, to take the town of Calaſ, where we had ſome men, but they met with ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to return to their camp. 1710.

On the 15th of July, it was reſolved in a council of war, to march down the plain in our turn, and attack the enemy before they had paſſed the river at Lerida: but that evening, news being brought that all had paſſed, or would have paſſed before we could come up with them, that deſign was laid aſide, and another was put in execution. The next morning ſome ſquadrons of dragoons, and twenty companies of grenadiers, with cannon and pontons, marched very early to make a bridge over the Noguera at Alfaras, and the whole army followed. When our horſe came upon the hills, they ſaw forty-two ſquadrons drawn up, with nine battalions, upon ſome high grounds near Almanara, who were followed by their whole army, which was in the valley, on the other ſide the hills. General Stanhope, rightly judging that we had a fair opportunity of falling upon theſe ſquadrons before their whole army was joined, went with general Belcaſtel to king Charles (who was near with marſhal Staremberg and count Attalaia) and preſſed his majeſty very warmly to attack the enemy with the horſe, ſuſtained by the whole army; but, perceiving the king and the marſhal did not ſo readily come into his propoſal as he expected, he ſaid aloud, that, if they let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, general Belcaſtel and he had orders to withdraw his troops, which he would inſtantly obey and leave the country. Upon theſe words he went away to a great number of general officers and colonels, who were got together about fifty paces from the king, viewing the enemy, and expecting what news the general would bring them. In a few minutes, count Attalaia came to Stanhope from the king, to inform him that he complied with his deſire and advice, but wanted to know, Who was to command? Who but myſelf, anſwered the general, being the lieutenant-general of the day. He immediately ſends his aid de camps to the regiments he intended to take with him, with orders to mount and follow him. Theſe were all the horſe and dragoons of our left, in all ſixteen ſquadrons. The reſt of the horſe were

1710. were commanded by the marſhal to follow, and all the foot to form and be ready to march. Orders were alſo ſent to the commander of the train to fix a battery of ſix guns upon a riſing ground on our left. The ſun was not above half an hour high, when general Stanhope marched up to the enemy, who were in two lines, twenty-two ſquadrons in the firſt, and in the ſecond, twenty, beſides the nine battalions who were a little behind them on their right. Stanhope put himſelf at the head of the firſt ſquadron of Harvey's horſe, and Carpenter at the head of the other. He made a very ſhort ſpeech to the men, and deſired them to keep very cloſe, and not break themſelves, for he was ſure they would be as firm as a rock, and all the enemy's ſquadrons could not break them. Then he marched and attacked the guards commanded by general Ameſſaga, who, as their horſes cloſed, ſpoke ſome words to him, which Stanhope anſwered with a ſtroke of his ſword, that killed the Spaniard. The whole ſquadron, as indeed all the reſt, animated with the example of their general, performed wonders, puſhed the firſt line upon the ſecond, and entirely routed the Spaniſh horſe. The nine battalions ran away, and all were purſued till dark. We lay upon our arms all night, and the next day incamped on the field of battle. In this ſhort action we took lieutenant-general Verboon, and loſt the earl of Rochfort and count Francis Naſſau, both killed at the head of their regiments of dragoons, and both officers of great merit and diſtinction. About four hundred men were killed and wounded on our ſide; but the enemy's loſs was conſiderable, the number of their ſlain and wounded not being leſs than fifteen hundred. Many more would have been made priſoners, if our men, in the heat of the action, could have charged themſelves with them. The enemy retired that night in ſuch haſte to Lerida, that they left behind a great deal of their baggage (amongſt which was ſome of king Philip's plate) and in two days marched on towards Saragoza, the capital of the kingdom of Arragon.

The battle of Almanara. July 17. O. S.

We left our camp of Almanara to purſue them, and took the caſtle of Monſon, and fortified the head of the bridge. From hence a thouſand horſe were detached to ſeize the town of Albaſtro, and the day after a thouſand foot, with four pieces of cannon, were ſent to the town of Stadilla, which was defended by above five hundred men, and where the enemy had ſome magazines, which were all taken. Stanhope marched all that night for Sarimana, where he found

two

two regiments of horſe, which he ſoon put to flight. A party of four hundred horſe marched to Candaſmos, and ſurprized a convoy of forty waggons with ſtores, ſixty laden mules, and two thouſand ſheep, guarded by two troops of horſe, which they routed, and brought away the whole convoy. This ſupply was very acceptable in a country, where proviſions for man and beaſt began to grow very ſcarce, being at ſo great a diſtance from Barcelona, where our magazines were. 1710.

On the 2d of Auguſt general Stanhope, after having been away ſeveral days with two thouſand horſe, joined the army, and all marched to Cajadin. Here we ſaw the enemy plant their camp near Fraga on the other ſide the river Cinca, which it was reſolved we ſhould paſs that evening to attack them the next morning: but they marched all night towards Saragoza, ſo that inſtead of fighting we were put to a long and tedious march after them, in which we overtook part of their rear, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, which might have drawn us into a general battle, very much to our diſadvantage; becauſe the main of our army was ſtill at a diſtance over a very long heath, where no water was to be found, and the weather exceſſively hot; whilſt the enemy's were all together behind a brook and ſuch high eminences as were almoſt inacceſſible, and the ford, through which they had paſſed the brook, very narrow. When general Stanhope came up to the advanced guard, and to ſome ſquadrons ſent to ſuſtain it, he immediately formed all the horſe of the left, and ſent with all ſpeed to the generals Belcaſtel and Wills to march up the foot as faſt as they could. Preſently after marſhal Staremberg came up with the right of our horſe and formed immediately; for the enemy was not then half a mile from us. Freſh orders were ſent to the foot and artillery to make all poſſible haſte. The enemy ſent ſeveral ſmall parties to the riſing grounds to obſerve us. Some of their horſe came through the narrow ford, but, when they ſaw ours drawn up, they quickly retired. At laſt the foot and train being arrived, diſpoſitions were made to receive the enemy, if they thought fit to come from behind their ſtrong natural intrenchment and attack us: but they ſuffered our army to refreſh themſelves after ſo great a fatigue, and marched away in the night, leaving at a ſmall town on this ſide of the ford ſome of their baggage, which was ſecured the next morning. Here we reſted ourſelves that night without pitching our tents, and early in the morning marched after the enemy to the large town of Candaſmos, where

1710. we were in danger of peishing with thirst, there being neither pump, nor well, nor cistern in the place, but only one large pond of water, which the troopers, as they came up, marched their horses into, and by that means the water was so spoiled, that it could not be used. The pond was supplied by two springs, which the foot-soldiers entirely ruined by their great eagerness to come at the water. Wine was as scarce as water, none being to be found in the town, not even in the convent, and what the sutlers had was all turned sour (x). We were glad to march out of this place the next morning, but found ourselves in as great distress for want of water as the day before, till we came to Bucarolos, where we incamped, the enemy still retiring before us. At break of day the army marched on in four columns, in expectation of overtaking the enemy, but were disappointed, and instead of them had to encounter, on our march to Usera on the Ebro, with violent thirst and heat, without a drop of water; and, to incommode us the more, the enemy had set fire to a very long heath, we were to pass over. It is not to be conceived what we suffered upon such a march; smothered all that day with clouds of ashes, especially the foot. About five in the evening, and not before, the horse of both lines got to the river Ebro, whose waters did not a little refresh us. Some generals rid up by the river-side, and discovered, at a small distance the tops of the enemy's colours behind a rising ground. A party of Hussars being ordered to advance, brought word in a quarter of an hour, that their army was there in a marching posture. Staremberg instantly made a disposition, in case they should come back, and the foot formed as they came up. We stayed upon our arms till night, when we could hear the enemy's drums, who then began to march to Saragoza.

General Stanhope, perceiving no great inclination in the marshal to pass the river that night, prevailed so far as to have Carpenter detached with two thousand horse to ford it over, and went with him as a volunteer. We expected to hear every moment, that the pontons were ordered to be laid over the river for the whole army to pass; but no such thing, till at last the generals Beloastle, Wills, Fraucomberg, and Lepel went to Staremberg, and, after a long consultation, gained the point, in which, it was said, the mar-

(x) A general officer gave fifteen pistoles for a chest of Florence, and had but three flasks out of it that could be drank. M. S.

shal

ſhal was determined by the king, as well as convinced by the reaſons of the generals. The pontons, after this, were laid with all expedition, and the army began to paſs the river between one and two in the morning, on the 8th of Auguſt. Carpenter, finding the enemy were gone to Saragoza, marched with his detachment of horſe by the ſide of the Ebro over-againſt Villa-Franca, and, having notice, that the army had paſſed the river, he marched as an advanced guard towards that city, where he found the enemy's horſe drawn up. We marched with great ſpeed, and came in the evening before the town, where we ſaw the enemy's whole army in order of battle (being within leſs than cannon-ſhot of them) on a riſing ground on the right of the city. Here we continued all night on our arms, and ſome of their horſe moved towards us, as if they intended to ſurprize us, but we were too well upon our guard for them to attempt any thing that night. 1710.

When general Stanhope viewed the enemy's diſpoſition that evening, he obſerved their right line was extended far beyond our left, theirs conſiſting of thirty-two ſquadrons, and ours of twenty. Whereupon he formed a deſign, which he communicated at ſupper to ſome officers, and which proved of great ſervice the next day. He commanded the left of the army, and the body of reſerve under brigadier Hamilton was by the marſhal ordered to obey his directions. This body conſiſted of eight ſquadrons of Portugueſe horſe, who were cloathed in red. The general rightly judged the enemy would take them for Engliſh (as they did) and ſo reſolved to have them drawn up before the battle at a diſtance from his left, and to flank it, all which ſucceeded to his wiſh.

The next morning very early the cannon began to fire on both ſides. The moſt part of the morning was ſpent in viewing the lines and making alterations. King Charles with marſhal Staremberg rid from the right to the left, notwithſtanding the danger, which animated the troops. The convoy of bread was expected every moment, and was much wanted, conſidering the laſt three days march, but it came not before the ſignal for the attack was given: ſo that the ſoldiers, as well as many officers, fought with empty bellies. General Stanhope was obliged to march the horſe more to the left, by reaſon of a very large dry ditch made by the torrents, that come down from the hills, and which is very famous in the hiſtory of Arragon; for here it was, Battle of Saragoſſa. M. S.

1710. that king Ferdinand overthrew the Moors, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that the ditch is from thence called, 'The 'ditch of the ſlain *. We loſt many men this morning, who, preſſed by hunger and thirſt, ventured to go and gather grapes in the vale between the two armies, and were ſhot by the enemy's advanced guard. Major-general Wade came to the left ſome time before the attack, and adviſed general Stanhope, beſides his other project (which he much liked) to have three or four battalions ſent for, to interline with his ſquadrons, which was done, and they performed very great ſervice. About noon the ſignal for battle was given; the body of reſerve immediately marched up and flanked our left, which had the deſired effect; for the enemy, obſerving this body of red coats beyond our line, ordered ten or twelve ſquadrons of their right to march and attack them. General Stanhope ſoon came up with the enemy's horſe, which he did not find much ſuperior to his, by reaſon of the detachment juſt made, but ſtill they were ſuperior. He received their fire, which killed and wounded ſome men, and put two ſquadrons into diſorder, but they rallied in an inſtant. Then the whole left fell upon the enemy ſword in hand with ſuch order and courage, that, notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, the firſt line was entirely broke. The ſecond made but a ſhort ſtand, and ran away with the firſt. They were purſued very far, and in the flight many were taken and killed. Our right and center were no leſs ſucceſsful. For their left wing of horſe was overpowered and put to flight in a ſhort time by our right. The foot indeed made a longer defence, which laſted above two hours, but with ſuch ſlaughter of their men, that the field of battle was covered with the dead. The enemy's horſe of the left wing being gone, and our right being come up to the walls of the city, our horſe had time to breathe, for the ground would not permit them to be in the lines, and the right of our foot was cloſe to the walls. Here the marſhal was at the head of his own regiment, making it fire by platoons, as regularly as any of ours do at their exerciſe. The detachment, the enemy had made againſt the body of reſerve, put them to flight as was expected, and purſued them a great way, till they found their miſtake. Then returning towards the field of battle, and finding their right was gone off, they fell very furiouſly upon our battery, cut to pieces all the guard, and killed or wounded all the officers and men belonging to it. Our au-

* La barranque de los muertos.

thor

thor (a chaplain in the army) was upon the battery, and firſt diſcovered theſe ſquadrons advancing towards it; upon which he thought it high time to ſecure himſelf by galloping away to our right. When he came there, through the field of battle (which, ſays he, was a terrible ſight) he met cloſe by the walls with general Wetzel, whom he informed of the ſucceſs of our left, and of what the enemy's detachment of horſe was doing in our rear. Wetzel deſired him to go to the marſhal, and ſent his aid de camp with him. He found the marſhal (as was ſaid before) exerciſing his men againſt a brigade, that had turned their backs upon us. When he told him, that general Stanhope had defeated the enemy's right, and was purſuing them, but that ten or twelve ſquadrons were in our rear and falling upon our batteries: that is no great matter (ſays the marſhal) if general Stanhope has beat the right, we are ſure of a compleat victory. And ſo indeed it proved, for quickly after all the foot threw down their arms and ran away, or were taken priſoners. However, upon the intelligence given the marſhal, he ordered Wetzel to be upon his guard, and prevent any ſurprize from thoſe ſquadrons, who, in a few minutes, came in ſight of our rear; but upon our firſt motion galloped away and were ſeen no more. A great ſlaughter was made of the enemy's foot, to the number of five or ſix thouſand, and above ſeven thouſand were taken priſoners. We took all their colours and cannon, and ſhould have made more priſoners, had the horſe of our right had room to purſue them; but the ſituation was ſuch, that they could not paſs by or through the foot. However the victory was entire and glorious, conſidering the great diſproportion of numbers, the enemy having ſixty ſquadrons to our forty-ſeven, and forty-two battalions to our thirty-three. The army incamped that night in a very commodious and pleaſant ground near the city. 1710.

King Charles, in the evening, entered Saragoza, attended by moſt of the general officers, and was received with loud acclamations by the people, who looked upon him as their deliverer from the yoke they had ſo long groaned under, and as come to reſtore them to the form and privileges of their antient government, which had been taken from them. And in this he anſwered their expectations; for the king's firſt care, that very night, was to abolish the Caſtilian government (which had been introduced by king Philip, and conſiſted of chancellors, ſyndics, &c. in every city, of his appointment) and gave them their old magiſtrates or

1710. jurats, as well in the kingdom of Arragon, as in Valencia and Catalonia, who are choſen by the people. During the public rejoicings, the populace fell upon the houſes of king Philip's magiſtrates in a very riotous manner, and committed great outrages, as they did alſo upon all the perſons of diſtinction, that were reputed to be better affected to the houſe of Bourbon than to that of Auſtria. Nor would this tumult have been ſo ſoon appeaſed, if parties of ſoldiers had not been ſent to diſperſe them.

A deſcription of Saragoza. M. S.

In this large city we found very conſiderable ſtores of all ſorts of proviſion, ammunition, and entire cloathings of regiments. The ſituation of Saragoza is extremely pleaſant, being ſeated on the river Ebro, in a very plentiful country, abounding with every thing neceſſary for the ſupport and convenience of life. The ſtreets are broad and long, adorned on both ſides with ſtately palaces, belonging to the grandees of the kingdom of Arragon. This city was the delight of Julius Cæſar, who erected here a very magnificent palace for himſelf (inhabited now by the archbiſhop) and built a large ſtone bridge over the Ebro, oppoſite to the middle of the town, with a great number of arches, which is now as firm and ſtrong as if it was a modern ſtructure. To perpetuate the memory of his benefactions to this city, he called it after his own name, Cæſaris Auguſta. Here the army refreſhed themſelves, after their fatigues, a whole week, which time was employed by king Charles, in ſettling the civil government of this kingdom upon the old eſtabliſhment, and not in diverſions.

The generals were daily conſulting among themſelves what was proper to be done to improve their late ſucceſs, in order to put an end to the war, and fix king Charles on the throne of Spain. A great council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to march to Madrid. General Stanhope did not think fit to lay before this council a project of his own (which he had communicated only to one or two friends, particularly to general Wade) becauſe the march towards Madrid was, for ſome days, in the way to the place he intended to propoſe. On the 16th of Auguſt, we broke up our camp at Saragoza, and were ſeven days before we reached Calatayud, where we halted three days. At this place a council of war was held, in which general Stanhope opened his project, namely, That, ſince there was no bodies of the enemy able to oppoſe our march to Madrid, a ſtrong detachment ſhould be ſent to Pampeluna (which was

not

not very far from Calatayud) the only pass by which the French could send any forces into Spain: that all we had to fear was from the French reinforcements; and, if that pass was well secured, they could not penetrate into Spain but by Gironne, on the other side of the kingdom: that, if our forces once took post at Pampeluna, they could not be dislodged by all the troops the French king could send to the assistance of his grandson: that there we might have fresh troops sent us from England and Holland, and not only troops, but all manner of necessaries, it being a much shorter voyage to the bay of Biscay, than to any port in the Mediterranean: that, if they could prevent any succours from joining the enemy the latter end of this year, such measures might be taken in the winter, as would secure the quiet possession of the kingdom. These, with many other reasons, were urged by general Stanhope, and heard with surprize. He answered, in a very plain and satisfactory manner, all the objections that were made against his proposal, but his answers did not content all the members of the council, who perhaps had their private views (y). However, marshal Staremberg approved of this well-concerted project; but, as his single approbation was not sufficient to bring over the rest, it was resolved the whole army should march to Madrid, which gave general Stanhope a very great concern, and very justly; for, had his project been put in execution, it would very probably have soon brought the war to a happy conclusion, and prevented the shocking turn of affairs, which happened in less than three months (z). 1710.

On the first of September we got to Seguença, a city of Castile. Here another council of war was held, and it was again resolved to continue our march towards Madrid. On the 9th, the army arrived at Alcala; and, the next day, general Stanhope went with a thousand horse to Madrid, followed by all the troops. King Charles came thither the 17th, but made no stay. He found none of the grandees

(y) Of which views the plunder of Castile is said to be none of the least.

(z) Contrary to this account of our author, who was on the spot, a letter from the Comte d'Asfumar, the Portuguese ambassador in Spain, is quoted by Bowyer and others, asserting, That a certain foreign general (meaning Stanhope) with some Spanish general officers, prevailed with king Charles to march into Castile, in opposition to the opinion of Staremberg and, Belcastel.

1710. there; and it appeared, that the Caſtilians were firmly united to king Philip, and reſolved to adhere to him at all hazards. A detachment was ſent to take and fortify Toledo; and about that city, and the neighbouring country, the army continued in ſeveral incampments till the latter end of October, when they began to march into cantons. The king of France now ſhewed he was reſolved to maintain his grandſon, ſince, if it had ever been his intention, it was now very eaſy to oblige him to evacuate Spain. But he had no ſuch deſign, but the contrary, as appeared by his proceedings. For after the battle of Saragoza, which had cauſed a great conſternation in the court of France, it was reſolved in a council at Verſailles, that the duke of Vendoſme ſhould immediately ſet out for Navarre, and put himſelf at the head of the remains of the Spaniſh troops, which were to be reinforced with detachments from ſeveral parts of France. King Philip, after the battle, got off with a very ſmall body to Madrid. But he ſoon left it, and retired, with all the tribunals following him, to Valladolid, and ſent his queen and ſon to Victoria. Some of his troops got off in ſmall bodies, and theſe were in a little time brought together to the number of ten thouſand men; the troops, they had on the frontier of Portugal, were brought to join them, with which they ſoon made up the face of an army. The duke of Vendoſme, in the beginning of September, arrived at Bayonne, and orders being given for the garriſons of Pampeluna, Jaca, and other towns in Nivarri, to march and join the Spaniſh army, he and the duke de Noailles purſued their journey to Spain. When they came to Valladolid, where king Philip kept his court, it was reſolved in a council of war, that the duke de Noailles ſhould return to Paris, and from thence proceed with the utmoſt diligence to Rouſillon, in order to act offenſively in Catalonia; and that, as ſoon as the Spaniſh army was recruited, the duke of Vendoſme ſhould repair thither.

In the mean time, though the French were preparing to ſupport king Philip's broken affairs, no care was taken by the allies to ſupply or ſupport king Charles. We were ſo engaged in our party-matters at home, that we ſeemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done. The court of Vienna was ſo apprehenſive of the danger of a war, like to break out between the grand ſeignior and the czar, that they would not diminiſh their army in Hungary. But to return to the army in Spain.

On

On the 5th of November a council was held, in which it was reſolved, that Toledo ſhould be abandoned, and king Charles ſhould move towards Saragoza, and the army follow in a few days. Accordingly, on the 22d, the generals of the ſeveral nations began to march ſeparately at the head of their reſpective troops, and all were ordered into cantons in the neighbourhood of Ciſuentes, where marſhal Staremberg, with the Germans, was to canton. Colonel du Bourgay, with his regiment, was detached two days before to guard the train, and march to the ſame place. Count Attalaya came, on the 25th, to Aſignan, with all the Portugueſe going to his cantons. Brigadier Lepel marched out by order, with his own and Richards's regiment, to Gargules, within a few miles of Ciſuentes, where, on the 27th, Staremberg, who was then getting into that town with the Germans, ſent him word by his aid de camp, major Nugent, to make all poſſible haſte to join him, leſt he ſhould be ſurprized by the active French partiſan Vaillejo, who was at the head of a thouſand horſe (a). Lepel, with the two regiments, got into Ciſuentes, in the cloſe of the evening, without being attacked. The brigadier (in company with our author) waited preſently after upon Staremberg, whom he had not ſeen ſince the beginning of September, having been upon a ſeparate command. In above an hour's converſation, the marſhal told the brigadier, he hoped he thought him very kind to receive him that night into his head-quarters among his Germans, for that he ſhould have marched on to Brihuega, the canton of the Engliſh, where he had received a letter, general Stanhope was arrived with his troops; but he hoped colonel du Bourgay would come up that night with the train, and the three regiments might march together the next day to Brihuega without any great riſque. And ſo brigadier Lepel took his leave. 1710.

The generals Stanhope, Carpenter, Wills, Pepper, and Gore, with the Engliſh forces, marched along the Tajuna, and, on the 26th of November, came to their canton at Brihuega, a town of about a thouſand houſes, ſituated on the ſide of a hill near that river. The next day a body of the enemy appeared about three, on the hills above the The Engliſh ſurprized at Brihuega. M. S.

(a) Our author ſays here, I am obliged to relate more minute particulars than I ſhould do, in order to do juſtice to a great man (general Stanhope) who has been much aſperſed, upon the account of one misfortune, both before and after his death.

town,

1710. town, to the great ſurprize of the Engliſh, who had ſeen no troops in their march from Chincon to Brihuega, except ſome ſmall ſtraggling parties of horſe. Nor had they any intelligence of an army being aſſembled, though all poſſible care had been uſed, and great rewards promiſed to get early notice of it; ſo well affected were the Caſtilians to their king Philip. The duke of Vendoſme, having joined the Spaniſh army with freſh ſuccours, had marched three days and three nights with incredible expedition; and the foot, which appeared on the hills over Brihuega, were brought thither behind the troopers; but the whole army and train did not come up till late that night. This army conſiſted of thirty-two battalions (which had been reduced from forty-five to that number) and eight thouſand horſe, with thirty-two pieces of cannon, ſome whereof were twenty-four pounders. That very night Vendoſme ſent a ſummons to general Stanhope, which was anſwered as uſual in ſuch caſes. Stanhope diſpatched captain Coſby, his aid de camp, to Staremberg, to inform him of his unexpected and unhappy ſituation, which, it was ſaid, might have been prevented, if an advanced guard had been kept on the high grounds; for they might have given notice of the enemy's approach time enough for our troops to retire to Cifuentes. This, it is aſ-
ſured, was the advice of one of our generals *, which unfortunately was not followed. In the night, the enemy marched ſome of their foot, and took poſſeſſion of the bridge over the Tajuna.

* Suppoſed to be Carpenter.

The next day about noon many regiments, with their colours flying, came and ſurrounded the town within cannon ſhot. We had no artillery, and ſo little ammunition (which was reſerved for the attack) that we could not moleſt them. Their whole army joined, and made four different attacks at once, which were ſoon turned into breaches in the ruinous wall. Our troops were diſpoſed in excellent order for a vigorous defence, every attack being defended by a general officer. The enemies opened one of the gates with their cannon, made a large breach, and gave a general aſſault, but were repulſed. At laſt about eight hundred men got into the town and into houſes, from whence they made a terrible fire, which we could not anſwer, our ammunition being quite ſpent; ſo that, about ſun-ſet, it was thought adviſeable to beat a parley, and thoſe brave troops, that had behaved ſo gallantly all the campaign, were forced to ſurrender priſoners of war, and to march out the next day towards

wards Valladolid and the neighbouring towns, where they were to remain (b). 1710.

Captain Coſby, who was ſent to marſhal Staremberg, with an account of general Stanhope's being ſurprized, did not come to Cifuentes till late at night. The marſhal immediately ſent to the generals of the three nations, the Portugueſe, Dutch, and Palatines, to march their troops with all poſſible expedition to Ciſuentes. They were indeed cantoned in towns very near, and got ready ſo quickly, that at break of day they were all aſſembled before one of the gates of the town. The marſhal had ordered the Germans to beat to arms, which much alarmed us (ſays our author, who was then with Lepel at Cifuentes) and we were not a little ſurprized to ſee, upon opening one of brigadier Lepel's windows, great bodies of troops cloſe to the walls; but it was ſo dark we could not diſtinguiſh what they were. An officer ſent by the brigadier to the marſhal, brought word, that the Engliſh were ſurrounded in Brihuega by the enemy; that the troops about the town were our own; and that he muſt not loſe a moment to get ready to march. This order was immediately obeyed, and we were out before we could well ſee. The Germans came out ſoon after, and the marſhal himſelf about eight o'clock, when we expected to march every minute; but he was reſolved to ſtay for Du Bourgay's regiment and the train. At laſt, after waiting three hours in vain, about eleven, orders were given to march, and brigadier Lepel was ſent back with his regiment

(b) There were taken in Brihuega three lieutenant-generals, Stanhope, Carpenter, and Wills; major-general Pepper; brigadier Gore; colonel Dormer; fifteen lieutenant-colonels, Moyſer, Otway, Montague, Benſon, Hawker, Varrier (died), Dalzel, Faulkland, Richardſon, Ramſey, Howard, Whitmore, Strickland, Nevil, Pearſon; nine majors, Bland, Cotton, Wyvel, Erle, Keitley, Wheeler, Douglas, Pinſold, Savage; ſixty captains, ſeventy-ſix lieutenants, ſixty-four enſigns, three adjutants and quarter-maſters, three ſecretaries of general Stanhope, and one of general Carpenter's; Laroon, quarter-maſter general, and about two thouſand men belonging to the following regiments: Harvey's horſe, the royal dragoons, Popper's dragoons, Stanhope's dragoons; battalion of foot-guards; the foot regiments of Harriſon, Wade, Dormer, Bowles, Gore, Munden, Dalzel.

By this means brigadier Lepel became the commander in chief of the queen's troops, conſiſting of his own regiment of dragoons, with the two regiments of foot of Richards and Du Bourgay. M. S.

to

1710. to meet Du Bourgay. We paſſed the Tajuna at Olmeda, and marched through ſuch very narrow and difficult roads, that it was quite dark before we were clear of the defiles, and got to the high grounds in the way to Brihuega. As ſoon as our field-train (which had much retarded our march) came up to the ground, where we lay that night on our arms, the marſhal ordered ſeveral pieces of cannon to be fired, as a ſignal to general Stanhope, that we were marching to his relief; but it was too late and to no purpoſe; for they were not heard, it being juſt at the time the enemy got into the town, when they made their laſt and greateſt fire before the capitulation began. So it may truly be ſaid, that the ſaving one regiment was the cauſe of our loſing ſuch a conſiderable body of Engliſh. For, had we marched to the relief of Brihuega, as ſoon as all the troops were ready about Cifuentes, we ſhould have been there between two and three in the afternoon, and very probably ſaved that valuable part of our army; for the enemy muſt have either retired or fought between two fires. About eight, brigadier Lepel joined us, with Du Bourgay's regiment and the train, having ſkirmiſhed about three hours with Vaillejo, who had purſued them till they came to the army.

The battle of Villaviciosa. M. S.

On the 29th, early in the morning, we marched upon four columns towards Brihuega, though it was believed Stanhope had ſurrendered, the firing of ſmall arms having been heard by the advanced guard, from the time we came to that ground. About eleven, the marſhal, with his adjutant-general, and ſome aids de camp, went about half a mile before the army, to try whether he could get a ſight of the town from the riſing ground. After ſome minutes, ſome ſmoke was diſcovered to riſe from the bottom between the hills, and he was ſoon ſatisfied there was the place, by hearing the enemy's horſe marching up the high grounds, before he could ſee them; but it was not long before he ſaw them plain enough, upon which he galloped back, and ordered his army to form. The enemy was alſo forming; but their lines extended as far again as our's, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men to our thirteen thouſand. Between twelve and one, the armies began to cannonade one another; but, as the enemy ſaw how weak we were ſince the loſs of the Britiſh troops, they ſoon began the attack on their right, flanking and almoſt ſurrounding our left, which had no more than thirteen weak ſquadrons, who behaved very ill, and ran away as ſoon as the enemy charged them

them (c). By that means our foot were left to mercy, and two Engliſh battalions, two Dutch, four Palatines, two Spaniſh, and one Neapolitan, were cut in pieces, or taken priſoners. Here the generals Belcaſtel and St. Amand were killed, beſides many field-officers and others. By good fortune, the victorious right, inſtead of purſuing their blow, fell to plundering the baggage of the whole army, which was very conſiderable, and could not ſtir from the place, Vaillejo being in the rear of it, with his party. Beſides the baggage, they met with another great booty. Many perſons of quality and diſtinction (chiefly ladies and eccleſiaſtics), having left Madrid to follow king Charles to Saragoza or Barcelona, fell into their hands, with a great number of coaches, and all the riches they could bring away. Unfortunately for them, they came into the field of battle, which was on the high road, juſt before the action began, and could not proceed, for fear of falling into the hands of the partiſan Vaillejo. 1710.

The enemy's right being thus employed, the marſhal fought the left with great ſlaughter and ſucceſs till night, when both horſe and foot retired in diſorder. The duke of Vendoſme, with king Philip (who was preſent during the whole action) galloped away in ſuch haſte, that they paſſed by the Engliſh priſoners, before they got to Guadalaxara. Thus the marſhal remained maſter of the field, took all their cannon, and retook ours, but was forced to nail it all up, for want of mules to draw it away. The Germans made uſe of their cheveux de-friſe, which were of ſingular ſervice; and the Portugueſe horſe behaved very well. Some of their ſquadrons were mixed with the foot, and fell upon the enemy's infantry ſword in hand, as ſoon as ours had put them in diſorder, and made a very great ſlaughter. It was computed the next day, that no leſs than ſeven thouſand were killed on the ſpot, beſides the wounded. General Frankenberg and brigadier Lepel had rallied the horſe of the left, within half a mile of the field, and would have marched them to count Staremberg; but they were ſeized with ſuch a panic at the ſight of ſome ſtraggling ſquadrons, that they galloped away the ſecond time, and did not ſtop in three or four miles, when we overtook them in ſmall parties, and made up at laſt a body of about ſix hundred horſe, with which we made haſte to Siguenca, leſt Vaillejo ſhould overtake us, who followed us ſo cloſe, that we did not halt

(c) Lepel's regiment is ſaid to behave very ill.

above

1710. above three hours in that city, but continued on long marches till we got to Saragoza (d).

Staremberg

(d) The affair of Brihuega has been variously related, and general Stanhope much cenſured; but, by this account of an eye-witneſs, he was by no means to be blamed. Our author undertakes to anſwer the falſities publiſhed in a pamphlet called the Romance (wherein general Stanhope is introduced under the name of Celſus) particularly thoſe relating to this affair.

The Romance ſays, Celſus was left at Brihuega by count Staremberg, with the Engliſh troops and ſome battalions of the Dutch, to cover his march, as well as the cannon and heavy baggage, being himſelf to incamp about three leagues further, and that he gave him orders to come and join him the next day.

To this our author anſwers: That Celſus was not left at Brihuega to cover the count's march, is very plain from the diſpoſition that was made ſome days before, when it was reſolved, in a council of war, that the army ſhould canton upon the borders of Arragon, to ſecure that kingdom. Brihuega then fell to the Engliſh for their canton, as Cifuentes did to the Germans for theirs; and the towns and villages near Cifuentes, to the troops of the other nations.

That there were no battalions of the Dutch in Brihuega, is evident from this, that none of them were taken in that town with the Engliſh: neither was the cannon or heavy baggage there, both being with count Staremberg's army at the battle of Villaviciosa; and one may eaſily conclude, that, had Celſus had the Engliſh train with him, he would not have ſurrendered with ſuch a conſiderable body of Engliſh officers and ſoldiers, who had ſignalized themſelves all that campaign, and were flushed with victory and ſucceſs, but would have given time to count Staremberg to have come to his relief.

But the moſt malicious falſhood of all is, that Celſus had orders to join count Staremberg the next day.

Count Staremberg could have given no ſuch orders, ſince Brihuega, as I have obſerved before, was the canton aſſigned to the whole Engliſh body of troops and artillery; and where they were to continue till count Staremberg thought fit to remove the whole army from their ſeveral cantons.

The truth of this will appear from the following narration: the ſame day that the troops marched into their cantons, brigadier Lepel's regiment of dragoons, which was within four or five miles of Cifuentes, and where it was left to ſecure Du Bourgay's regiment from falling into the hands of Vaillejo the partiſan, received orders from count Staremberg to march with all haſte into Cifuentes. The regiment loſt no time, and narrowly eſcaped the partiſan with his thouſand horſe, who fell upon ſome part of the rear of the Germans, as they were marching into that town.

About

Staremberg, who had ſuffered ſo much in the action, that he was not in a condition to purſue the enemy, left the field of 1710.

About ſeven that evening, brigadier Lepel waited on count Staremberg, who told him, that he was reſolved to cover the kingdom of Arragon, and ſecure it from the inſults of the enemy: that he had ordered the troops into ſeveral cantons, each nation by itſelf: that the Engliſh had Brihuega, and he wiſhed all the regiments were there together. But, till Du Bourgay's was come up, he would ſuffer Lepel's dragoons to continue with him in Cifuentes; and that, as ſoon as it had joined, the three regiments of Lepel, Richards, and Du Bourgay, with the train, would be able to make their way to Brihuega, without any danger from Vaillejo's party. Now let it be judged, whether this is conſiſtent with what the Romance tells us, That Celſus had orders to join count Staremberg the next day? Neither is there more truth in what it relates, That Celſus diſpatched one of his aid de camps to count Staremberg, to let him know, that he thought proper to reſt his troops one day more at Brihuega, but that he would certainly join him the day after, ſince no other aid de camp was ſent from Brihuega to count Staremberg, but Mr. Coſby, who came to acquaint him late in the evening, that the enemy's troops had ſurrounded that town.

It appears alſo from our author's account, why Staremberg delayed his marching to Stanhope's relief ſo many hours; namely, his waiting for Du Bourgay's regiment and the train, though he marched without them at laſt. Biſhop Burnet indeed ſays, Staremberg might have come time enough to have ſaved Stanhope, but he moved ſo ſlowly, that it was conjectured he envied the glory that general had got, and was not ſorry to ſee it eclipſed, and therefore made not that haſte he might and ought to have done. But this, as the biſhop obſerves, is only conjecture.

The following letter was writ by brigadier Lepel, to the lord Dartmouth, then ſecretary of ſtate, concerning the Brihuega affair, and the battle of Villaviciosa:

My lord, Saragoſſa, Dec. 10, 1710, O. S.

I think myſelf obliged to inform your lordſhip of the misfortune that has befallen her majeſty's troops, in our retreat from Caſtile towards the borders of Arragon. The army marched upon three columns; the generals of each nation at the head of their own people. General Stanhope led the left and the rear of all, and had with him the regiments of Harvey, Raby, Peyton and his own; of the foot-guards, and Harriſon's, Wade's, Dormer's, Bowles's, Munden's, Gore's, and Dalzel's regiments. The enemy had detached ſome ſquadrons to obſerve him. On Sunday the 26th of November, O. S. he got into a little walled town in the mountains of Caſtile, called Brihuega, where he reſolved to halt a day and refreſh his

1710. of Villaviciosa, and marched with his army to Saragoza, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any disturbance.

his men and horses, who were much fatigued by their long marches, especially the last, which was of seven leagues. But being among enemies, from whom no intelligence could be had, tho' he had offered large sums to encourage the peasants, he was invested that very night by the enemy's whole army. The 27th, they erected three batteries against the town, which in a short time made very considerable breaches. That night Mr. Stanhope sent out with much difficulty captain Cosby, his aid de camp, to inform the marshal of his condition. The marshal, who was at Cisuentes, four leagues from Brihuega with the German troops, gathered immediately all the rest of his army, and marched the 28th to endeavour to relieve Mr. Stanhope; but the road was so difficult, by reason of the defiles through the mountains, that the army could not advance that day above two leagues. The 29th, we began to march at break of day, and got by noon to the rising grounds above Brihuega, within half a league of the town; where having halted a short time, and perceiving no signals from Mr. Stanhope, the marshal concluded he was taken, and resolved to attack the enemy, who soon after marched to us in order of battle.

The cannonading began about one on both sides; and, between three and four, their right attacked our left with much vigour, which was soon over-powered by their great numbers, they having, by the best account we can get, eighty squadrons, and about forty battalions, and we in the whole not above ten thousand men, and on our left, not seven hundred horse; thus was our horse forced to retire, and our foot was almost cut to pieces. The right of their horse, in the pursuit of ours, fell in with the baggage, and betook themselves to plunder. The marshal, improved that opportunity, and with his right fell upon the enemy, with such bravery and conduct, that he put them to the route, re-took our cannon, took theirs, and remained master of the field, where he continued till eight of the clock the next day; and, for want of mules to carry away the cannon, was obliged to nail them up; and then began his march towards Arragon, to get bread and provisions for his army; where he is now at a place called Daroca, gathering his people from all parts, in order to secure this country.

As to Mr. Stanhope, what I can learn, which comes from some soldiers that have made their escape, and some of the enemy's officers that were taken in the battle, is this: that he was attacked several times at three different breaches the day before the battle, and always repulsed the enemy; but at last, for want of ammunition, was forced to surrender prisoners of war; that he began to capitulate about seven in the evening, and marched out the 29th about noon; that besides lieutenant-general

ance. As he did not judge it ſafe to ſtay long in Arragon, he marched into Catalonia, and the duke of Vendoſme, with 1710.

general Carpenter, who was killed at one of the breaches: we have loſt above three hundred men killed, and as many wounded: among the killed are ſome field-officers, whoſe names and ranks I do not know.

In the battle, my lord, our greateſt loſs has been ſuſtained on the left, where colonel Richards and colonel Du Bourgay's regiments have been entirely cut off; and of my regiment above one hundred private men are ſtill miſſing, and ſeven officers. Of the other nations, the regiments of St. Amand, Dutch, Lucini, Neapolitan, Albuquerque, Portugueſe, and Umadas, Spaniſh, are totally deſtroyed: lieutenant-general Belcaſtel and major-general St. Amand killed. The enemy's loſs is modeſtly computed to amount to above ſix thouſand men killed on the ſpot.

By this great turn of affairs, my lord, the command of the remnant of her majeſty's troops is devolved on me. I am endeavouring, by the marſhal's directions and deſire, to make up the regiments of Richards's and Du Bourgay, out of the few people that are come off, and thoſe that were left in the hoſpitals. The greateſt difficulty attends my own, which is reduced to betwixt eighty and a hundred men, and as many horſes, and no fund to go upon; but if I can get money from Mr. Mead, or credit, I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours to get men and horſes to repair my regiment, and put it in a condition to ſerve next campaign, if my deſigns are approved of. This I humbly pray your lordſhip to lay before her majeſty, that ſpeedy ſupplies may be ſent to us, to keep up the few bodies that are left, if it be thought fit for the ſervice: for Mr. Mead complains very much for want of money and credit, by which we are already reduced to great ſtreights here, where our credit is very indifferent, and our wants extremely great, having loſt all our equipages in the battle, and ſaved nothing but what we had on our backs; and, as my loſs in particular is very conſiderable, I hope your lordſhip will be ſo kind as to repreſent it as ſuch, that her majeſty will be pleaſed to conſider me in it, and grant me ſome compenſation, which may enable me to ſerve next campaign with ſome ſatisfaction.

To this letter, our author has added the memorial ſent to the queen, by the officers of the two regiments commanded by the colonels Richards and Du Bourgay, which begins thus:

That the ſaid two regiments were the only Engliſh battalions that were at the battle of Villaviciosa: that, being poſted on the left of the two lines, the horſe, who were on our flanks, gave way, and left us naked, and expoſed to the weight and ſhock of the whole right wing of the enemy; who, like a torrent not to be reſiſted, ſoon over-bore us. Many of your majeſty's faithful officers loſt their lives upon

1710. with his army, came and took poſſeſſion of Saragoza, two days after, to the inexpreſſible grief and great loſs of the Aragoneſe.

The marſhal, though cloſely purſued by ſeveral parties of the enemy, paſſed the Cinca and Noguera, and leaving a ſmall garriſon in Balaguer, came, in the beginning of February, to Barcelona with the remains of his army. Some days before his arrival, count Tattenbach, governor of Gironne, was obliged to capitulate. The French, under the command of the duke of Noailles, had inveſted that place in December, the very day king Charles came to Barcelona, and had carried on the ſiege with great reſolution, notwithſtanding the difficulties they met with, both from the badneſs of the weather, and the vigorous defence of the garriſon, who obtained very honourable terms. Not long after, upon the approach of the marquis de Valdecannas with a body of troops, in order to attack Balaguer, the garriſon, which count Staremberg in his march had left there, conſiſting of two battalions and one hundred horſe, thought fit to abandon the place; ſo that king Charles's affairs had now a very ill aſpect, being confined within the narrow bounds of the principality of Catalonia, which, by the loſs of Gironne, was open to the enemies on all ſides. On the other hand, king Philip gained this ſummer a very material advantage, by having unqueſtionable demonſtrations of the affection of the Caſtilians, which neither his defeats at Almanara and Saragoza, nor his retreat from Madrid, nor the

the ſpot; many more were wounded, and all were at laſt made priſoners: though ſome few of us were fortunate enough to be retaken. Fortunate indeed we eſteem it; becauſe we hope to be able to ſerve your majeſty again this campaign, and to revenge the wrongs our country ſuffered in the laſt. With regard to every thing elſe, our miſery is equal to that of the poor captives.—For never certainly in any nation, or in any age, where chriſtianity, or the civil arts have been planted, have ſuch barbarities been practiſed, as by this ungenerous enemy, of whom it may be truly ſaid, Their very tender mercies were cruel. For, after their officers had taken from us what money, or whatever elſe of value we had about us, and had promiſed us their protection, they ſuffered, nay, encouraged their ſoldiers to ſtrip us of our cloaths, to inſult, and to wound us. In this miſerable condition were we found, when ſome of us were reſtored to our liberty; and, in this condition, we retreated with the body of the army, having loſt the entire baggage of the two regiments.

preſence

preſence of king Charles, with a veteran victorious army, 1710.
were able to ſhake.

The Spaniſh grandees ſeemed indeed to be in ſome apprehenſion of their being given up by the French; and there was a ſuſpicion of ſome caballing among them: upon which the duke of Medina Celi, king Philip's chief miniſter, was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Segovia, and was kept there very ſtrictly, none being admitted to ſpeak with him. He was not brought to any examination; but, after he had been ſome months in priſon, being often removed from one place to another, it was at laſt given out, that he died in priſon, not without the ſuſpicion of ill practices. Diſgrace of the duke of Medina Celi. Burnet.

Nothing material happened this year in Portugal, except only that, about the beginning of July, the marquis de Bay, who commanded the Spaniſh forces in Eſtremadura, made himſelf maſter of the town of Miranda de Duero, by ſurprize; took in it four hundred men of regular troops and militia; and then formed the blockade of Bragança, which was raiſed by the marquis de Riſbourg, upon the news of the battle of Saragoza: and, ſoon after, the Portugueſe took from the Spaniards Xeres-de-los Cavaleros, Barcarota, Alcanza, and Puebla, places of no great conſideration. Some time before, the earl of Galway, who found himſelf uſeleſs in Portugal, had deſired and readily obtained leave to return to England. Campaign in Portugal. Hiſt. of Eur. The earl of Galway returns home.

The czar of Muſcovy made a very conſiderable improvement of his great victory at Pultowa; for, in this year's campaign, he reduced to his obedience Elbing in Poliſh Pruſſia; Wyburgh, the capital of Carelia; Kenholm in Finland; Arembergh, in the iſland of Oezel; Pernau, Revel, Riga, the Dunamunder fort, and, in a word, all Livonia, the moſt valuable province in the Swediſh dominions. It is very probable, the united forces of the czar and king Auguſtus would have made a greater progreſs; but the allies having, with great wiſdom, taken early meaſures, and interpoſed their good offices and power, to prevent the northern war from ſpreading into the empire, the province of Pomerania, where general Craſſau had retired out of Poland, enjoyed a perfect tranquility. The treaty, or project of neutrality, which was made for that purpoſe, was accepted by the czar and king Auguſtus, and by the king of Denmark, with ſome exceptions; as it was by the regency of Stockholm for the Swedes; though the laſt did it only to ſerve a turn. For their czariſh and Poliſh majeſties demanding that the troops Affairs in the north. Hiſt. of Eur.

1710. under general Craſſau ſhould be either diſbanded, or put in the ſervice of the allies; this laſt was not agreed to by the Swedes, though a treaty was ſet on foot for that purpoſe. At the ſame time the Swediſh miniſters at Vienna, Ratiſbon, and other places, notified, that their maſter, who ſtill continued at Bender, was diſſatisfied with that neutrality: and, on the other hand, notwithſtanding the earneſt endeavours of the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters at the Ottoman port to baffle the artifices of the French and Swedes, the grand ſignior, by the advice of the cham of Tartary, reſolved, at laſt, openly to eſpouſe the quarrel of the king of Sweden. The Muſcovite ambaſſador at Conſtantinople was ſeized and confined; and not long after the grand ſignior declared war againſt the czar, having, for that purpoſe, ſent circular letters by way of manifeſto to the baſha's and governors in his dominions.

About the beginning of April the Swedes publiſhed likewiſe a manifeſto, in anſwer to one put out ſome months before by the king of Denmark, upon his landing in Schonen, and pretending to ſhew, that the reaſons, alledged by the Danes to juſtify that invaſion, were ſo far from being a ſufficient cauſe of war, that they did not amount even to a plauſible pretence. Not long after, both the Swedes and Danes ſent out their fleets to ſea; and the Daniſh fleet having, on the 14th and 15th of September, N. S. met with a lent ſtorm, by which they were ſeparated, and ſeveral of their ſhips damaged in their rigging, they were obliged to return to he Kioger-Bogt. The Swedes, imagining their loſs to have been much greater, went in queſt of them; and, on the 4th of October, attacked them with twenty-one ſhips of the line of battle, and ten frigates. Upon this ſurpriſe, the Danes immediately cut their cables, and endeavoured to gain the wind, ſo as to get between Copenhagen and the Swediſh fleet, whilſt the Swedes endeavoured to intercept them. This occaſioned a cannonading between the foremoſt ſhips; during which, a Daniſh ſhip of ninety guns, called the Danebrag, blew up. But, tho' the Swedes gained their point, yet, advancing too far towards the Daniſh coaſt, two of their flag-ſhips, an admiral and a rear-admiral, ſtruck upon a ſand-bank near the iſland of Amack, where the whole Swediſh fleet came to an anchor, to endeavour to recover them. This being impracticable, they ſaved the men, and ſet fire to their two ſhips, as they did to a Daniſh tranſport. In the mean time, the Daniſh fleet returned to their former poſts before Kong; and, the wind

bearing

bearing hard on the coaſt, the Swedes were unwilling to attack them a ſecond time; and, on the 7th of October in the morning, weighed anchor, and ſailed towards the eaſt ſea. The Danes purſued them, but at ſuch a diſtance, as ſhewed they had no mind to another engagement. 1710.

The imperial arms were this year attended with great ſucceſſes in Hungary, where they reduced ſeveral important towns. Some of the chief of the malecontents conſidering, that their affairs were deſperate, inclined to conſult their ſafety, by making their ſubmiſſion to the emperor. But, upon the Turks declaring war againſt the Muſcovites, prince Ragotſki encouraged them to ſtand out to the laſt, by giving them hopes, that the Turks would aſſiſt them with men, and the French with engineers and money. Campaign in Hungary.

The imperial court perſiſting in their reſolution not to grant the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion in Sileſia, upon pretence, that they were not included either in the treaty of Weſt-Phalia, or in the convention of Alt-Ranſtadt; the queen of Great-Britain ordered lieutenant-general Palmes, her envoy extraordinary to the emperor, to make new inſtances in their favour. And the ſtates-general ordered the ſieur Bruyninx, their envoy, to uſe his good offices, in concert with the Britiſh miniſters. They preſented a joint-memorial to the emperor, which, however, had but little effect; though, at this time, the imperial court had more reaſon than ever to keep meaſures with the proteſtant powers.

Theſe were the tranſactions abroad this campaign, during which great changes had happened in England.

The trial of Dr. Sacheverel had given, as was obſerved, great advantages to the tory party, who ſet on foot addreſſes from all parts of the nation, in which the abſolute power of our princes was aſſerted, and all reſiſtance was condemned, under the deſignation of anti-monarchical and republican principles; the queen's hereditary right was acknowledged; and yet a zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion was likewiſe pretended, to make thoſe addreſſes paſs the more eaſily with the unthinking multitude. Moſt of theſe concluded with an intimation of their hopes, that the queen would diſſolve the preſent parliament, giving aſſurances, that in a new election they would chuſe none, but ſuch as ſhould be faithful to the crown, and zealous for the church. Theſe were at firſt more coldly received; for the queen either made no anſwer at all, or made them in very general words. Addreſſes were brought up on the other hand, magnifying the conduct of the Addreſſes of different ſtile. Burnet.

1710. parliament, and expreſſing a zeal for maintaining the revolution and the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The queen ſends to the duke of Marlborough to give a regiment to Mr. Hill Cond. of d. of Marl.

But the queen's reſolution of changing her miniſtry had begun to appear very early this year; for in the beginning of January 1709-10, upon the death of the earl of Eſſex, ſhe writ to the duke of Marlborough to give his regiment to Mr. Hill, a man, who had been extremely ungrateful to the dutcheſs of Marlborough, and whoſe ſiſter, Mrs. Maſham, the duke well knew, was at this time undermining the intereſt of himſelf, his family and friends. The ſcheme of the queen's new counſellors to make her miniſters quit her ſervice, or engage her to diſcard them, now ſhewed itſelf without diſguiſe. They durſt not tell her at once all they deſigned; but, propoſing to her only one thing at a time, led her, by inſenſible degrees, to the accompliſhment of the whole. They began, as has been related, with engaging her to nominate perſons to biſhoprics, without conſulting her miniſters. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers, without adviſing with her general. And nothing could be more to their purpoſe, than this choice of Mr. Hill for lord Eſſex's regiment, becauſe they knew, that nothing could be more diſagreeable to the duke of Marlborough, or would tend more to leſſen his weight and authority in the army, and conſequently at home too. The new counſellors ſaw, that, if the duke readily yielded in this matter, it would ſow diſcontent among the officers; and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army, and inſult him. And, on the other hand, if the duke ſhould not comply, or ſhould ſhew any reluctance in complying, this would furniſh an excellent pretence for grievous complaints, that the queen was but a cypher, and would do nothing. Upon the queen's letter, the duke waited on her, and with all humility repreſented to her, what a prejudice it would be to her ſervice, to have ſo young an officer preferred before ſo many others of higher rank and longer ſervice; beſides, that the ſhewing ſo extraordinary and partial favour to Mrs. Maſham's brother could be interpreted no otherwiſe, than as a declaring againſt all thoſe, who had ſo much reaſon to be uneaſy with her; and that, indeed, it would be ſetting up a banner for all the diſcontented perſons in the army to repair to. In ſhort, the duke ſaid every thing he could think of, and with all the moving concern, that the nature of the affair created in him, to engage her to change her reſolution. But all ſeemed to no purpoſe. He could not draw one kind expreſ-

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tion from her, nor obtain any anſwer, but "that he would 1710.
"do well to adviſe with his friends."

The earl of Godolphin ſpoke often to her upon the ſame ſubject, repreſenting to her the duke's long, great, and faithful ſervices, and the very bad influence, which her intended favour to Mr. Hill muſt neceſſarily have in the army. But neither had this ſo much effect as to engage her to ſay one favourable word about the duke. Wherefore, on the 15th of January, he left the town, and went to Windſor in great diſcontent. It was council-day. The queen did not aſk where he was, nor take the leaſt notice of his abſence. His withdrawing himſelf made a great deal of noiſe in the town. Many of the nobility ſpoke with earneſtneſs to the queen of the very ill conſequences of mortifying a man, who had done her ſo long and important ſervices. She anſwered, that his ſervices were ſtill freſh in her memory, and that ſhe had as much kindneſs for him as ever ſhe had. The noiſe, however, ſtill continued and increaſed, and their was great diſcourſe, not without probability, that ſome notice would be taken of the matter in the houſe of commons, and ſome votes paſſed diſagreeable to the queen and her new counſellors. This deſign was laid to the ducheſs of Marlborough's charge; but ſhe ſaid enough to the queen to vindicate herſelf. And indeed it was owing to the duke's particular friends in the houſe, that no ſuch notice was taken. The duke of Marlb. retires to Windſor.

The new counſellors being alarmed with apprehenſions of what the parliament might do, and believing, that they ſhould be able, at a proper ſeaſon, to make better uſe of the queen's yielding up the point, than of her inſiſting upon it, gave her advice accordingly; ſo that, on the 20th of January, ſhe ordered the earl of Godolphin to write to the duke, "that he might diſpoſe of the regiment, as he him-"ſelf thought fit;" and to deſire him to come to town. But, before this reached the duke, he had written the following letter to the queen: The queen deſiſts from her recommendation.

"Madam,

"By what I hear from London, I find your majeſty is "pleaſed to think, that, when I have reflected, I muſt be "of opinion, that you are in the right in giving Mr. Hill "the earl of Eſſex's regiment. I beg your majeſty will be "ſo juſt to me, as not to think I can be ſo unreaſonable, as "to be mortified to the degree, that I am, if it proceeded "only from this one thing; for I ſhall always be ready and

1710. "glad to do every thing that is agreeable to you, after I have repreſented what may be a prejudice to your ſervice. "But this is only one of a great many mortifications that I "have met with. And, as I may not have many opportunities of writing to you, let me beg of your majeſty to "reflect what your own people, and the reſt of the world, "muſt think, who have been witneſſes of the love, zeal, "and duty, with which I have ſerved you, when they ſhall "ſee, that, after all I have done, it has not been able to "protect me againſt the malice of a bed-chamber woman. "Your majeſty will allow me on this occaſion to remind "you of what I writ to you the laſt campaign of the certain knowledge I had of Mrs. Maſham's having aſſured "Mr. Harley, that I ſhould receive ſuch conſtant mortifications, as ſhould make it impoſſible for me to continue in "your ſervice. God Almighty and the whole world are my "witneſſes, with what care and pains I have ſerved you for "more than twenty years; and was reſolved, if poſſible, "to have ſtruggled with the difficulties to the end of this "war. But the many inſtances I have had of your majeſty's great change to me has ſo broke my ſpirits, that I "muſt beg, as the greateſt and laſt favour, that you will "approve of my retiring, ſo that I may employ the little "time I have to live, in making my juſt acknowledgments "to God, for the protection he has been pleaſed to give "me. And your majeſty may be aſſured, that my zeal for "you and my country is ſo great, that in my retirement I "ſhall daily pray for your proſperity, and that thoſe, who "ſhall ſerve you as faithfully as I have done, may never "feel the hard return, that I have met with."

The queen wrote the duke an anſwer, expreſſing ſome concern at ſeveral parts of his letter, aſſuring him, without entering into particulars, that he had no ground for ſuſpicions, and deſiring him to come to town. But fearing, at the ſame time, that ſome motion might be made in parliament againſt Mr. Maſham, which might be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences, ſhe ſent about in much concern to many perſons to ſtand by her, as if ſome great attack was going to be made upon her. This application, and the cloſeting ſome perſons, who were known enemies to the revolution, gave encouragement to the jacobites; ſeveral of whom where now obſerved running to court with faces full of buſineſs and ſatisfaction, as if they were going to get the government into their hands. And this being repreſented

preſented to the queen, as a kind of victory gained by her over the Marlborough family, was doubtleſs one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation. 1710.

In about a month after this it was, that both houſes of parliament addreſſed the queen, to order the duke of Marlborough over into Holland, to attend to the great affair of a peace, and, in caſe that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign. In her anſwer to this addreſs (as hath been ſaid) ſhe uſed theſe words: "I "am very glad to find, that you concur with me in a juſt "ſenſe of the duke of Marlborough's eminent ſervices." But, notwithſtanding this, he had not been long gone, before ſhe gave a ſignal proof, how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting Mr. Hill a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year; and, in ſome time, ſhe made both him and Mr. Maſham, men of little or no ſervice, general officers over the heads of many brave men, who had frequently hazarded their lives in her ſervice, and had gone through the toils and hardſhips of a tedious war.

In the mean time the ducheſs of Marlborough learnt, that the queen was made to believe, that ſhe often ſpoke of her in company diſreſpectfully; upon which ſhe deſired an audience, in order to juſtify herſelf, which ſhe obtained on the 6th of April; but could make no impreſſion upon the queen, whom ſhe never ſaw afterwards, nor ever had any correſpondence with her majeſty, except on two occaſions relating to the public (e). However, notwithſtanding this thorough

(e) The ducheſs of Marlborough, in the account of her conduct, ſays: 'as I knew my-'ſelf wholly free from the guilt 'of this charge, and indeed in-'capable of it, I waited on her 'majeſty the 3d of April 1710, 'and begged of her that ſhe 'would be pleaſed to give me a 'private hour, becauſe I had 'ſomething which I was deſirous 'of ſaying to her majeſty, be-'fore I went out of town. I 'named three ſeveral hours, in 'which I knew the queen uſed 'to be alone, but ſhe refuſed 'them all in a very unuſual and 'ſurpriſing manner; and at laſt 'ſhe herſelf appointed ſix o'clock 'the next day, the hour for 'prayers, when ſhe could leaſt 'of all expect to be at leiſure 'for any particular converſation. 'But even this ſmall favour, 'though promiſed, was not 'thought adviſeable to be gran-'ted by the new counſellors. 'For that night ſhe wrote a let-'ter to me, in which ſhe deſired 'me "to lay before her in writ-"ing what ever I had to ſay; "and to gratify myſelf in going "into the country as ſoon as I "could." I took the firſt op-'portunity of waiting upon the 'queen again, and uſed all the 'argu-

1710. thorough alienation of the queen's affections from the duchess, she was not yet divested of her employments; it being,

'arguments I could to obtain a 'private hour; alledging, that, 'when her majesty should hear 'what I had to say, she would 'herself perceive it impossible 'to put things of that nature 'into writing: that I was now 'going out of town for a great 'while, and perhaps should ne-'ver have occasion to give her a 'like trouble as long as I lived. 'The queen refused it several 'times in a manner hard to be 'described; but at last appoint-'ed the next day after dinner. 'Yet upon further consideration 'it was thought advisable to 'break this appointment; for 'the next morning she wrote to 'me, to let me know, that "she "should dine at Kensington, "and that she once more desired "me to put my thoughts into "writing." To this, I wrote 'an answer, begging, that her 'majesty would give me leave to 'follow her to Kinsington; and, 'that she might not apprehend 'a greater trouble than she 'would receive, I assured her 'majesty, that what I had to 'say, would not create any dis-'pute or uneasiness (it relating 'only to the clearing myself 'from some things, which I had 'heard had very wrongfully 'been laid to my charge) and 'could have no consequence, 'either in obliging her majesty 'to answer, or to see me oftener 'than would be easy to her: 'adding, that, if that after-'noon were not convenient, I 'could come every day, and 'wait till her majesty would 'please to allow me to speak to 'her. Upon the 6th of April, 'I followed this letter to Ken-'sington, and by that means 'prevented the queen's writing 'again to me, as she was pre-'paring to do. The page, who 'went in to acquaint the queen, 'that I was come to wait upon 'her, staid longer than usual; 'long enough, it is to be sup-'posed, to give time to delibe-'rate, whether the favour of 'admission should be granted, 'and to settle the measures of 'behaviour, if I were admitted. 'But at last he came out, and 'told me, I might go in. As 'I was entering, the queen said, 'she was just going to write to 'me. And, when I began to 'speak, she interrupted me four 'or five times with these repeat-'ed words, "whatever you have "to say, you may put it into "writing." I said, her majesty 'never did so hard a thing to 'any, as to refuse to hear them 'speak, and assured her, that I 'was not going to trouble her 'upon the subject, which I 'knew to be so ungrateful to 'her; but that I could not pos-'sibly rest, till I had cleared my-'self from some particular calum-'nies, with which I had been 'loaded. I then went on to 'speak (though the queen turn-'ed away her face from me) and 'to represent my hard case; 'that there were those about her 'majesty, who had made her 'believe, that I had said things 'of her, which I was no more 'capable of saying, than of kil-'ling my own children; that I 'seldom named her majesty in 'company

being, perhaps, not yet determined, who ſhould ſucceed her, 1710.
nor whether it were proper, that the duke of Marlborough ſhould

'company, and never without 'reſpect, and the like: the queen 'ſaid, "without doubt there "had been many lyes told." I 'then begged, in order to make 'this trouble the ſhorter, and 'my own innocence the plainer, 'that I might know the parti-'culars, of which I had been 'accuſed; becauſe, if I were 'guilty, that would quickly ap-'pear; and, if I were inno-'cent, this method only would 'clear me. The queen replied, 'that "ſhe would give me no "anſwer;" laying hold on a 'word in my letter, that what I 'had to ſay, in my own vindi-'cation; would have no conſe-'quence in obliging her majeſty 'to anſwer, &c. which ſurely 'did not at all imply, that I 'did not deſire to know the par-'ticular things laid to my charge, 'without which it was impoſſi-'ble for me to clear myſelf. 'This I aſſured her majeſty was 'all I deſired, and that I did not 'aſk the names of the authors or 'the relators of thoſe calumnies; 'ſaying all that I could think 'reaſonable to inforce my juſt 'requeſt. But the queen re-'peated again and again the 'words ſhe had uſed, without 'ever receding. And it is pro-'bable, that this converſation 'had never been conſented to, 'but that her majeſty had been 'carefully provided with thoſe 'words, as a ſhield to defend 'her againſt every reaſon I 'could offer. I proteſted to her 'majeſty, that I had no deſign, 'in giving her this trouble, to 'follicit the return of her fa-'vour; but that my ſole view 'was to clear myſelf, which 'was too juſt a deſign, to be 'wholly diſappointed by her 'majeſty: Upon this the queen 'offered to go out of the room, 'I followed her, and begging 'leave to clear myſelf; and the 'queen repeating over and over 'again, "you deſired no anſwer, "and ſhall have none." When 'ſhe came to the door, I fell in-'to great diſorder; ſtreams of 'tears flowed down againſt my 'will, and prevented my ſpeak-'ing for ſome time. At length 'I recovered myſelf, and ap-'pealed to the queen in the ve-'hemence of my concern, whe-'ther I might not ſtill have been 'happy in her majeſty's favour, 'if I could have contradicted or 'diſſembled my real opinion of 'men or things? whether I had 'offended in any thing, unleſs 'in a very zealous preſſing upon 'her that, which I thought ne-'ceſſary for her ſervice and ſe-'curity? I then ſaid, I was in-'formed by a very reaſonable 'and credible perſon about the 'court, that things were laid to 'my charge, of which I was 'wholly uncapable: that this 'perſon knew, that ſuch ſtories 'were perpetually told to her 'majeſty to incenſe her, and had 'begged of me to come and 'vindicate myſelf: that the ſame 'perſon had thought me of late 'guilty of ſome omiſſions to-'wards her majeſty, being in-'tirely ignorant how uneaſy to 'her my frequent attendance 'muſt be, after what had hap-'pened between us. I explain-'ed

1710. ſhould have that mortification, before the ſeaſon was fully ripe for the execution of the new ſcheme; though it now was greatly advanced, ſince the duke of Shrewſbury, who had voted for acquittal of Dr. Sacheverel, was ſoon after appointed lord-chamberlain, in the room of the marquis of Kent, who was made a duke. The duke of Shrewſbury

The duke of Shrewſbury made lord-chamberlain.

Burnet.

'ed ſome things, which I had 'heard her majeſty had taken a-'miſs of me; and then with a 'freſh flood of tears, and a con-'cern ſufficient to move compaſ-'ſion even were all love was ab-'ſent, I begged to know what 'other particulars ſhe had heard 'of me, that I might not be de-'nied all power of juſtifying 'myſelf. But ſtill the only re-'turn was, "you deſired, no "anſwer, and you ſhall have "none." I then begged to 'know if her majeſty would tell 'me ſome other time? — "you "deſired no anſwer, and you "ſhall have none." I then ap-'pealed to her majeſty again, if 'ſhe did not herſelf know, that 'I had often deſpiſed intereſt in 'compariſon of ſerving her faith-'fully, and doing right: and 'whether ſhe did not know me 'to be a temper uncapable of 'diſowning any thing, which 'I know to be true? — "you "deſired no anſwer, and you "ſhall have none." This uſage 'was ſo ſevere, and theſe words 'ſo often repeated, were ſo 'ſhocking (being an utter denial 'of common juſtice to one, 'who had been a moſt faithful 'ſervant, and now aſked no-'thing more) that I could not 'conquer myſelf, but ſaid the 'moſt diſreſpectful things I ever 'ſpoke to the queen in my life, 'and yet, what ſuch an occaſion, 'and ſuch circumſtances might, 'well excuſe, if not juſtify; and 'that was, "I was confident her "majeſty would ſuffer for ſuch "an inſtance of inhumanity." 'The queen anſwered, "that "will be to myſelf." Thus 'ended this remarkable conver-'ſation, the laſt I ever had with 'her majeſty. I ſhall make no 'comment upon it. The queen 'always meant well, how much 'ſoever ſhe might be blinded or 'miſguided. But in a letter, 'which I had from the duke 'of Marlborough about eight 'months before, there is ſome-'thing ſo pertinent to the pre-'ſent occaſion, that I cannot 'forbear tranſcribing the paſ-'ſage:'

Aug. 26, 1709.

"It has always been my ob-"ſervation in diſputes, eſpecial-"ly in that of kindneſs and "friendſhip, that all reproaches, "though ever ſo juſt, ſerve to "no end but making the breach "wider. I cannot help being "of opinion, that, however in-"ſignificant we may be, there is 'a power above, that puts a "period to our happineſs or un-"happineſs. If any body had "told me eight years ago, that "after ſuch great ſucceſs, and "after you had been a faithful "ſervant twenty-ſeven years, that "even in the queen's lifetime "we ſhould be obliged to ſeek "happineſs in a retired life, I "could not have believed that "poſſible."

had

had gone out of England, towards the end of the reign of king William, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer climate was neceſſary for his health. He ſtaid ſeveral years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman lady; who, upon his leaving Rome to return to England, went after him to Augſburg, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a proteſtant; upon which he married her there, and came with her back to England in 1706. Upon his return, the whigs lived in civilities with him; but they thought his leaving England, and his living ſo long out of it, while the nation was in ſo much danger, and his ſtrange marriage, gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. The duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin lived ſtill in friendſhip with him, and ſtudied to overcome the jealouſies, that the whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had adviſed king William to the change, which he made in his miniſtry towards the end of his reign. He ſeemed not to be concerned at the diſtance, in which he was kept from buſineſs; but, as was obſerved above, in the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, he left the whigs in every vote; and the change of his principles, which he had diſcovered by this, was imputed to a ſecret management between him and Mr. Harley with the new favourite. But, before the queen declared her intention for giving him the lord-chamberlain's ſtaff, ſhe thought fit, for form ſake, and perhaps to cover her further deſigns, to communicate her reſolution to the earl of Godolphin, who, being then at Newmarket, ſent a letter to the queen; to which her majeſty wrote, with her own hand, on the 13th of April the following anſwer: 1710.

The queen's letter about it to the earl of Godolphin.

" I am ſorry to find by your letter, you are ſo very much " in the ſpleen, as to think you cannot, for the future, " contribute any thing towards my quiet but your wiſhes. " However, I will ſtill hope you will uſe your endeavours. " Never was there more occaſion than now; for, by all one " hears and ſees every day, as things are at preſent, I think " one can expect nothing but confuſion. I am ſure, for " my part, I ſhall be ready to join with all my friends in " every thing, that is reaſonable, to allay the heat and fer- " ment, that is in this poor nation. Since you went to " Newmarket, I have received ſeveral aſſurances from the " duke of Shrewſbury of his readineſs to ſerve me upon all " occaſions, and his willingneſs to come into my ſervice; " which offer I was very glad to accept of; having a very " good opinion of him, and believing he may be of great

" uſe

1710. "uſe in theſe troubleſome times. For theſe reaſons I have "reſolved to part with the duke of Kent, who, I hope, "will be eaſy in this matter, by being made a duke; and, "I hope, that this change will meet with your approbation, which I wiſh I may ever have in all my actions. "I have not yet declared my intentions of giving the ſtaff "and the key to the duke of Shrewſbury, becauſe I would "be the firſt that ſhould acquaint you with it."

The earl's anſwer. The lord-treaſurer, who well underſtood the meaning, and foreſaw the conſequences of ſuch a change, wrote to the queen the following letter:

Newmarket, April 15, 1710.

"I have the honour of your majeſty's letter of the 13th, "by which I have the grief to find, that what you are "pleaſed to call ſpleen in my former letter, was only a true "impulſe and conviction of mind, that your majeſty is ſuf- "fering yourſelf to be guided to your own ruin and deſtruc- "tion, as faſt as it is poſſible for them to compaſs it, to "whom you ſeem ſo much to hearken.

"I am not therefore ſo much ſurprized, as concerned at "the reſolution, which your majeſty ſays you have taken, "of bringing in the duke of Shrewſbury. For when people "began to be ſenſible, it would be difficult to perſuade "your majeſty to diſſolve a parliament, which, for two "winters together, had given you above ſix millions a year "for the ſupport of a war, upon which your crown de- "pends; even while that war is ſtill ſubſiſting, they have "had the cunning to contrive this propoſal to your majeſty, "which, in its conſequence, will certainly put you under "a neceſſity of breaking the parliament, though contrary, "(I yet believe) to your mind and intention.

"I beg your majeſty to be perſuaded, I do not ſay this, "out of the leaſt prejudice to the duke of Shrewſbury. "There is no man, of whoſe capacity I have had a better "impreſſion; nor with whom I have lived more eaſily and "freely for above twenty years. Your majeſty may pleaſe "to remember, that, at your firſt coming to the crown, "I was deſirous he ſhould have had one of the chief poſts "in your ſervice; and it would have been happy for your "majeſty and the kingdom, if he had accepted that offer. "But he thought fit to decline it; and the reaſons gene- "rally given at that time for his doing ſo, do not much re- "commend him to your majeſty's ſervice. But I muſt en-

"deavour

" deavour to let your majeſty ſee things as they really are: 1710.
" and to bring him into your ſervice and into your buſineſs
" at this time, juſt after his being in a public open con-
" junction in every vote with the whole body of the tories,
" and in a private conſtant correſpondence and caballing
" with Mr. Harley in every thing, what conſequence can
" this poſſibly have, but to make every man, that is now
" in your cabinet-council, except ------, to run from it, as
" they would from the plague? And I leave it to your ma-
" jeſty to judge, what effect this intire change of your
" miniſters will have among your allies abroad; and how
" well this war is like to be carried on, in their opinion, by
" thoſe who have all along oppoſed, and obſtructed it, and
" who will like any peace the better, the more it leaves
" France at liberty to take their time of impoſing the pre-
" tender upon this country.

" Theſe conſiderations muſt certainly make Holland run
" immediately into a ſeparate peace with France, and make
" your majeſty loſe all the honour and all the reputation
" your arms had acquired by the war; and make the
" kingdom loſe all the fruits of that vaſt expence, which
" they have been at in this war, as well as all the advan-
" tage and ſafety, which they had ſo much need of, and
" had ſo fair a proſpect of obtaining by it. And can any
" body imagine, that, after ſo great a diſappointment to
" the kingdom, there will not be an inquiry into the cauſes
" of it; and who have been the occaſion of ſo great a change
" in your majeſty's meaſures and counſels, which had been
" ſo long ſucceſsful, and gotten you ſo great a name in
" the world? I am very much afraid your majeſty will
" find, when it is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult
" taſk for any body to ſtand againſt ſuch an inquiry. I
" am ſure, if I did not think all theſe conſequences in-
" evitable, I would never give your majeſty the trouble and
" uneaſineſs of laying them before you. But perſuaded
" as I am, that your majeſty will find them ſo, it is my
" indiſpenſable duty to do it out of pure faithfulneſs and
" zeal for your majeſty's ſervice and honour. Your ma-
" jeſty's having taken a reſolution of ſo much conſequence
" to all your affairs, both at home and abroad, without ac-
" quainting the duke of Marlborough or me with it, till
" after you had taken it, is the leaſt part of my mortifica-
" tion in this whole affair, though perhaps the world may
" think the long and faithful ſervices, we have conſtantly
" and zealouſly endeavoured to do your majeſty, might

" have

1710. "have deſerved a little more conſideration. However, for "my own part, I moſt humbly beg leave to aſſure your "majeſty, I will never give the leaſt obſtruction to your "meaſures, or to any miniſters you ſhall pleaſe to employ. "And I muſt beg further, to make two humble requeſts "to your majeſty: the one, that you will allow me to "paſs the remainder of my life always out of London, "where I may find moſt eaſe and quiet. The other, that "you would keep this letter, and read it again about next "Chriſtmas, and then be pleaſed to make your own judg- "ment, who hath given you the beſt and moſt faithful "advice."

This letter made no impreſſion upon the queen, who, two days before ſhe received it, being already fixed in her choice, delivered, on the 14th of April, the ſtaff and key to the duke of Shrewſbury, who gave the miniſters very poſitive aſſurances, that his principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt reign, and were in no reſpect altered. Upon which he deſired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for ſuſpicion.

The earl of Sunderland diſmiſſed. Cond. of d. of Marl.

About the beginning of June, the deſign of turning out the earl of Sunderland from the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, began to be talked of. As ſoon as this deſign reached the duke of Marlborough, who was then abroad at the head of the army, he wrote a very moving letter to the queen, repreſenting the very ill conſequences it would neceſſarily have upon all affairs abroad, to have his ſon-in-law, againſt whoſe fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the allies had ſo intire a confidence, turned out of her ſervice in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his paſt ſervices, that ſhe would at leaſt delay her reſolution till the campaign was ended. The ducheſs of Marlborough was likewiſe urged by ſome friends to try to ſay ſomething, to divert, if poſſible, ſuch a ſtroke; becauſe it was given out, that the queen would do this chiefly on the ducheſs's account, that ſhe might feel the effects of her diſpleaſure in ſo ſenſible and tender a point. No conſideration, proper to herſelf, could have induced the ducheſs to trouble the queen again after that laſt converſation: but ſhe was overcome by the conſideration of the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Sunderland, and the public intereſt, and wrote to the queen, on the 7th of June, 1710, begging, for the duke of Marlborough's ſake, that her majeſty would

would not give him ſuch a blow, of which ſhe dreaded the conſequence; putting her majeſty in mind of her letter about the duke, upon the victory at Blenheim; and adding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that ſhe had not ſo much as a wiſh to remove Mrs. Maſham; and that all the noiſe, which had been about an addreſs for that purpoſe, had been occaſioned by the duke of Marlborough's diſcontents at that time. To this the queen wrote a very ſhort and harſh anſwer, complaining, that the ducheſs had broke her promiſe of not ſaying any thing of politics or of Mrs. Maſham, and concluding, that it was plain from this ill uſage, what ſhe was to expect for the future. The ducheſs upon this wrote a ſecond letter, in which ſhe aſſured her majeſty, that ſhe ſhould not have troubled her with the firſt, but that ſhe had heard it reported, that the perſecution, begun againſt the duke of Marlborough and his family, was chiefly occaſioned by her majeſty's diſpleaſure and averſion to her, as having promoted an addreſs againſt Mrs. Maſham: that it was only to vindicate herſelf from that aſperſion, that ſhe had preſumed to trouble her majeſty: that ſhe could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence, to vindicate herſelf from what was now made the pretence for turning out the earl of Sunderland, and puſhing the duke of Marlborough to extremities: that ſhe had no reaſon to think, that the aſſuring her majeſty, that ſhe would never have any hand in any thing againſt Mrs. Maſham, could have been conſtrued as an ungrateful ſpeaking about her, or called a continuation of ill uſage: that ſhe thought this was rather a complying with her majeſty's inclination, and ſaying what ſhe could not but approve: that all the politics in her letter was her concern for the duke; making it her laſt requeſt, that her majeſty would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This (ſhe added) ſhe begged upon her knees, and left her majeſty to judge, whether, after ſuch an expreſſion, it was likely that ſhe ſhould ever enter into any thing that could diſpleaſe her. 1710.

Whether the ducheſs's interfering in this matter, haſtened the execution of the deſign, is not known; but it is certain, that it did not retard it, for lord Sunderland was, on the 14th of June, diſmiſſed the office, and the ſeals given, the next day, to the lord Dartmouth, one of the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations, and ſon-in-law to the earl of Nottingham. On this occaſion ſeveral great men, who wiſhed well to their country, and who feared that the duke of Marlborough might, in diſguſt, quit the ſervice, The lord Dartmouth made ſecretary of ſtate.

1710. immediately wrote him a joint-letter in the following terms:

My lord, July 14, 1710.

"We ſhould not have given your grace the trouble of "this joint-letter, but for the great concern and uneaſineſs "in which we find you, on account of my lord Sunder- "land, by your letter of the 20th to my lord-treaſurer, "which he has communicated to us. That letter, as mov- "ing and reaſonable as it was, has not hindered the ſeals "from being taken this morning from my lord Sunder- "land. No wonder then, if the utmoſt endeavours, which "could be uſed to prevent it, and the ſtrong arguments, "which have been made of the ill conſequences that muſt "attend ſuch ſteps, both at home and abroad, have met "with ſo little ſucceſs. We find ourſelves ſo much afflicted "with this misfortune, that we cannot but be extremely "ſenſible of the great mortification this muſt give you at "this critical juncture, when you are every moment ha- "zarding your life in the ſervice of your country, and whilſt "the fate of Europe depends, in ſo great a degree, on your "conduct and good ſucceſs: but we are alſo as fully con- "vinced, that it is impoſſible for your grace to quit the "ſervice at this time, without the utmoſt hazard to the "whole alliance. And we muſt therefore conjure you, "by the glory you have already obtained, by the many ſer- "vices you have done your queen and country, by the ex- "pectation you have juſtly raiſed in all Europe, and by "all that is dear and tender to you at home, whoſe chief "dependence is upon your ſucceſs, that you would not "leave this great work unfiniſhed, but continue at the "head of the army. This we look upon as the moſt ne- "ceſſary ſtep that can be taken to prevent the diſſolution "of this parliament. Your grace's compliance with this "our earneſt requeſt would be the greateſt obligation to us, "and all that wiſh well to our country. And you may de- "pend upon it, that the contrary will be the greateſt ſatiſ- "faction to your enemies." (f)

(f) This letter was ſubſcribed by,

Cowper,	Devonſhire,
Godolphin,	Orford,
Sommers,	Halliſax,
Newcaſtle,	H. Boyle.

The

The high-church party were much pleaſed and elated upon this alteration, which they looked upon as a ſure forerunner of greater changes; "extolling the queen for aſſerting her juſt prerogative, and ſetting herſelf free from an arbitrary junto, who kept her in an inglorious dependence on their will and caprice." And it was ſaid, the duke of Beaufort, being about this time come to court to pay his reſpects to her majeſty, told her, "That he was extremely glad he could now ſalute her queen." On the other hand, the whigs were the more alarmed, as the beſt part of their wealth was lodged in the exchequer and public funds; and, as they rightly conſidered, that the removal of the earl of Sunderland was but a ſtep to come at the lord-treaſurer, in whoſe capacity, punctuality, and integrity, the monied men repoſed an intire confidence; and they foreſaw, that his being laid aſide would very much affect the public credit, as it immediately did. Whereupon, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, governor of the bank of England; Nathaniel Gould, deputy-governor; Francis Eyles and Sir William Scawen, two of the directors, made their application to the duke of Newcaſtle, lord privy-ſeal, to whom, having repreſented the dangers likely to attend the change of the miniſtry, the duke introduced them to the queen, who told them, "That ſhe, for ſome time before, had reſolved to remove the earl of Sunderland for particular reaſons of ſtate; but that ſhe had not yet determined to make any other changes; and, whenever ſhe ſhould, ſhe would take care that the public credit might not be injured thereby." Upon this it was reported, the queen had declared, ſhe deſigned to make no more alterations in the miniſtry, which immediately reſtored the public funds to their former value; but they ſoon began to fall again, and many foreigners withdrew their effects from England, upon a ſtrong report, that not only the lord-treaſurer would be laid aſide, but even the parliament diſſolved.

1710.

The tories elated at this change. Hiſt. of Eur.

The whigs alarmed at it.

The bank interpoſe in favour of the miniſtry.

The queen's allies, and particularly the emperor and the ſtates, were very attentive to what paſſed in Great-Britain; and being apprehenſive that the duke of Marlborough would either be removed, or ſo far diſguſted, as to lay down his command, which might bring a great prejudice to the common cauſe, count Gallas, the imperial miniſter, and monſieur de Vryberg, the Dutch envoy, were directed, in a moſt reſpectful manner, to repreſent to the queen, what ill influence the changing of the miniſtry might have on affairs abroad. In anſwer to their memorials, count Gallas was

The emperor and the ſtates interpoſe likewiſe.

1710. told, that he might aſſure the emperor, "whatever changes "the queen deſigned to make, ſhe had reſolved to continue "the duke of Marlborough in his employments; and de- "ſired prince Eugene and the other imperial generals and "plenipotentiaries might act with him, with the ſame con- "fidence as before." The anſwer, which was given to Vryberg, was kept a ſecret; however, it was ſaid, the queen put a favourable conſtruction on the interpoſition of the ſtates, in favour of the miniſtry, looking upon it as the effect of their zeal for the common cauſe, and the confidence they repoſed in the duke of Marlborough's conduct. Theſe interpoſitions were repreſented by thoſe, who had never been verſed in the negotiations of princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the queen's councils; though nothing is more common than for princes to offer mutual advices (g).

The French infert the earl of Sunderland's removal in their Gazette.

The queen had no ſooner begun to change her miniſtry, by diſplacing the earl of Sunderland, than the French were attentive how to turn it to their advantage. The earl's removal was quickly inſerted in the Paris Gazette, with the particular notice, that he was ſon-in-law to the duke of Marlborough. Their other news-papers were likewiſe filled with all the domeſtic feuds and conteſts of the parties in Great-Britain; which were related with an air of triumph, and helped very much to raiſe the ſpirits of the French.

The earl of Godolphin diſmiſſed. Cond. of d. of Marl.

On the 8th of Auguſt, the very day after the queen had expreſſed her deſire to the earl of Godolphin himſelf, that he would continue in her ſervice, ſhe diſmiſſed him; and her letter of order to him to break his ſtaff, was ſent by no worthier a meſſenger than a man in a livery, to be left with

(g) The Dutch, as well as the bank, were ſeverely reflected upon by the tories, for intermeddling in an affair of this nature; and, at the ſame time, they handed about a harſh anſwer, which they pretended the queen gave to Vryberg's memorial: "I am ſurprized a matter of "this kind ſhould come from "the ſtates. It is the greateſt "inſult that ever was offered to "the crown of England. How- "ever, it ſhall not leſſen my "eſteem of my allies, nor alter "my reſolution in my own af- "fairs." Thoſe, who framed this anſwer, had forgot that the queen had interpoſed at the court of Vienna, in favour of the emperor's proteſtant ſubjects, and that the parliament had deſired her to apply to the emperor, for ſending prince Eugene to command in Spain.

his

his lordſhip's porter (h). The queen indeed confeſſed to 1710.
thoſe, who expoſtulated with her upon this occaſion, "That "ſhe was ſorry for it, but could not help it." The next day it was declared, that the queen had appointed earl Paulet, Mr. Robert Harley, Mr. Henry Paget, Sir Thomas Manſel, and Mr. Robert Benſon, commiſſioners of the treaſury. Though lord Paulet was the firſt in form, Mr. Harley was the perſon with whom the ſecret was lodged; and it was viſible, he was the chief miniſter, being at the ſame time made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Smith, who was afterwards made a teller of the exchequer. And now it appeared, that a total change of the miniſtry, and the diſſolution of the parliament were reſolved on.

In the mean while Dr. Sacheverel, being preſented to a benefice in North-Wales, went down to take poſſeſſion of it: as he paſſed through the counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by ſuch numbers, and entertained with ſuch magnificence, that our princes in their progreſſes have not been more run after than he was. Great fury and violence appeared on many occaſions, tho' care was taken to give his followers no ſort of provocation: he was looked on as the champion of the church; and he ſhewed as much inſolence on that occaſion, as his party did folly (i). No notice was taken by the government of all theſe

Sacheverel's progreſs into Wales.

(h) Boyer and others ſay, the duke of Somerſet was ſent to demand the treaſurer's ſtaff.

(i) The particulars of this progreſs more at large were as follows: he went from London, about the middle of May, to Oxford, with a numerous attendance, and was welcomed and magnificently entertained by the earl of Abingdon; Mr. Charles Bertie, fellow of All-Souls college; Mr. Rowney, one of the members of parliament for that city; the vice-chancellor, the heads of houſes, and moſt perſons of diſtinction in the univerſity. Here he continued the remainder of that month; and, on Thurſday the firſt of June, ſet out, and came that night to Banbury, where the mayor, recorder, and corporation, in their robes and formalities, with their mace before them, attended him at his inn, congratulated him upon his deliverance, making him a preſent of wine; and, in the evening, there were bone-fires, ringing of bells, and all public expreſſions of joy. The next day, the doctor dined at the lord Willoughby's; and, from thence went forward to Warwick, being met at a diſtance from the town by a body of horſe, who conducted him in. The mayor and aldermen, with a great number of the gentry and inhabitants of that place, paid their

1710. theſe tumultuous proceedings; they were rather encouraged than checked. All this was like a prelude to a greater ſcene, which was to be acted at court.

The

reſpects to him at his inn, preſented him with wine, and would have entertained him the day following; which he declined, and went that night to the lord Craven's, and continued ſome days in that county. On the 12th of June, he was entertained at dinner by Sir William Boughton, together with the lord Willoughby, lord Craven, and divers other gentlemen and clergymen, who came to expreſs their great joy and ſatisfaction to ſee the doctor. Some days after he continued his progreſs, and, on the 23d, went through Wrexham, in the way to his living at Salatin, being met within a mile of the town by moſt of the gentlemen in the county, and others, to the number of about two thouſand. He lay that night at the houſe of George Shakerley, eſq; and, next day, the chancellor of the dioceſe gave orders for his inſtitution and induction, which was performed ſome days after. The doctor having been invited to Shrewſbury, he went thither the 3d of July, being met at Momford-bridge, three miles from the town, by Corbet Kinaſton, eſq; Mr. Owen, Mr. Creſſet, Mr. Creſwell, Mr. Mitton, and all the neighbouring gentlemen and others, and was conducted to Shrewſbury by about five hundred horſe. After he had been nobly entertained there, he went to Mr. Owen's at Condover, where he was alſo magnificently treated; and then proceeded to Bridgnorth, in which place he could not fail making a pompous entry, Mr. R. Creſwell, jun. a profeſſed jacobite, who deſigned to ſtand for member of parliament for that place, having ſent a circular letter to the clergy round about, and others who were well-wiſhers to the doctor's doctrine, deſiring them to accompany him into town, and favour him with their company at dinner. According to this invitation, moſt of the neighbouring clergy and gentlemen repaired to Bridgnorth on the 5th of July; ſo that, when Dr. Sacheverel came near the town, he was met by Mr. Creſwell, at the head of about four thouſand horſe, and near three thouſand foot, moſt of them with white knots, edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats; the hedges, two miles from the town, being dreſſed with flowers, and lined with people, and the two ſteeples adorned with fifty pounds worth of flags and colours. The doctor being likewiſe invited to Ludlow, he repaired thither the 7th of July, being met by great numbers of men on horſeback, and a vaſt multitude on foot, with drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and colours flying; and, being conducted to the apartment prepared for him, was moſt magnificently entertained. But this was the laſt ſtage of the doctor's triumph; for, expecting to be received at Worceſter with the ſame honours and reſpects, which had been paid him in other places, he ſet

out

The queen in September came to council, and called for a proclamation to diſſolve the parliament, which Sir Simon Harcourt (made attorney-general in the room of Sir James Montague, who had quitted that poſt) had prepared. When it was read, the lord-chancellor Cowper offered to ſpeak; but the queen riſing up would admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new parliament to be got ready. About the ſame time ſhe diſmiſſed the lord Sommers, and, in his room, made the earl of Rocheſter lord-preſident of the council. She ſent to the duke of Devonſhire for the lord-ſteward's ſtaff, and gave it to the duke of Buckingham. Mr. Boyle was removed from the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Henry St. John had the ſeals. The earl of Derby was diſmiſſed from being chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and was ſucceeded by the lord Berkley. Upon all theſe removes, the lord-chancellor came, on the 23d of September, and delivered up the great ſeal. The queen did not expect this, and was ſurprized at it; and, not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe, with unuſual earneſtneſs, preſſed him to keep it one day longer. The day following, having conſidered the matter with her favourites Mrs. Maſham and Mr. Harley, ſhe received it very readily. At firſt ſhe committed it to the cuſtody of three lords-commiſſioners, Sir Thomas Trevor, chief-juſtice of the common-pleas; Mr. Robert Tracy, judge of the ſame court; and Mr. Scroop, baron of the exchequer in Scotland; but it was ſoon after given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton delivered up his commiſſion of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which was given to the duke of Ormond (k). The earl of Orford,

1710.

The parliament diſſolved, and other changes in the miniſtry. Burnet.

out from Ludlow, in order to repair thither, but met with ſome ſlights and affronts in ſome towns through which he had paſſed. His diſappointment and mortification were ſtill more remarkable at Worceſter, Dr. Lloyd, biſhop of that ſee, having given expreſs orders to the clergy of his dioceſe againſt paying any reſpect to the doctor; which were punctually obeyed.

(k) The lord Wharton had held a parliament at Dublin before he reſigned, which he had opened the 19th of May, with a ſpeech, recommending union among themſelves, and a zeal for the proteſtant intereſt and proteſtant ſucceſſion. But this did not hinder the enemies to both from defacing the ſtatue of king William, on the 25th of June, which had been erected by the city of Dublin, after the battle of the Boyne. They twiſted the ſword that was in one hand, wreſted the truncheon out of the other, daubed the face with dirt, and offered it other indignities. The

1710. Orford, first commissioner of the admiralty, withdrew from that board; but the other four commissioners, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Mr. Dodington, and Mr. Methuen, were continued; to whom were added Sir William Drake and Mr. Aislaby. Mr. George Granville, a near relation of the earl of Bath, was appointed secretary at war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and Mr. Manley was made surveyor-general, in the room of Mr. Samuel Travers; and Mr. Arthur Moore was made one of the lords-commissioners of trade and plantations. Mr. Robert Raymond, an eminent lawyer of Gray's-inn, was appointed sollicitor-general, in the room of Mr. Eyre, who, on the 5th of May,

address, on this occasion, of the commons of Ireland, deserves to be remembered; after taking notice of the lord Wharton's concern for their preservation from the enemies of their happy establishment, who envied their late glorious sovereign the honour of a statue, erected as a testimony how much was owing to their deliverer from popery and slavery. They added, 'His 'memory must ever be dear to 'all men, except those who de'sire to bring our religion, lives, 'and properties, into the same 'dangers from which his courage 'and conduct so bravely and 'seasonably rescued us. And 'such we unanimously declare 'all those to be, who, on any 'pretence whatsoever, endea'voured to reflect on the justice 'of the late happy revolution, 'the memory of God's great in'strument in effecting it, or the 'necessary means made use of 'in bringing it about. Had 'their important rancour and 'malice fully accomplished their 'design, by entirely demolish'ing and destroying that monu'ment of our gratitude; yet are 'we persuaded his glorious name 'would always be distinguished 'with honour, and continued 'dear to a people delivered, by 'him, from popish superstition 'and French slavery; and to 'whose reign we are indebted 'for those inestimable laws, 'which exclude all popish suc'cessors, and settle the crown 'upon our most gracious queen, 'and the heirs of her body, 'being protestants; and, for 'want of such issue, on the most 'illustrious house of Hanover: 'so that if we have any true re'gard for her majesty's title, for 'our most holy religion, or for 'our civil liberties, we cannot 'sufficiently acknowledge your 'excellency's most generous care, 'to detect so base and barbarous 'a fact; nor omit any opportu'nity of expressing our detesta'tion of those, whose repeated 'indignities, offered to the me'mory of our great deliverer, 'are sufficient indications of their 'being enemies to our happy 'constitution in church and 'state, and of their affection to 'the pretender.' The city of Dublin caused the statue to be repaired, for which they had the thanks of the house of commons.

had

had kiſſed the queen's hand, and been knighted, in order to be made one of the judges of the queen's bench, in the room of Sir Henry Gould, deceaſed; and Sir Edward Northey was made attorney-general. Dr. Robinſon, dean of Windſor, who of late had grown into great confidence with Mr. Harley, was nominated to ſucceed Dr. Hall deceaſed, in the biſhopric of Briſtol; and Dr. Byſſe to ſucceed Dr. Bull, deceaſed, in the ſee of St. David's. The duke of Hamilton was appointed lord-lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaſter; the earl of Portmore was made commander in chief of her majeſty's forces in Portugal, in the room of the earl of Galway; the lord Windſor advanced to the poſt of lieutenant-general; and general Webb made governor of the Iſle of Wight. 1710.

So ſudden and ſo intire a change in the miniſtry is ſcarce to be found in our hiſtory, eſpecially where men of great abilities had ſerved with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that the adminiſtration of all affairs, both at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raiſed the admiration of all Europe. All this roſe purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the queen's perſonal diſtaſte to the old ones. The queen was much delighted with all theſe changes, and ſeemed to think ſhe was freed from the chains, which the old miniſtry held her in. She ſpoke of it to ſeveral perſons as a captivity, which ſhe had been long under. The duke of Somerſet had very much alienated the queen's mind from the old miniſtry; but he was ſo diſpleaſed with the diſſolution of the parliament, and the new model of the miniſtry, that, though he continued ſome time maſter of the horſe, he refuſed to ſit any more in council, and complained openly of the artifices, which had been uſed to make him inſtrumental to other people's deſigns.

On the 28th of September, the queen went to Hampton-court, having the ſame day ordered the ſeals to be put to a commiſſion for renewing the lieutenancy of the city of London; in which ſeveral whigs, who were in the former, were left out, and tories put in their places. This new commiſſion was chiefly deſigned, both to prevent Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an alderman near the chair, and governor of the bank (who had given offence to the court, by his application to the queen in favour of the late miniſtry) from being choſen lord-mayor, and to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the high-church party in the election of parliament-men for the capital city, which generally has a great influence

The lieutenancy of London changed.

1710. influence upon other elections. But that commiſſion was opened too late to have the intended effect; for, the election for a lord-mayor coming on the 29th of September, according to cuſtom, the majority appeared for Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Sir Robert Beachcroſt; and though a poll was demanded, and great intereſt made by the tory-party for Sir Richard Hoare, yet the two firſt had the majority of voices; and, being, on the 5th of October, returned by the common-hall, the court of aldermen, on the 11th, choſe Sir Gilbert Heathcote lord-mayor for the year enſuing, but in this point he had but common juſtice done him, there having been an agreement, made ſome years before between the aldermen of London, to chuſe him, who was next the chair, to prevent animoſities and diſputes. On the 10th of October the queen's commiſſion for a new lieutenancy was opened at Guild-Hall, when Sir Samuel Garrard, then lord-mayor, Sir Francis Child, Sir John Parſons, Sir Robert Bedingfield, Sir William Withers, and Sir Richard Hoare, were choſen colonels of the ſix city-regiments. About a fortnight after the new lieutenancy of London preſented an addreſs to the queen, who took that opportunity to deſire them, "as they had great fortunes of their own, that they "would uſe their endeavours to ſupport the public credit." It was expected, that this recommendation would have had a good effect, and engaged the tory-party in the city, either to advance money to the government, or to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the public funds. But neither of theſe happened; and ſo the bank, Eaſt-India, annuities, and other ſtocks continued ſinking, which gave the miniſtry no ſmall uneaſineſs; the rather, becauſe ſome bills of exchange, drawn from Genoa for remittances into Spain, happend at this juncture to be proteſted. Mr. Harley, the new chancellor of the exchequer, ſent his agents into the city, who found means to engage ſeveral rich merchants and bankers, particularly Mr. John Lambert, a French refugee, to ſupply the urgent neceſſities of the government.

Oct. 23.

The elections of parliament-men.

By this time the election for parliament-men were over in ſeveral places; and by the firſt returns it appeared, that, amongſt the new members, the number of the whigs was near equal with that of the tories; which, as was then given out, anſwered the expectation and deſires of the new managers. For having gained their chief aim, which was to remove the late lord treaſurer and his friends, it was by many believed, that they deſigned to carry things even between both parties; and therefore wiſhed only for ſuch a majority

majority of the high-church in the houſe of commons, as might countenance the new ſcheme; and whom, on the other hand, they might eaſily check by means of their own creatures, if an unſeaſonable zeal for the church ſhould prompt them to make any motions againſt the toleration. If this was the real intention of the new miniſtry, or of Mr. Harley in particular, the chief author of the late changes; it ſoon appeared, that they were either miſtaken in their computation, or diſappointed in their wiſhes; and the new members of the high-church party far out-numbered thoſe of the contrary ſide; which, beſides the influence of the court, was owing to ſeveral other cauſes. For, in the firſt place, many of the whig gentlemen, who either could not be induced to believe, that the laſt parliament would be diſſolved, till the blow was given; or who, in caſe of a diſſolution, thought themſelves ſecure of being re-choſen, had neglected making an intereſt; whilſt thoſe, who deſigned to oppoſe them, had early taken all the neceſſary meaſures to carry their point. Secondly, the ferment, raiſed by Dr. Sacheverel's trial, was now rather increaſed than abated, being induſtriouſly fomented and propagated throughout the kingdom, in order to influence elections; which it did effectually, and in a more viſible manner, in the cities and boroughs, through which that divine had made his triumphant progreſs in the ſummer. Thirdly, all the inferior clergy, a few excepted, thinking themſelves attacked through the ſides of Dr. Sacheverel, were more than ordinarily zealous and diligent in promoting the intereſt of ſuch, as they thought beſt affected to the church; not only without any regard to the neceſſary qualifications of perſonal merit or eſtate in the candidates, but in ſeveral inſtances, in breach of the common duties of gratitude, ſtrenuouſly oppoſing their very patrons and benefactors. Beſides a courſe, for ſome months, of very inflaming ſermons, they went about from houſe to houſe, preſſing their people to ſhew, on this great occaſion, their zeal for the church, and now or never to ſave it. They alſo told them, in what ill hands the queen had been kept, as in captivity; and that it was a charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the power, which the late miniſtry exerciſed over her. In the laſt place, there was a vaſt concourſe of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themſelves in ſo boiſterous a manner, that it was not ſafe, and in many places not poſſible, for thoſe, who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a whig. Open violence was uſed in ſeveral places. This was

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1710. ſo general through the whole kingdom, all at the ſame time, that it was viſible, that the thing had been concerted for ſome time, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The influence of the mob was, in a particular manner, remarkable in the election for the city of Weſtminſter; where Mr. Medlicot and Mr. Croſs being ſet up by the high-church party, ſome of thoſe, who offered to give their voices for their competitors, general Stanhope and Sir Henry Dutton Colt, were knocked down and wounded, which obliged many of their party to return home without polling; ſo the two firſt candidates had a vaſt majority. The whigs expected, that the election of the city of London would balance that of Weſtminſter; and, indeed, the firſt day of the poll, their candidates had a conſiderable advantage; but ſuch induſtry was uſed by the then lord-mayor and the aldermen of the high-church party, in bringing many citizens upon the livery, and engaging their votes, that, upon cloſing the books, Sir William Withers, Sir Richard Hoare, Sir George Newland, and Mr. John Caſs, all four of that party, having the majority of votes, were declared duly elected. After the poll was ended, there were extraordinary rejoicing throughout the city, by illuminations, bone-fires, ringing of bells, &c. and the tumultuous mob were ſo exalted and enraged againſt thoſe, who ſeemed not to partake in the public joy, that they broke all the windows they ſaw unlighted, without diſtinction; ſo that many houſes of the church-party were damaged, as well as thoſe of the whigs, and in particular that of Sir Richard Hoare, one of the four, for whoſe ſakes theſe rejoicings were made. Some days before, the mob was guilty of a ſtill greater inſtance of outrage; for, as Sir Gilbert Heathcote, one of the whig candidates, and lord-mayor elect, was going out of Guild-Hall, they not only inſulted him with reproachful language, but one of them ſpit in his face.

Though the tories had boaſted, that none of the managers againſt Dr. Sacheverel would be rechoſen members of parliament; yet, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours, that were uſed to prevent it, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Sir Peter King, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, were returned; as was alſo general Stanhope for Cockermouth, though he loſt his election at Weſtminſter: however, there were few whigs returned, againſt whom petitions were not offered; there were in all about a hundred, and, by the firſt ſteps after the meeting of the parliament, the majority made it appear,

pear, that they intended to clear the houſe of all who were ſuſpected to be of that party. As for the elections in Scotland, the ſixteen peers returned were the dukes of Hamilton and Athol; the marquis of Annandale; the earls of Mareſchal, Eglington, Mar, Loudoun, Hume, Kinoule, Northeſke, Orkney, Roſeberry, Ilay; the lord viſcount Kelſythe; and the lord Balmerino and Blantyre. And the elections of the commons were much upon an equal foot between whigs and tories. 1710.

On the 30th of October, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, lord-mayor of London, was, according to cuſtom, ſworn at the exchequer in Weſtminſter; but the pageantry, and ſome other parts of the uſual ſolemnity, were omitted, as he well knew, he was not acceptable to the common people, ſome of whom were ſo bold as to inſult him in the cavalcade. On the 6th of November, the queen came from Hampton-Court to St. James's palace, where, the next day, ſhe kept the general thankſgiving, for the ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign, in her royal chapel.

Two days after, a remarkable advertiſement, ſigned Henry St. John, was publiſhed in the London Gazette, importing, "that, ſome evil-deſigning perſons having unſcrewed "and taken away ſeveral iron bolts out of the great timbers of the weſt roof of the cathedral church of St. "Paul, her majeſty, for the better diſcovery of the offenders, was pleaſed to promiſe her moſt gracious pardon, "and a reward of fifty pounds, to any perſon concerned "therein, who ſhould diſcover his accomplices." This advertiſement occaſioned the report of a plot to deſtroy the queen and the court, by the fall of the roof of St. Paul's, on the thankſgiving-day, when it was ſuppoſed her majeſty would have gone thither; which pretended ſcrew-plot (as it was afterwards called) many of the tories and emiſſaries of the new miniſtry were ready enough to charge upon the whigs. But upon enquiry it appeared, that the miſſing of the iron pins was owing to the neglect of ſome workmen, who thought the timbers ſufficiently faſtened without them. A remarkable advertiſement.

The parliament being met on the 25th of November, the commons, by direction from the throne, proceeded to the choice of a ſpeaker, which, as it was generally expected, fell, without any oppoſition, on Mr. Bromley. He had, for many years paſt, been choſen member for the univerſity of Oxford; was ſure of all the votes of the church-party, of which he had been one of the moſt conſtant and reſolute Third parliament of Great-Britain. Pr. H. C. Mr. Bromley choſen Speaker.

1710. ſolute leaders, particularly in the two firſt parliaments of this reign, when he brought in, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported, the occaſional conformity bill. Sir Thomas Hanmar and Mr. Smith, formerly ſpeaker, and another members were at firſt propoſed; but this was only to try the temper of the houſe; for, as ſoon as Mr. Bromley was named, the general voice was for him. The queen, being, on the 27th of November, come to the houſe of peers, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My Lords and gentlemen,

The queen's ſpeech. "I Have; by calling this parliament, made appear the confidence I place in the duty and affections of my "ſubjects; and I meet you here with the greateſt ſatisfac- "tion, having no reaſon to doubt, but that I ſhall find ſuch "returns, as will add new life to our friends, and intirely "diſappoint the hopes of our enemies.

"To this end I ſhall recommend to you what is abſo- "lutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

"The carrying on the war in all its parts, but particu- "larly in Spain, with the utmoſt vigour, is the likelieſt "means, with God's bleſſing, to procure a ſafe and ho- "nourable peace for us and all our allies, whoſe ſupport "and intereſt I have truly at heart.

"For this purpoſe I muſt aſk from you, gentlemen of "the houſe of commons, the neceſſary ſupplies for the next "year's ſervice: and let me put you in mind, that nothing "will add ſo much to their efficacy, as unanimity and "diſpatch.

"I cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that "the navy, and other offices, are burthened with heavy "debts, which ſo far affect the public ſervice, that I moſt "earneſtly deſire you to find ſome way to anſwer thoſe de- "mands, and to prevent the like for the time to come: "the juſtice of parliament, in ſatisfying former engage- "ments, being the certain way for preſerving and eſtabliſh- "ing national credit.

"I am ſenſibly touched with what my people ſuffer by "this long and expenſive war, to which, when it ſhall "pleaſe God to put an end, the flouriſhing condition of "my ſubjects ſhall be as much my care, as their ſafety is at "preſent.

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My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes both of friends and enemies are upon you. "The way to give ſpirit to the one, and to defeat the reſt- "leſs malice of the other, is to proceed in ſuch manner, as "becomes a Britiſh parliament.

"I ſhall, in the plaineſt words, tell you my intention; "and I do this with the greateſt ſatisfaction, becauſe I de- "pend upon their being agreeable to you.

"I am reſolved to ſupport and encourage the church of "of England, as by law eſtabliſhed:

"To preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution, according to the "union: and to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to "ſcrupulous conſciences.

"And, that all theſe may be tranſmitted to poſterity, I "ſhall employ none but ſuch, as are heartily for the pro- "teſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, the intereſt of "which family no perſon can be more truly concerned for "than myſelf.

"Theſe are my reſolutions; and your concurrence with "me in a ſteady purſuit of them, will beſt manifeſt your "zeal for our religion, for the intereſt of our country, for "your own ſafety, and for my honour."

The queen, in this ſpeech (the ſentiments whereof were ſuppoſed to come from Mr. Harley) took no notice of the ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign, as ſhe had always done in her former ſpeeches; and it was much obſerved, that, inſtead of promiſing to maintain the toleration, ſhe had, in Sacheverel's language, ſaid, ſhe would maintain the indulgence, granted by law, to ſcrupulous conſciences. The lords preſented an addreſs of an odd compoſition to the queen, which ſhewed, it was not drawn by thoſe who had penned their former addreſſes. Inſtead of promiſing, they would do all that was poſſible towards a vigorous proſecution of the war, in order to an honourable peace; they only promiſed to concur in all reaſonable meaſures to that end, which ſeemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreaſonable things might be aſked of them. The concluſion alſo was in a very cold ſtrain of rhetoric: for they ended with ſaying, 'They had no more to add.' The commons were more hearty in their addreſs, and, in the end of it, reflected on ſome late practices againſt the church and ſtate, in theſe words: The lords addreſs. Pr. H. L. Vol. II. Burnet.

"Theſe

1710. "These are the ends (namely, prosecution of the war, "safety of the church, indulgence to scrupulous consciences, "preservation of the union, adherence to the protestant "succession) truly worthy your majesty's pursuit; and we "do, with all humanity, represent to your majesty, that "the most effectual way to give spirit to your friends, "and defeat the restless malice of your enemies, will be, "by discountenancing all persons of such principles, and "avoiding all measures of such tendency, as may weaken "your majesty's title and government, the settlement of "the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover, and ad- "vance the hopes of the pretender; and all other princi- "ples and measures, that have lately threatened your royal "crown and dignity, which, whenever they prevail, will "prove fatal to our whole constitution, both in church and "state."

The addres of the commons. Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

But this address had but little or no effect in relation to the public funds; most of the whigs end monied men, being still uneasy, whilst the doctrines of absolute passive obedience and of hereditary right, wholly inconsistent with the late revolution and the Hanover succession, were countenanced; not to mention their just apprehensions, that the duke of Marlborough would be either laid aside, or made so uneasy, as to be obliged to resign his command. This jealousy was increased upon what happened; on the 28th of November, in the house of peers, where the earl of Scarborough having made a motion, that the thanks of the house should be returned to the duke, some objections were raised against it by the duke of Argyle; and the duke of Marlborough's friends, being apprehensive, if the question were put, it would be carried in the negative, said, it would be time enough to speak to that matter, when the duke was come home. The next day a complaint was made by the earl of Rochester against the lord-keeper Harcourt, for taking upon him to introduce the Scots lords to the queen, being himself no peer by patent. But, the late lord-chancellor Cowper maintaining, he had a right to act as he had done, no further notice was taken of it. The commons readily granted the supplies for the next year's service, and gave such dispach to the land-tax bill, that it received the royal assent before the short recess at Christmas.

Motion to thank the duke of Marlborough dropped. Pr. H. L.

The supplies granted.

About the beginning of December the queen appointed the earl of Peterborough to go to Vienna, to concert measures with the imperial court for the vigorous prosecution of the war, particularly in Spain, which, at this juncture, seem-

Earl of Peterborough appointend to go to Vienna.

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ed to be the court's favourite project, though not generally approved. For many obſerved, that this was the very thing, which the French king had been aiming at in the late negotiations, namely, to make a ſeparate peace, excluſive of Spain, in order to carry the ſtreſs of the war into that country, where, whatever engagement he entered into, he might underhand aſſiſt his grandſon, who, having the affections of the people, might proſecute the war with great advantage over the allies, whereby the French king would eaſe himſelf of the war in Flanders, which diſtreſſed him moſt, and threatened the very heart of his dominions. About the ſame time earl Rivers was ſent to the court of Hanover, from whence he was lately returned. It was alſo declared, that the queen had, on the 12th of December, named Mr. Richard Hill to be her envoy-extraordinary to the United Provinces, and to the council of ſtate appointed for the government of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan, who was recalled. The military men were not ſo ſurprized at this change, as when they heard, that the commiſſions of lieutenant-general Meredith, major-general Maccartney, and brigadier Honeywood were ſuperſeded, upon an information laid before the queen, that theſe three gentlemen had, in their cups, drank 'Damnation and confuſion to the new miniſtry, and to 'thoſe, who had any hand in turning out of the old (1).' Some perſons, who, about this time, came over from Flanders, extenuated the crime of thoſe three gentlemen, averring, "they only drank a health to the duke of Marlborough, "and confuſion to all his enemies;" which is uſual in all armies, out of reſpect to the commander in chief. But, whether this excuſe was well grounded or nor, the new miniſters thought it neceſſary to make an example, in order to keep within bounds the generals, and other officers of the army, ſome of whom, it was ſaid, dropped doubtful expreſſions of ſtanding by their general. And this might adminiſter the greater cauſe of ſuſpicion at this juncture, becauſe the deſign of making a general for life was laid to the charge of

1710.

and earl Rivers to Hanover.

(1) Meredith's regiment was given to the earl of Orrery; Maccartney's to colonel Kane; and Honeywood's to colonel Clayton. Major-general Syburg had the lord Orrery's. The duke of Scomberg reſigned his regiment of horſe to his ſon the marquis of Harwich, who had ſerved two campaigns in Flanders as volunteer and aid de camp to the duke of Marlborough.

1710. the old miniſtry in a pamphlet, called, 'Faults on both 'ſides,' written by Mr. Clements, and countenanced by ſome great men, and particularly the earl of Peterborough. Not many days after the earl of Hertford, ſon to the duke of Somerſet, was made governor of Tinmouth-fort, in the room of general Meredith, who, about this time, had a further mortification put upon him, his place of gentleman of the horſe to the queen being given to Mr. Conyers Darcy, brother to the earl of Holderneſs. On the 13th of December the dukes of Beaufort and Hamilton were ſworn of her majeſty's privy-council; and, about the ſame time, Sir James Wiſhart and Mr. George Clarke were made commiſſioners of the admiralty, in the room of Mr. Methuen and Mr. Doddington; and Mr. Whitworth, who was envoy to the czar of Muſcovy, was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſame court. The queen likewiſe appointed the earl of Abingdon juſtice in Eyre, in the room of the earl of Wharton, and his counteſs one of the ladies of the bed-chamber. Not many days after the queen knighted Sir Conſtantine Phipps, one of Dr. Sacheverel's counſel in his late trial, and made him lord-chancellor of Ireland.

The duke of Marlborough returns to England.

The duke of Marlborough, having imbarked in Holland, arrived, the 28th of December, at London. Upon his entrance into the city about five in the evening, his coach was attended by a great number of people with links and flambeaux, who by their acclamation expreſſed their joy at his return. The duke thought it prudence, at this juncture, to avoid the leaſt ſhew of popularity, and therefore ordered his coach, inſtead of driving directly to St. James's, to go to Montague-houſe, from whence, after having reſted an hour or two, he went out by a private door. Upon his arrival at St. James's, he immediately waited upon the queen, who diſcourſed with him about half an hour; after which, he retired to his apartment.

He is viſited by the new miniſters.

The duke aſſiſted at a committee of the privy-council the next morning; and, afterwards, received the viſits of the earl of Rocheſter, preſident of the council, the earl Powlet, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and other perſons in the miniſtry. It was, however, for many days a queſtion with the public, whether he had any interview with Mr. Harley, who had now the greateſt ſhare, both in the queen's confidence, and in the management of affairs. Theſe, who pretended to know the ſecret of the court, ſeemed perſuaded, that the queen had

had reſolved to remove all coldneſs, that might be between them; and the event juſtified their conjecture. 1710.

The uncertainty, whether the duke of Marlborough would be continued in his command in Flanders, caſt, in the mean time, a freſh damp on the public credit. It was therefore the general wiſh and expectation of the moſt wealthy and ſubſtantial citizens, that, in order to remove that doubt, the duke ſhould receive the thanks, if not of both, at leaſt of either of the two houſes of parliament. But the duke's friends in the houſe of peers, having already failed in one motion for it, were unwilling to attempt it a ſecond time; eſpecially, as they found the majority of the houſe inclined to paſs that compliment on the earl of Peterborough. And, as for his friends in the houſe of commons, they found their number too ſmall to venture to attempt it at all. For this the duke had been prepared by the queen, who, upon his coming over, told him, he was not to expect the thanks of the two houſes as formerly. She added, that ſhe expected he ſhould live well with her miniſters, but did not think fit to ſay any thing of the reaſons ſhe had for making thoſe changes in the miniſtry (m). However, the duke ſhewed no reſentments for all the ill uſage he met with; and, having been much preſſed by the ſtates and the other allies to continue in the command of the army, he told the biſhop of Saliſbury, he reſolved, upon that account, to be patient, and to ſubmit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and, finding the queen's prepoſſeſſion againſt his ducheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a ſurrender of all her places to the queen. She was groom of the ſtole, had the robes and the privy-purſe; in all which ſhe had ſerved with great œconomy and fidelity to the queen, and juſtice to thoſe who dalt with the crown. The ducheſs of Somerſet had the two firſt places, and Mrs. Maſham the laſt.

The duke acquieſces in the preſent counſels.

The queen's birth-day, Feb. 6, was this year ſolemnized with extraordinary magnificence; but it was obſerved, that the duke of Marlborough did not appear at the feſtival,

(m) The duke, inſtead of having the thanks of either houſe, had the mortification to ſee a ſcurrilous letter publiſhed, ſuppoſed to be ſent to the mayor of St. Alban's, and containing, what the author called, 'Reaſons why a certain great general had not the thanks of either of the two houſes of parliament, &c.'

1710. having, with the queen's leave, ſet out four days before for Blenheim-Houſe, with the marquis de Paſchal, governor of Bruſſels, lately come from Flanders, and monſieur de Seiſſan, on whom the queen afterwards conferred a noble gratuity for his gallant, though unſucceſsful, attempt the laſt ſummer, againſt Port de Cette, in order to aſſiſt the Cevennois.

Conduct in Spain cenſured by the lords. Burnet. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

During the ſhort receſs of the parliament, the news came of the ill ſucceſs in Spain; and, this giving an handle to examine into that part of the conduct of the late miniſtry, the queen was adviſed to lay hold of it; and therefore, without ſtaying till ſhe heard from her own miniſters or her allies, as was uſual, ſhe laid the matter before the parliament, as the public news brought it from Paris, which was afterwards found to be falſe in many particulars. On the 2d of January, Mr. ſecretary St. John delivered to the commons a meſſage from the queen, acquainting them, "That there had been an action in Spain, very much to "the diſadvantage of king Charles's affairs, which having fallen, particularly on the Engliſh forces, the queen "had immediately given directions for ſending and procuring troops to repair this loſs, not doubting but the "parliament would approve thereof." The like meſſage was ſent to the lords (n); and both houſes returned their thanks for it; the commons aſſuring her at the ſame time, "That they were perfectly ſatisfied in her great care; "entirely depended upon her wiſdom; and would effectually ſupport her majeſty in her meaſures for retrieving "the loſs in Spain." And the lords obſerving, "That "as this misfortune might have been occaſioned by ſome "preceeding miſmanagement, they would uſe their utmoſt "endeavours to diſcover it, ſo as to prevent the like for "the future." And they immediately entered into an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain. They began it with an addreſs to the queen, to delay, for ſome days, the earl of Peterborough's journey to Vienna, that they might make uſe of ſuch lights and informations, as he was able to give them concerning thoſe affairs. This was readily granted, and the earl, in anſwer to five queſtions propoſed

(n) Biſhop Burnet ſays, that, in her meſſage, the queen ſaid, ſhe hoped they would approve of the orders ſhe had given. This (ſays he) was a mean expreſſion from the ſovereign, not uſed in former meſſages, and ſeemed below the dignity of the crown. II. 558.

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to him in a committee of the whole houſe, gave a long recital of the affairs of Spain, loading the earl of Galway with all the miſcarriages in that war (o). And, in particular, he ſaid, that in a council of war in Valencia, in the middle of January 1706-7, the earl of Galway had preſſed the puſhing an offenſive war for that year; and that the lord Tyrawley and Stanhope had concurred with him in that: whereas he himſelf was for laying on a defenſive war for that year in Spain: he ſaid, this reſolution was carried by thoſe three, againſt the king of Spain's own mind; and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in Spain, to this reſolution ſo taken. Stanhope had given an account of the debates in that council to the queen; and the earl of Sunderland, in anſwer to his letter, had wrote by the queen's order, that ſhe approved of their preſſing for an offenſive war; and they were ordered to perſiſt in that. The earl of Sunderland ſaid, in that letter, that the queen took notice, that they three (meaning the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and Stanhope) were the only perſons that were for acting offenſively: and that little regard was to be had to the earl of Peterborough's oppoſition. Upon the ſtrength of this letter, the earl of Peterborough affirmed, that the whole council of war was againſt an offenſive war: he laid the blame, not only of the battle of Almanza, and all that followed in Spain, upon thoſe reſolutions, but likewiſe the miſcarriage of the deſign on Toulon; for he told them of a great deſign, he had concerted with the duke of Savoy, and of the uſe that might have been made of ſome of the troops in Spain, if a defenſive war had been agreed to there. The earl of Galway and the lord Tyrawley were ſent for; and they were aſked an account of that council at Valencia: they ſaid, there were many councils held there about that time; and that both the Portugueſe ambaſſador and general, and the envoy of the ſtates, agreed with them in their opinions, for an offenſive war; and they named ſome Spaniards, that were of the ſame mind: they alſo ſaid, that all along, even to the battle of Almanza, in all their reſolutions, the majority of the council of war voted for 1710.

(o) This recital contained the facts and paſſages, publiſhed ſome years before by Dr. Friend (who attended the earl into Spain) in his account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct. When he gave it in writing, he called it the recapitulation of his anſwers to the five queſtions propoſed to him by the lords, of which the reader has ſeen great part in the notes of Vol. XVI.

1710. every thing that was done, and that they were directed to perſiſt in their opinions, by letters wrote to them, in the queen's name, by the ſecretaries of ſtate: that as to the words, in the earl of Sunderland's letter, that ſpoke of them, as the only perſons that were of that opinion; theſe were underſtood by them, as belonging only to the queen's ſubjects, and that they related more immediately to the earl of Peterborough, who oppoſed that reſolution, but not to the reſt of the council of war; for the majority of them was of their mind (p).

As the lord Galway ſaid, his memory might have failed him in ſome important particulars, he deſired that he might be allowed to give in writing what he had delivered by word of mouth; which being granted, he gave in two papers; the one related to his own conduct from his firſt ſetting out for Portugal, till the time he was recalled; the other was an anſwer to the recital given in writing alſo by the earl of Peterborough, with other papers (q).

After ſeveral debates (at which the queen was preſent) the houſe of lords was ſo diſpoſed, that the majority believed every thing ſaid by the earl of Peterborough, and it was carried, 'That he had given a very faithful, juſt, and ho-'nourable account of the councils of war in Valencia,' and

(p) The lord Sunderland's letter here referred to was dated February 14, 1706-7, in anſwer to Mr. Stanhope's of January 15, N. S. The ſubſtance of which was, 'That he was 'ſorry they three only (meaning 'the lords Galway and Tyrawley and Mr. Stanhope) were 'of that opinion (for an offenſive war) that nothing but intereſt could incline others to 'the contrary; that the dividing the army would be the 'ruin of all: that the queen 'intirely approved what he (Mr. 'Stanhope) had done in the 'council of war, as he would 'ſee more at large in the inclоſed from my lord-treaſurer: 'that this was ſo much the 'queen's opinion, that ſhe had 'written in the moſt preſſing 'terms to king Charles about 'it: that, as for the earl of Peterborough's projects in Italy, 'the leſs attention Mr. Stanhope gave to them, the better. That he ſent him a letter for the earl Rivers, which 'he deſired Mr. Stanhope to 'deliver him, if the earl took 'upon him the command of the 'army by the lord Galway's 'giving it up, which however 'he hoped he would not do *. 'In which laſt caſe Mr. Stanhope was deſired to burn that 'letter; concluding, that the 'lord-treaſurer had ſettled the 'remittances of the army, &c.' Pr. H. L. II. 320.

* See Vol. XVI.

(q) The reader has likewiſe ſeen great part of the lord Galway's two papers. Vol. XVI.

that

'that the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stan- 1710.
'hope, inſiſting in a conference held at Valencia, ſome
'time in January 1706-7, in the preſence of the king of
'Spain; and the queen's name being uſed in maintenance
'of their opinions for an offenſive war, contrary to the
'king of Spain's opinion, and that of all the general officers
'and public miniſters, except the marquis das Minas; and
'the opinion of the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and
'general Stanhope being purſued in the operations of the
'following campaign, was the unhappy occaſion of the
'battle of Almanza, and one great cauſe of our misfor-
'tunes in Spain, and of the diſappointment of the duke of
'Savoy's expedition before Toulon, concerted with her
'majeſty.'

From this cenſure on the earl of Galway, the debate was carried to that which was chiefly aimed at, to put a cenſure on the miniſtry here. So it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the queen, to free thoſe, who were under an oath of ſecrecy, from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the houſe of all their conſultations: the queen granted this readily; and came to the houſe, which was underſtood to be on deſign to favour what was aimed at. Upon this the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the lord Cowper ſhewed, that, conſidering the force ſent over to Spain under the lord Rivers, they thought an offenſive war was adviſable; that the expence of that war was ſo great, and the proſpect was ſo promiſing, that they could not but think an offenſive war neceſſary; and that to adviſe a defenſive one, would have made them liable to a juſt cenſure, as deſigning to protract the war. The deſign on Toulon was no way intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the earl of Peterborough fancied he was in that ſecret, and had indeed propoſed the bringing over ſome troops from Spain on that deſign, and had offered a ſcheme to the duke of Savoy, in which that was mentioned, and had ſent that over to England. But though the duke of Savoy ſuffered that lord to amuſe himſelf with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on Toulon; that duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, which was ſacredly kept, and communicated only to thoſe, to whom it muſt be truſted for the execution of it. No troops from Spain were to be employed in that ſervice, nor did it miſcarry for want of men. Theſe lords further ſaid,

The late miniſtry cenſured. Burnet. Pr. H. L.

1710 they gave their opinions in council, according to the beſt of their judgment; their intentions were very ſincere for the ſervice of the queen, and to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. However it was voted, after a warm debate, 'that 'it appeared by the lord Sunderland's letter, that the carrying on the war offenſively in Spain was approved and directed by the miniſters, notwithſtanding the deſign of attempting Toulon, which the miniſters, at that time, knew 'was concerted with the duke of Savoy, and therefore were 'juſtly to be blamed for contributing to all misfortunes in 'Spain, and to the diſappointment of the expedition againſt 'Toulon. That the earl of Peterborough, during the time 'he had the honour of commanding the army in Spain, did 'perform many great and eminent ſervices; and, if the opinion he gave in the council of war at Valencia had been 'followed, it might very probably have prevented the misfortunes, that had happened ſince in Spain.' The lords of the high-church party having, by the help of the Scots, who all voted on that ſide, carried theſe queſtions, the earl of Wharton moved, that ſuch lords, as were againſt them, might enter their proteſts, which was readily granted (r).

Here

(r) The proteſt to the firſt reſolution was as follows:

Diſſentient' —.

Becauſe that, concerning the army of the allies in Spain, was to receive ſo great an addition of troops by the ſupply ſent under the earl of Rivers, the general deſire and expectation of the kingdom to have the war brought to a ſpeedy concluſion, and all other circumſtances of the war, as it then ſtood, we are of opinion, that an offenſive war was then fitteſt for thoſe in her majeſty's ſervice to adviſe; and we do not find reaſon, by any thing ariſing on the examinations and debates to be of another opinion, the occaſion of fighting the battle of Almanza depending, as we conceive, on cauſes conſequent to that advice; the ill ſucceſs of it, as we apprehend, being juſtly attributed to the other manifeſt reaſons, and the real deſign on Toulon, as finally adjuſted with the duke of Savoy, not requiring, as appears to us, the aſſiſtance of any forces from Spain.

Devonſhire,
Kent,
Lincoln,
Wharton,
Godolphin,
Gilbert, Sarum,
Sommers,
Jo. Litchfield and Coventry,
S. Aſaph,
Dorſet,
Jon. Winton,
Sunderland,
Bolton,
Bedford,

Here was a new and ſtrange precedent of cenſuring a reſolution taken in council, and of deſiring the queen to order all that had paſſed in council, to be laid before the houſe. In all the hot debates in king Charles the Firſt's reign, in which many reſolutions taken in council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any cenſure on them was never attempted by men, who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative; but they underſtood well what our conſtitution was in that point: a reſolution in council is only the ſovereign's act, who, upon hearing his counſellors deliver their opinions, forms his own reſolution: a counſellor may indeed be liable to cenſure for what he may ſay at that board; but the reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent reſpect; but, by this precedent, it will be hereafter ſubject to a parliamentary enquiry. The queen was ſo deſirous to have a cenſure fixed on her former miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the wound given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done. 1710. Reflections on it.

After theſe proceedings it was moved by the duke of Buckingham, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the earl of Peterborough, for his remarkable and eminent ſervices; which being ordered, the lord-keeper Harcourt addreſſed himſelf to the earl, in a ſpeech, wherein he obliquely reflected on the rewards that had been received by the duke of Marlborough: The earl of Peterborough thanked by the lords. Pr. H. L.

'Such is your lordſhip's known generoſity and truly noble temper, that I aſſure myſelf, the preſent I am now offering to your lordſhip is the more acceptable, as it comes pure and unmixed, and is unattended with any other reward, which your lordſhip might juſtly think would be an allay to it.'

The next morning the earl ſet out for Vienna, and the lords, not content with what had been done, entered, on

Bedford,	Dorcheſter,
Leiceſter,	Oxford,
Stamford,	Herbert,
Rockingham,	Mohun,
Scarborough,	Cowper,
J. Ely,	Aſhburnham,
W. Lincoln,	C. Norwich,
Jo. Landaff,	Bridgewater,
Harvey,	Derby,
Rich. Peterborough,	Carliſle,
J. Bangor,	Berkeley,
Marlborough,	

the

1710. the laſt day of January, into an enquiry about the force we had in Spain at the time of the battle of Almanza, and it was found not to exceed fourteen thouſand men, though the parliament had voted twenty-nine thouſand. This ſeemed to be a crying thing, and tragical declarations were made upon it. But, in truth, that vote had paſſed only in the January before the battle of Almanza, which was fought on the 14th of April following. Now it was not poſſible to levy and tranſport men in ſo ſhort a time. It was made appear, that all the money, given by the parliament for that ſervice, was applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was uſed both in forwarding the levies and their tranſportation. They were ſent from Ireland, the paſſage from thence being ſafeſt and moſt ſpeedy. All this, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, was ſaid, but it ſignified nothing (s); for, though no examination had been made, but into that ſingle point of the numbers at Almanza, they came to a general vote, That the late miniſtry had been negligent in the management of the war in Spain, to the great prejudice of the nation; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an addreſs, and laid before the queen: and though they had made no enquiry into the expence of that war, nor into the application of the money, given by the parliament for it, yet in their addreſs they mentioned the great profuſion of money in that ſervice. This they thought would touch the nation very ſenſibly; and they hoped the thing would be eaſily believed on their word. Proteſts were made againſt every vote in the whole progreſs of this matter: ſome of theſe carried ſuch reflections on the votes of the houſe, that they were expunged.

A ſtrange way of proceeding, * Burnet.

Never (ſays a certain author *) was any thing carried on in the houſe of lords ſo little to their honour as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it. They ſaid, ſomewhat was to be done to juſtify the queen's change of the miniſtry; and every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to be above all cenſure; ſo, the misfortune of Almanza being a viſible thing, they reſolved

(s) Biſhop Burnet too juſtly obſerves here, When reſolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form uſed to come at the queſtion with ſome decency: and there was ſo little of that obſerved at this time, that the duke of Buckingham ſaid in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make uſe of it, as he had obſerved done by others, when they had it on their ſide.

to

to lay the load there. The management of the public treaſure was exact and unexceptionable; ſo that the ſingle misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified: ſome were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe votes, becauſe, by the act of grace, all thoſe who had been concerned in the adminiſtration, were covered from proſecution and puniſhment: ſo this was repreſented to ſome, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the queen, and by which no perſon could be hurt. They loaded ſingly the earl of Galway with the loſs of the battle of Almanza, though it was reſolved on in a council of war, and he had behaved himſelf in it with all the bravery and conduct, that could be expected from a great general, and had made a good retreat, and ſecured Catalonia with unexpreſſible diligence. 1710.

The earl of Galway was alſo cenſured for not inſiſting on the point of honour in the precedence to be given to the Engliſh troops, as ſoon as the Portugueſe army entered into Spain. The earl being indiſpoſed with the gout, the lords ſent him a queſtion in writing: 'Why, while he commanded the Britiſh troops in Spain, he gave the right to the Portugueſe?' To this he anſwered, 'That, by the treaty with Portugal, the troops of that crown were to have the right in their own country, and that, in order to engage them to march to Madrid, he was obliged to allow them the ſame honour, for otherwiſe they would never have ſtirred out of Portugal.' It is certain, if he had made the leaſt ſtruggle about it, the Portugueſe, who were not eaſily prevailed on to enter into Spain, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occaſion, which ſuch a diſpute would have given them, and have turned back upon it; and ſo, by his inſiſting on ſuch a punctilio, the whole deſign would have been loſt. We had likewiſe, in our treaty with them, yielded expreſsly the point of the flag in thoſe ſeas, for which alone, on other occaſions, we have engaged in wars; ſo he had no reaſon to conteſt a leſſer point. However, the lords thought fit to reſolve, by a majority of ſixty-ſix againſt forty-four, 'That the earl of Galway, in yielding the poſt of her majeſty's troops to the Portugueſe in Spain, acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great-Britain.' This was the concluſion of the inquiries made by the houſe of lords, a repreſentation of which was, in an addreſs, preſented to the queen on the 10th of February.

The earl of Galway cenſured for giving the precedence to the Portugueſe. Burnet. Pr. H. L.

In

1710-11. In the mean time, the commons were no leſs intent upon what ſeemed to be the principal buſineſs of this ſeſſion, to caſt an odium on the late miniſtry. To this end, on the 3d of January, Mr. Harley informed the houſe, that, in the examinations relating to the navy, ſome very conſiderable abuſes were diſcovered in the victualling; and that a member of the houſe was named therein. The commons, after theſe examinations were laid before them, voted, on the 15th of February, "That there had been many notorious embezzlements and ſcandalous abuſes in the management of her majeſty's brewhouſe, and in contracts for furniſhing beer, to the defrauding of the public, and injury of the ſeamen. That Thomas Ridge (member of the houſe) having contracted to furniſh five thouſand five hundred and thirteen tun of beer upon his own account, and two thouſand ſeven hundred and four tun of beer, in partnerſhip with Mr. Dixon; and having received bills for the whole, although he had delivered out but three thouſand two hundred and thirteen tun on the firſt, and one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-nine tuns on the latter contract, be expelled the houſe: and that an addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, to cauſe Mr. Ridge to be proſecuted for the ſame." However, this gentleman was not proſecuted, but continued to ſerve the navy as before; for, upon examination, it appeared, that in fact the public ſuffered no wrong. The caſe ſtood thus: the ſervice of the fleet had of late lain for the moſt part in the Mediterranean, where the difference of climate rendered the beer ſent from hence uſeleſs; and the ſeamen, being not able to drink it there, required wine and water, which is ordinarily uſed on board the fleet in thoſe parts. But as the Victualling-office can, in their accounts, charge beer only, it was allowed to the ſeamen by the office to take money of the brewer, wherewith to buy wine in the Streights. Thus, though the beer was not delivered, and the ſeamen drank wine, yet the nation paid for no more than the allowance of beer. Many other brewers were complained of on the ſame account, but it was plain this was only a ſhew of zeal, and a ſeeming diſcovery of fraudulent practices, when in reality there was no ſuch thing, or at leaſt the abuſe was ſuch, that it was ſuffered to go on as avowedly as ever.

Some abuſes cenſured by the commons. Pr. H. C.

Two lotteries. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

The money did not come into the treaſury ſo readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four ſhillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on malt. So, to raiſe a quick ſupply, there

there were two bills paſſed, for raiſing three millions and a half by two lotteries; the firſt of one million five hundred thouſand pounds, and the ſecond of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and, for a fund to anſwer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards and dice, and on the poſtage on letters. In one branch of this, the houſe of commons ſeemed to break in upon a rule, that had hitherto paſſed for a ſacred one. When the duty upon leather was firſt propoſed, it was rejected by a majority; and ſo, by their uſual orders, it was not to be offered again during that ſeſſion: but, after a little practice upon ſome members, the ſame duty was propoſed, with this variation, that ſkins and tanned hides ſhould be ſo charged; this was leather in another name. The lotteries were ſoon filled up; ſo, by this means, money came into the treaſury; and indeed this method has never yet failed of raiſing a ſpeedy ſupply (t). There was no more aſked, though, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, the houſe had voted a million more than theſe bills amounted to; which made ſome conclude, there was a ſecret negotiation and proſpect of peace. 1710-11.

The commons, finding the encouragement given to the Palatines was diſpleaſing to the people, reſolved to enquire into that matter. In order to this, a petition was procured from the inhabitants of St. Olave, and other pariſhes, "Complaining of the great number of Palatines inhabiting "in one houſe, whereby it was feared ſome contagious diſ- "temper might happen, and, having not wherewithal to "ſubſiſt themſelves, were likely to become chargeable to "the pariſh." This petition was immediately referred to the conſideration of a committee, appointed for that purpoſe, with inſtructions to enquire, "Upon what invitation "or encouragement the Palatines came over, and what mo- "nies were expended in bringing them into Great-Britain, "and for maintaining them here, and by whom paid." As the deſign was now formed to load the late adminiſtration all that was poſſible, it was pretended, that, in the whole affair of the Palatines, there was a deſign againſt the church, Inquiry about the Palatines. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

(t) The ſcheme of the lottery was drawn by Mr. John Blount, ſcrivener of London, who was employed by the lords of the treaſury; which, being approved, was inſerted in the lottery-bill. When it was advertiſed, on the 10th of March, that the payments would begin to be taken in at Mercers-hall on the 13th, it was found, that about two hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds had been ſubſcribed at the bank of England, above the firſt payment of the whole ſum of one million and a half.

and,

1710-11. and, to increaſe the numbers and ſtrength of the diſſenters. The queen was addreſſed for the papers relating to the bringing over and ſubſiſting the Palatines; and at laſt the houſe agreed to the following reſolutions of their committee, "That the inviting and bringing over into this kingdom "the poor Palatines, of all religions, at the public ex- "pence, was an extravagant and unreaſonable charge to the "kingdom, and a ſcandalous miſapplication of the public "money, tending to the increaſe and oppreſſion of the "poor of this kingdom, and of dangerous conſequence to "the conſtitution in church and ſtate. 2. That whoever "adviſed the bringing over the poor Palatines into this "kingdom, was an enemy to the queen and kingdom." And becauſe a letter, written by the earl of Sunderland, in the queen's name, to the council of trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to conſider of the beſt method of diſpoſing of the Palatines; it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him in ſome ſevere votes. But this was put off for that time, and afterwards, by ſeveral adjournments delayed, till at laſt it was let fall.

A bill to repeal the naturalization-act, rejected by the lords. Burnet. Pr. H. L.

While the heat, raiſed by this enquiry, was kept up, the commons paſſed a bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all proteſtants, which had paſſed two years before; pretending that it gave the encouragement to the Palatines to come over, though none of them had made uſe of that act, in order to their naturalization. This was ſent up to the lords; and the lord Guernſey, and ſome others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the ſubject; yet, upon the firſt reading of the bill, it was rejected, to the great joy of all the foreign proteſtants. It is remarkable, if the bill was deſigned to prevent the French refugees from enjoying the benefit of the naturalization, it had in ſome meaſure a contrary effect: for whereas, ſince the paſſing of the act for a general naturalization, ſcarce fifteen hundred of them took the advantage of it; above two thouſand were naturalized after the motion for repealing it was made, till it was rejected by the lords. A bill that was formerly often attempted, for diſabling members of the houſe of commons to hold places, had alſo the ſame fate.

However, another bill for qualifying members, by having ſix hundred pounds a year for a knight of the ſhire, and three hundred pounds a year for a burgeſs, ſucceeded better. The deſign of this was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants, from ſitting in the houſe of commons, in hopes,

hopes, that, this being ſettled, the land-intereſt would be the prevailing conſideration in all their conſultations. They did not extend theſe qualifications to Scotland; it being pretended, that, eſtates there being generally ſmall, it would not be eaſy to find men ſo qualified capable to ſerve. This was thought to ſtrike at an eſſential part of our conſtitution, touching the freedom of elections: and it had been, as often as it was attempted, oppoſed by the miniſtry, though it had a fair appearance of ſecuring liberty, when all was lodged with men of eſtates: yet our gentry was become ſo ignorant, and ſo corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the intereſt of trade, which indeed ſupports that of the land, would neither be underſtood nor regarded. But the new miniſters reſolved to be popular with thoſe who promoted it; ſo it paſſed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our ſecurity for the future. 1710-11.

Another bill paſſed, not much to the honour of thoſe who promoted it, for the importation of French wine. The intereſt of the nation lay againſt this ſo viſibly, that nothing but the luxury of thoſe, who loved that liquor, could have carried ſuch a motion through the two houſes. But, though the bill paſſed, it was like to have no effect; for it was provided, that the wine ſhould be imported in neutral veſſels; and the king of France had forbid it to be exported in any veſſels but his own. It ſeems he reckoned, that our deſire of drinking his wine would carry us to take it on ſuch terms as he ſhould preſcribe. An act for French wine. Burnet.

In the houſe of commons there appeared a new combination of tories of the higheſt form, who thought the court was yet in ſome management with the whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; upon which account they began to form themſelves in oppoſition to him, and expreſſed their jealouſy of him on ſeveral occaſions, ſometimes publicly. But an odd accident, that had almoſt been fatal, proved happy to him. The marquis de Guiſcard, of whom a large account has been given, enjoyed his pay as colonel, till ſome time after the battle of Almanza; when that ceaſed, he ſollicited to have a ſettled penſion in the time of the late miniſtry: but his intimacy with ſome perſons, who had been removed from their employments, particularly Mr. St. John, with whom he entered into a ſtrict confidence and community of pleaſures, did not at all promote his affair. When Mr. St. John, by the great change at court, was advanced to the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, the marquis expected to have found a great An attempt upon Mr. Harley. Burnet.

1710-11. great ſupport in him. But as all friendſhips, that are not grounded on virtue, are ever ſhort-lived, the ſecretary, who had ſome time before quarrelled with the marquis about a miſtreſs, or rather a child, which neither of them would own, was hardly prevailed with to ſpeak in his favour. However, upon his faint recommendation, the queen ordered him a penſion of five hundred pounds a year; but Mr. Harley, who never liked Guiſcard, not only reduced his penſion to four hundred pounds, but declined to have it put upon a fixed eſtabliſhment. The marquis endeavoured ſeveral times to apply to the queen for redreſs; but being denied acceſs, and highly diſguſted with the uſage he received from thoſe very perſons, whom he had looked upon as his intimate friends, he tried to make his peace with the court of France, and, in order to that, wrote to monſieur Moreau, a banker in Paris. His letter being directed to a perſon in Portugal, under the cover of the earl of Portmore, his lordſhip ſuſpecting ſomething, opened one of the packets, and, finding in it a dangerous correſpondence, ſent it back to his lady, the counteſs of Dorcheſter, who delivered it to Mr. Harley; and by her means another packet, which Guiſcard would have tranſmitted to Portugal, was intercepted. It was pretended by ſome, that theſe letters contained only looſe reflections on the weakneſs and mean capacity of the preſent miniſtry; but, whatever was the purport of them, the marquis was, on the 18th of March, apprehended in St. James's park for high-treaſon, by virtue of a warrant from Mr. ſecretary St. John. He was ſo ſurprized and diſordered, that he deſired the meſſenger, who diſarmed him, to kill him: and, being brought to the Cockpit in the height of deſpair, he took the reſolution to make his ruin fatal to thoſe who occaſioned it; and, ſeeing in the room where he was confined, a penknife, which lay among pens in a ſtandiſh, he took it up unperceived by the meſſengers, who watched him. A committee of council being ſummoned on this extraordinary occaſion, and the lord-keeper Harcourt, the earl of Rocheſter, the dukes of Buckingham, Newcaſtle, and Ormond, earl Paulet, Mr. Harley, and the three ſecretaries of ſtate, the duke of Queenſberry, the lord Dartmouth, and Mr. St. John, being met, the marquis was brought before them to be examined. Mr. St. John aſked him ſeveral queſtions about his correſponding with France; to which he returned evaſive anſwers, with an aſſured countenance. But when Mr. St. John aſked him, Whether he knew Mr. Moreau,

banker

banker at Paris? producing, at the ſame time, the intercepted letters; the marquis appeared very much ſurprized. Finding himſelf diſcovered, and deſpairing of a pardon, he reſolved to put his black deſign in execution. It was the general opinion, that his deſign was to make his firſt attempt upon Mr. St. John; which appears the more probable, becauſe, as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a manner convicted of the crime for which he was apprehended, he deſired to ſpeak with him in private; but Mr. ſecretary told him, that was impracticable and unuſual: that he was before the committee of the council, as a criminal; and, if he had any thing to offer, it muſt be ſaid to them all. The marquis perſiſting in his deſire to ſpeak only to Mr. St. John, they went to ring the bell, to call in the meſſengers to carry him away; which he obſerving, ſaid, 'That's hard; not one 'word.' (u) Being diſappointed in his deſign againſt Mr. St. John, who ſat out of his reach, he ſtepped towards the table, as if he intended to ſay ſomething to Mr. Harley; and, ſtooping down, ſaid, 'Then have at thee'; (w) and ſtabbed him about the middle of the breaſt; but the penknife, lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle; which Guiſcard not perceiving, redoubled the blow, and with a great force ſtruck Mr. Harley not far from the firſt wound. When Mr. St. John ſaw Mr. Harley fall, he cried out, 'The villain has killed Mr. Harley;' and, drawing his ſword immediately, as did alſo the duke of Newcaſtle, and ſome others, they gave Guiſcard ſeveral wounds. But when they ſaw Mr. Harley get up, and heard earl Paulet cry out, not to kill Guiſcard, they gave over making paſſes at him. Some of the privy-counſellors ſecured themſelves with chairs againſt the rage of the aſſaſſin, who ſeemed to threaten them all. Others ran out of the room to call for help; and the meſſengers and door-keepers having ruſhed in, and offering to lay hold on Guiſcard, he ſtruggled for a while, and overthrew ſome of his aſſailants; but, at laſt, Wilcox, one of the queen's meſſengers, a very ſtrong man, grappled with him, and gave him ſeveral bruiſes, particularly one in the back, which was afterwards judged to have occaſioned his death. 1710-11.

Mr. Harley's wound was preſently ſearched, and appeared to be a very ſlight one, yet he was long in the ſurgeon's hands. Some imputed this to an ill habit of body; others

(u) Voilà qui eſt dur. pas un mot.

(w) J'en veux donc à toi.

1710-11. thought it was an artifice, to make it ſeem more dangerous than indeed it was. Guiſcard's wounds were deeper, and not eaſily managed; for at firſt he was ſullen, and ſeemed reſolved to die; yet after a day he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſurgeons: but did not complain of a wound in his back till it gangrened; and of that he died. It was not known what particulars were in his letters, nor was it known what he confeſſed.

This attempt turns to his advantage. Burnet. 1 r. H. C.

This accident was of great uſe to Mr. Harley; for the party formed againſt him were aſhamed to puſh a man, who was thus aſſaſſinated by one, that was ſtudying to recommend himſelf to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a deſign againſt the queen's perſon (x); whoſe health was at this time much ſhaken, ſhe having had three fits of an ague, and the laſt a ſevere one; but the progreſs of the diſeaſe was ſtopped by the bark.

The day after Mr. Harley received his wound, both houſes of parliament agreed upon an addreſs to the queen, wherein they expreſſed their great concern for the moſt barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the perſon of Mr. Harley; adding, 'That they had reaſon to believe, that his fidelity 'to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon 'him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction; 'and beſought her majeſty to take all poſſible care of her 'ſacred perſon; and, for that purpoſe, to give directions 'for cauſing papiſts to be removed from the cities of London 'and Weſtminſter.' The queen took this advice very kindly, promiſed to give the proper directions, according to the deſire of both houſes, and recommended to them to make a law, to puniſh with death ſuch villainous attempts on the lives of magiſtrates in the lawful execution of the office, though the miſchiefs deſigned ſhould not take effect. Upon which an act was paſſed this ſeſſion, 'to make an attempt 'on the life of a privy-counſellor to be felony without be'nefit of the clergy.' On the other hand, a proclamation was publiſhed, 'ſtrictly to put in execution the laws againſt 'papiſts.' And, when Mr. Harley came firſt to the houſe of commons after his recovery, he was by their order congratulated upon it by Mr. Bromley, their ſpeaker, in a ſet flattering ſpeech, wherein he prayed, 'That the ſame pro'vidence, that had wonderfully preſerved him from ſome un-

(x) For he had tried, by all the ways he could contrive, to be admitted to ſpeak with her in private, which he had attempted that very morning. Burnet, II. 566.

'paralleled

'paralleled attempts, and had raiſed him up to be an inſtru- 1711.
'ment of great good at a very critical juncture, when it
'was much wanted, might continue ſtill to preſerve ſo in-
'valuable a life, for the perfecting of what was ſo happily
'begun; that they might owe to his counſels, and to his
'conduct, the maintenance and firm eſtabliſhment of our
'conſtitution in church and ſtate.'

In the beginning of May, died ſuddenly the earl of Rochester, the queen's uncle, and Mr. Harley, being rid of the only competitor in her favour, ſoon became the prime miniſter. Upon his recovery ſhe created him baron of Wigmore, and earl of Oxford and Mortimer, two of the moſt noble titles in the Engliſh heraldry. The Veres had been earls of Oxford many ages, and the title of Mortimer had been in the royal family. Preambles to patents of honour uſually carry in them a ſhort account of the dignity of the family, and of the ſervices of the perſon advanced: but his preamble was very pompous, and ſet him out in the moſt extravagant characters that flatterers could invent; in particular it ſaid, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had reſtored credit, and had rendered the public great ſervice in a courſe of many years: all this was ſet out in too fulſome rhetoric, and, being prepared by his own direction, pleaſed him ſo much, that, whereas all other patents had been only read in the houſe of lords, this was printed. He was alſo made lord-treaſurer, (y) and he had the

Death of the earl of Rochester. May 2.

Harley made earl and lord-treaſurer. Burnet.

(y) When, on the 1ſt of June, he came to take the oaths in the court of chancery, the lord-keeper Harcourt addreſſed himſelf to him in the following ſpeech, which ſurpaſſed even Mr. Bromley's:

My lord of Oxford,

"The queen, who does every "thing with the greateſt wiſ- "dom, has given a proof of it "in the honours ſhe has lately "conferred on you, which are "exactly ſuited to your deſerts "and qualifications.

"My lord, the title, which "you now bear, could not have "been ſo juſtly placed on any "other of her majeſty's ſubjects. "Some of that ancient blood, "which fills your veins, is de- "rived from the Veres; and you "have ſhewed yourſelf as ready "to ſacrifice it for the ſafety of "your prince, and the good of "your country, and as fearleſs "of danger on the moſt trying "occaſions, as ever any of that "brave and loyal houſe were. "Nor is that title leſs ſuited to "you, as it carries in it a rela- "tion to one of the chief ſeats "of learning; for even your "enemies, my lord (if any ſuch "there ſtill are) muſt own, that "the love of letters, and the "encouragement of thoſe, who

1711. the chief, if not the ſole, direction of every thing. It ſoon appeared that his ſtrength lay principally in managing parties, and in engaging weak people, by rewards and promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of the treaſury, nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he truſted to his intereſt in the queen, and her favourite Mrs. Maſham.

A deſign againſt king William's grants miſcarries. Burnet. Pr. H. L.

The tories ſtill continued to purſue the memory of king William; they complained of the grants made by him, though theſe were far ſhort of thoſe, that had been made by king Charles the IId; but that they might diſtinguiſh betweent thoſe, whom they intended to favour, and others, againſt whom they were ſet, they brought in a bill, impowering ſome perſons to examine all the grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the conſiderations upon which they were made: this was the method, that had ſucceeded with them before, with relation to Ireland; ſo the bringing in this bill was looked on, as a ſure ſtep, for carrying the reſumption of all the grants, that they had a mind to make void. When the bill was ſent up to the lords, the deſign appeared to be an unjuſt malice, both againſt the memory of king William, and againſt thoſe who had beſt ſerved him; and therefore, upon the firſt reading, the bill was rejected (z).

Inquiries into the public accounts.

The commons turned their malice next againſt the earl of Godolphin. A committee (of which, Mr. Edward Harley,

" excel in them, is one diſtin-
" guiſhing part of your cha-
" racter.

" My lord, the high ſtation
" of lord-treaſurer of Great-
" Britain, to which her majeſty
" has called you, is the juſt re-
" ward of your eminent ſervices.
" You have been the great in-
" ſtrument of reſtoring the public
" credit, and relieving this na-
" tion from the heavy preſſure
" and ignominy of an immenſe
" debt, under which it languiſh-
" ed; and you are now intruſt-
" ed with the power of ſecuring
" us from a relapſe into the ſame
" ill ſtate, out of which you
" have reſcued us. This great
" office, my lord, is every way
" worthy of you; particularly
" on the account of thoſe ma-
" ny difficulties, with which
" the faithful diſcharge of it
" muſt be unavoidably attended,
" and which require a genius
" like yours to maſter them.
" The only difficulty, which
" even you, my lord, may find
" inſuperable, is how to deſerve
" better of the crown and king-
" dom after this advancement,
" than you did before it."

(z) The commiſſioners to examine the grants appointed by the commons, were, Mr. Hind Cotton, Sir Simeon Stuart, Mr. Eversfield, Mr. Baltéel, Mr. Hewetſon, Mr. Blackmore, and Mr. Wrightſon. Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

auditor

auditor of the impreſt was chairman) having been appointed to inquire how far the ſeveral impreſt accomptants had paſſed their reſpective accounts; the commons found by their report, that the ſupplies given by parliament were not all returned, and accounts of many millions were not yet paſſed in the exchequer; therefore they paſſed a vote, 'that of the 'monies granted by parliament, and iſſued for the public 'ſervice to Chriſtmas 1710, there remains unaccounted for, 'the ſum of above thirty-five millions, for great part of 'which no account has ſo much as been laid before the au-'ditors, and the reſt not proſecuted by the accomptants and 'finiſhed.' 1711. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

This was a vaſt ſum; but, to make it up, ſome accounts in king Charles's time were thrown into the heap: the lord Ranelagh's accounts of the former reign were the greateſt part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were ſo regularly brought up, as in the queen's reign. Mr. Bridges's accounts, of fourteen or fifteen millions, were the great item, of which, not above half a million was paſſed: but there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not paſſed in form, through the great caution and exactneſs of the duke of Newcaſtle, at whoſe office they were to paſs; and he was very ſlow, and would allow nothing, without hearing counſel on every article. The truth is, the methods of paſſing accounts were ſo ſure, that they were very ſlow; and it was not poſſible, for the proper officers, to find time and leiſure to paſs the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the earl of Godolphin had managed the treaſury, with an uncorruptedneſs, fidelity, and diligence, that were ſo unexceptionable, that it was not poſſible to fix any cenſure on his adminiſtration; yet, becauſe many accounts ſtood out, the commons paſſed ſeveral angry votes on that ſubject: but, however, ſince nothing had appeared in all the examination made by the committee, that reflected on him, or on any of the whigs, they would not publiſh the report, though it was ordered to be printed *; for by that it would have appeared who had ſerved well, and who had ſerved ill (a). * See Pr. H. C. IV. 206.

In the beginning of April, the dauphin of France and the emperor Joſeph both died of the ſmall pox. When notice The emperor dies. April 6.

came

(a) Mr. Maynwaring, the other auditor of the impreſt, has given the true ſtate of theſe thirty-five millions, the chief articles of which are as follows:

1711. came of the emperor's death, the queen ſent, on the 20th of April, a meſſage to both houſes, importing, "that ſhe "had come to a reſolution to ſupport the intereſt of the "houſe of Auſtria, and to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to get "the

The queen's meſſage to parliament on that occaſion.

Pr. H. C.

The earl of Ranelagh's charge is - -					l. 21,015,618	s. 19	d. 4½
Diſcharge,	l.	s.	d.				
By accounts actually paſt,	14,593,665	4	2⅛				
By accounts rendered or lying before the auditors, - -	6,420,182	6	8⅛		21,013,847	10	10½
					l.	s.	d.
				Remains to be accounted for—	1,771	8	6
The hon. James Brydges, eſq; his charge is - -					15,374,689	1	11¾
Diſcharge,							
By accounts actually paſt,	956,789	6	5¼				
By accounts rendered, or lying before the auditors, - -	8,097,492	8	7½		9,054,281	15	00¾
By accounts delivered ſince Chriſtmas, 1710,					3,227,778	2	6
				Remains to be accounted for---	3,092,629	4	5
Lord Falkland's charge is					3,094,723	7	11⅛
Diſcharge,							
By accounts actually paſt,	1,122,133	5	11				
By accounts lying before the auditors,	1,465,368	5	3¾		2,587,501	11	2¾
				Remains to be accounted for---	507,221	16	8¾
Sir Thomas Littleton's charge is - - -					18,382,750	1	5¾
By accounts actually paſt, or ready for declaration,	7,559,3[illegible]	5	2¼				
By the accounts lying before the auditors, under the examination of the navy-board, and by money paid over to R. Walpole, eſq;	10,770,179,79		0¾		18,329,562	4	4
				Remains to be accounted for—	53,187	17	11¼

In

" the king of Spain made emperor: that the ſtates-general 1711.
" had concured with her majeſty; and that ſhe had taken
" the moſt proper meaſures to engage all thoſe, who had a
" ſhare in this election, and were in the intereſt of com-
" mon cauſe, to join with her in bringing this great work
" to a good iſſue: and ſhe had an intire confidence in the
" affection and duty of her parliament, that, with their aſ-
" ſiſtance, ſhe ſhould be enabled to make a happy conclu-
" ſion of the war in a ſafe and honourable peace." This
" produced a joint addreſs from both houſes in almoſt the
ſame language as the meſſage, both which are the more re-

In the ſame manner he ſtates the accounts of Atkinſon, Nutting, Maſon, Povey, Mickleth-wayte, and Savery; by which it appears, that, of the thirty-five millions, above thirty millions were accounted for, though not all paſſed, and that the total to be accounted for amounted only to 4,330,135 l.' which, as Mr. Maynwaring obſerves, was much ſhort of a year's ſupply. He ſays further on this ſubject, 'no 'accomptant is obliged, by the 'courſe of the exchequer, to 'render his account under fif-'teen months, nor ſome under 'eighteen; yet this vote takes 'in all accounts to the firſt meet-'ing of the committee; but 'there is no mention made from 'what period of time they did 'commence. To have been 'particular, in every reſpect, 'was too much for the compaſs 'of a vote; ſo that there are 'accounts from king Charles, 'king James, and king William's 'reign, in the principal branches 'of the expence in all the reve-'nue brought in, to make up 'and ſwell the general account; 'and this is, by many thouſands 'of people, without doors, im-'puted to the late miniſters.' He then expoſes the partiality of the houſe of commons, of which he was himſelf a member, in ordering ſo unjuſt a vote to be printed: adding, 'and now if 'I may be allowed to ſuppoſe 'what I think I have fully prov-'ed, that many irregularities, 'and unavoidable delays, attend 'the paſſing of ſome accounts, 'which no care or induſtry can 'prevent. If it happen, that 'the nature of the ſervices, and 'the method of payment in ſome 'offices, being inconſiſtent with 'the courſe of the exchequer, 'require privy-ſeals, and are the 'work of longer time than is li-'mited for paſſing accounts; if 'it appears, that theſe irregula-'rities, incident to accounts, 'are yet neceſſary for the accom-'modation of the ſervice, and 'not to be avoided without in-'finite prejudice to the manage-'ment; and if it appears, that 'the ſecurity of the public does 'not entirely depend upon the 'actual paſſing of accounts, pro-'vided they have been daily 'rendered, " all which he ſul-" ly makes out," I hope peo-'ple will begin to be ſatis-'fied, that the nation has not 'been cheated of thirty-five 'millions.'

1711. markable, as the meſſage gave ſome intimation of the project, which the new miniſtry formed upon the death of the emperor, and which they afterwards publicly avowed, to make a peace by yielding Spain and the Weſt-Indies to king Philip; not only becauſe the regaining of them for king Charles was attended with inſuperable difficulties, but alſo becauſe, in their opinion, the ſame, if practicable, would deſtroy the balance of Europe, the ſettling of which was the chief aim of the grand alliance. And, both houſes of parliament having, in that addreſs, ſhewn a diſpoſition to approve any meaſures, which her majeſty ſhould think proper to procure a peace, the miniſtry thought themſelves armed with ſufficient authority to purſue their ſcheme.

An act for the South-Sea trade. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

The laſt thing ſettled by the parliament, was the creating a new fund for a trade with Spain. The commons, on the 20th of January, had appointed a committee to examine the debts of the navy; and, about two months after, they reported, that theſe debts amounted to above five millions. This great debt upon the navy was occaſioned partly by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the ſervice at ſea, but chiefly by the neceſſity of applying ſuch ſupplies as were given, without appropriating clauſes, to the ſervice abroad, where it was impoſſible to carry it on by credit, without ready money; ſo it was judged neceſſary to let the debt of the navy run on upon credit; by which means it had riſen up to ſo many millions, and the diſcount on navy-bills was very high (b) all this debt, with many others, were thrown into

(b) A full account of this matter was ſoon after publiſhed in 'a letter about the debts of the 'navy,' by which it appeared, that the public money had been managed with the utmoſt fidelity; and it was made evident, that, when there was not money enough to anſwer all the expence of the war, it was neceſſary to apply it to that which preſſed: ſo this debt was contracted by an inevitable neceſſity, and all reaſonable perſons were fully ſatisfied with this account of it. The author of the letter thus ſhews the reaſonableneſs of including the extra-ſervices in the accounts of the navy (beſides which, he makes the charge upon the late miniſters to amount only to a little above five thouſand pounds) 'I muſt (ſays he) make one obſervation more to you: that as 'the debts of the navy have annually increaſed, an annual account of it has been laid before 'the houſe of commons, who 'were conſtantly informed how 'far the proviſion, made for the 'preceding year, had fallen ſhort 'of anſwering the expence; 'but being ſenſible, that the 'more preſſing ſupplies were as much

into one ſtock, amounting in the whole to 9,471,325 l. and a fund was formed for paying an intereſt or annuity of 6 per cent. till the principal ſhould be paid, which intereſt amounted to the annual ſum of 568,279 l. 10 s. For the raiſing of this ſum, all the duties upon wines, vinegar, and tobacco, India goods, wrought ſilks, whale-fins, &c. were, after the year 1716, continued for ever, and till then the parliament was to make an annual proviſion for the intereſt. With this fund was alſo granted the monopoly of a ſuppoſed trade to the South-Sea or coaſt of Peru in America; the ſeveral proprietors of the navy-bills, debentures, and other public ſecurities, being to be incorporated for that purpoſe. This grant may juſtly be called chemerical, ſince the projector knew he was entering upon a negotiation of peace, which, by the ceſſion of Spain and the Weſt-Indies, would for ever exclude the Engliſh from the privileges of trading to Peru and Mexico. Accordingly inſtead of ſuch trade, king Philip, upon the concluſion of a peace, gave the precarious licence to ſend a ſhip or two thither yearly, limiting them both as to tonnage and value of cargo. This ſcheme produced what is called the South-Sea company (c). 1711.

The flatterers of the new miniſters made great uſe of this to magnify them, and to aſperſe the old miniſtry. But the earl

'much as could be well raiſed 'within the year, they ſtill 'thought it more adviſeable to 'leave the extraordinary charges 'as a growing debt, than to in-'creaſe the public burden upon 'the people, by enlarging the 'uſual proviſions for the navy. 'And in the parliament before 'the laſt, a full account of the 'navy-debt being called for, the 'late miniſters were ſo far from 'being blamed upon this ſub-'ject, that, after a full conſi-'deration, and long debate a-'bout the cauſes and methods of 'contracting that debt, the houſe 'came to a reſolution in their fa-'vour, and went as far in ap-'proving their conduct and ma-'nagement, as any ſubſequent 'parliament has gone in cenſur-'ing them: and, when the juſ-'tice of two different parlia-'ments comes to be the queſtion, 'I muſt not take upon me to de-'termine between them, but 'will only make this ſhort re-'mark: that, from ſuch time, at 'leaſt, as the ſenſe of the houſe 'was known upon this occaſion, 'the late miniſtry cannot be 'thought blameable for proceed-'ing in their uſual method, 'when they were ſupported by 'authority and approbation of 'parliament.'

(c) The particulars of the debts and deficiencies, that were thus incorporated, were as as follows:

The

1711. earl of Godolphin's unblemiſhed integrity was ſuch, that no imputation of any ſort could be faſtened on him; and therefore, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expence he had run the nation into, upon the early ſucceſſes in 1706, which were very juſtly acknowledged, and cleared in the ſucceeding ſeſſion, as hath been related. But that affair was now revived, and it was ſaid to be an invaſion of the great right of the commons in giving ſupplies, to enter on deſigns, and to engage the nation in expence not provided for by parliament. This was aggravated with many tragical expreſſions as a ſubverſion of the conſtitution; and at the end of the ſeſſions an inflaming repreſentation about this and the thirty-five millions, of which the accounts were not yet paſſed, was preſented by the commons to the queen, wherein

	l.	s.	d.
The debt of the navy	5,130,539	5	5
The debt of the ordnance	154,324	15	8¼
For tranſport-ſervice	424,791	5	4¼
An army and tranſport-debenture, to Sept. 29, 1710	1,018,656	17	9¼
Deficient tallies and orders on 9 Will. 3, c. 13, and another act, 1 Ann, for laying duties on coals	12,025	1	0
Debts between Sept. 29, 1710, and Dec. 25, 1710, in the offices of the navy, victualling, and tranſport	378,859	5	8¼
On ſubſidies to the E. of Hanover and D. of Zell	9,375	0	0
The intereſt of the ſaid debts as carry intereſt, from Dec. 25, 1710, to Dec. 25, 1711	85,000	0	0
For money lent purſuant to an act, 8 Ann c. 13, to raiſe money for the year 1710	1,296,552	9	11¾
For intereſt due on the ſame, Mar. 25, 1711	74,875	19	1¼
All theſe amount to	8,585,000	0	0
The intereſt of this ſum from March 25, 1711, to Dec. 25, 1711, at ſix per cent.	386,325	0	0
To be raiſed for the ſervice of the year 1711	500,000	0	0
The whole ſtock	9,471,325	0	0

For payment of the intereſt of this ſtock at ſix per cent. the continuation of the general mortgage, from 1716, was granted to raiſe the annual ſum of five hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds, ten ſhillings.

they

they tell her, 'that they had not only raiſed the neceſſary 1711.
'ſupplies, but diſcharged the heavy debts ſo long and ſo
'juſtly complained of, and traced the cauſes thereof: that The repreſentation of the commons at the end of the ſeſſions. Pr. H. C. IV. 217.
'in ſeveral years the ſervice had been inlarged beyond the
'bounds preſcribed by parliament: that the ſurpluſage of
'ſome funds had not been applied to anſwer the deficiency
'of others; but other uſes were found out, ſuch as were
'neither voted nor addreſſed for by parliament, which there-
'fore we judge a miſapplication of public money. The
'debt of the navy has ariſen from a liberty, that has been
'taken of transferring money, iſſued for that ſervice, to
'other uſes, particularly for proviſions for the land-forces
'in Spain and Portugal. To this we muſt add, the many
'notorious embezzlements in your majeſty's brew-houſe;
'and that the commiſſioners for victualling have been guilty
'of great negligence; that the receivers of the landtax were
'not obliged to make due and punctual payments.' Then they added, 'Thus far have we proceeded in diſcovering
'ſome of thoſe cauſes, which have brought ſo great a
'weight of debts upon the nation; and we might have
'made a much greater progreſs in our inquiries, if the ac-
'counts of the public money had been regularly paſſed;
'but, to our great ſurprize and concern, we find, "that
"they, who of late years have had the management of
"your majeſty's treaſury, and ought to have compelled the
"ſeveral accomptants duly to paſs their reſpective accounts,
"have been guilty of ſo notorious a breach of truſt, and of
"ſo high an injuſtice to the nation, that of the monies
"granted by parliament, and iſſued for the public ſervice
"to Chriſtmas 1710, there remains unaccounted for the
"ſum of thirty five millions, three hundred and two thou-
"ſand, one hundred and ſeven pounds; for a great part of
"which no accounts have ſo much as been laid before the
"auditors: and for the reſt, though ſome accounts have
"been brought in, yet they have not been proſecuted by
"the accomptants and finiſhed." This has made it impracticable for us to arrive at ſo exact a knowledge of the ſtate of the nation, with regard to the public money, as we wiſhed, and might have expected; and your majeſty will pleaſe to conſider, in ſuch an immenſe ſum unaccounted for, how many embezzlements may be concealed, and how juſtly it is to be ſuſpected, that ſo ſcandalous a remiſneſs has been allowed with no other deſign. We humbly beſeech your majeſty, that you will give immediate and effectual directions for the compelling the ſeveral impreſt accomptants

ſpeedily

1711. ſpeedily to paſs the accounts; and in the mean time, we humbly hope your majeſty will approve the reſolution of your commons, "that ſuch of the accomptants, who have neglected their duty in proſecuting their accounts, ought no "longer to be intruſted with receiving the public money." From all theſe evil practices, and worſe deſigns of ſome perſons, who had, by falſe profeſſions of love to their country, inſinuated themſelves into your royal favour, irreparable miſchief had accrued to the public, had not your majeſty, in your great wiſdom, ſeaſonably diſcovered the fatal tendency of ſuch meaſures; and, out of your ſingular goodneſs to your people, removed from the adminiſtration of affairs, thoſe who had ſo ill anſwered the favourable opinion your majeſty had conceived of them, and in ſo many inſtances groſly abuſed the great truſt repoſed in them. Your people could, with greater patience, have ſuffered the manifold injuries done to themſelves, by the frauds and depredations of ſuch evil miniſters, had not the ſame men proceeded to treat your ſacred perſon with undutifulneſs and diſregard; but as the intereſts of your majeſty and your people are inſeparable, and are, by your majeſty and your good ſubjects, inſeparably purſued, the wrong, which thoſe men had done to the public, drew upon them your royal diſpleaſure; and their irreverence towards your majeſty juſtly expoſed them to the indignation of your people.

This repreſentation was artfully ſpread through the nation, by which weaker minds were ſo poſſeſſed, that it was not eaſy to undeceive them, even by the fulleſt and cleareſt evidences; the nation ſeemed ſtill infatuated beyond the power of conviction.

The parliament is prorogued.

On the 12th of June the queen came to the houſe of peers, and, having given the royal aſſent to ten public and ſeven private bills, made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

The queen's ſpeech to both houſes. Pr. H. C.

"IT is with great pleaſure I tell you, at the end of this "ſeſſion, that you have fully made good all the aſſur-"ances you gave me at the beginning of it.

"This I look upon as a further pledge of my ſubjects "duty and affection, which is the firmeſt ſupport of my "throne.

"I thank you gentlemen of the houſe of commons, in a "particular manner for what you have done. You have

"complied

" complied with my deſire in granting a ſupply for building 1711.
" many new churches, and you have not only enabled me
" to carry on the war, but have made effectual proviſion
" for paying thoſe heavy debts, which were almoſt grown
" an inſupportable burthen to the public; and this at a time,
" when our enemies every where pleaſed themſelves with the
" hopes, that the ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year
" could not have been found. You have diſappointed
" them in all reſpects; and by the great ſums you have
" raiſed, the greateſt ever granted to any prince in one
" ſeſſion, you have reſtored the public credit, which I take
" care to preſerve by a frugal management.

" The world muſt now be ſatisfied, that nothing can be
" too difficult for a parliament, filled with ſo much zeal for
" the true intereſt of the nation in church and ſtate.

My lords and gentlemen,

" The ſatisfaction I take in the power, with which God
" has intruſted me, is to employ it for the protection and
" good of all my people, whoſe proſperity I have as much
" at heart, as ever any of my predeceſſors had.

" You ſee the happy effects of a mutual confidence be-
" tween me and my ſubjects. I ſhall look upon any at-
" tempt to leſſen it, as a ſtep towards diſſolving my
" government.

" The temper you have ſhewn, will, I hope, convince
" thoſe, who have the misfortune to differ from our church,
" that their liberty is not in danger.

" It is needleſs for me to repeat the aſſurances of my
" earneſt concern for the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hano-
" ver, and of my fixed reſolution to ſupport and encourage
" the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.

" You are now returning to your ſeveral countries; and
" I expect from you, that you will further recommend
" yourſelves to me, by ſtuding to promote the public peace
" and quiet."

At the cloſe of this ſpeech, lord keeper Harcout pro- Burnet.
rogued the parliament to the 10th of July. Thus ended this ſeſſion, and all conſidering perſons had a melancholy proſpect, when they ſaw what might be apprehended from the two ſeſſions, that were yet to come of the ſame parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings of the convocation.—The queen's licenſe to them.—Exceptions to it.—Whiſton revives arianiſm.—Different opinions about the power of the convocation.—A bill for fifty new churches.—The duke of Marlborough takes the field.—Surpriſes the French lines.—Takes Bouchain.—Affairs in Spain.—King Charles elected emperor.—Affairs in Turkey.—And Pomerania.—French expedition to Braſil.—The expedition to Canada.—Remarks on it.—A ſeſſion of parliament in Ireland.—The pretender's friends ſhew themſelves openly in Scotland.—Promotions.—Negotiations of peace.—Prior ſent into France.—And Meſnager into England.—Seven preliminary articles.—The emperor's circular letter upon them.—The elector of Hanover's memorial.—The parliament prorogued.—And meets again.—Debates about a clauſe offered by the earl of Nottingham.—It is agreed to by the lords.—Bill rejected by the commons.—Duke Hamilton's patent examined.—A bill againſt occaſional conformity.—The lords addreſs about the peace.—The duke of Marlborough turned out of all his employments on pretence of bribery.—Twelve new peers made.—Prince Eugene comes to England.

1711. THE convocation was opened the 25th of November, the ſame day in which the parliament met; and Dr. Atterbury, in preference to Dr. Kennet, was choſen prolocutor by a great majority. The queen ſent a letter to the archbiſhop, dated December 12, in which ſhe ſignified her hopes, that the conſultations of the clergy might be of uſe to repreſs the attempts of perſons of looſe and prophane principles, and prevent the like for the future: and promiſed ſhe would give them all fitting encouragement, to proceed in the diſpatch of ſuch buſineſs as properly belonged to them, and grant them ſuch powers as ſhould be thought requiſite for carrying on ſo good a work; confiding in them that her royal intentions would not be fruſtrated, by unreaſonable diſputes about unneceſſary forms and methods of proceeding. Soon after the queen ſent a licenſe by the lord Dartmouth, under the broad-ſeal, to ſit and do buſineſs in as ample a manner as was ever granted ſince the reformation. By this licenſe, the queen impowered them to enter upon ſuch conſultations as the preſent ſtate of the church required, and

Proceedings of the convocation. Calamy. Burnet.

The queen's licenſe to them.

and particularly to consider of such matters as she should lay before them, limiting them to a quorum; that the archbishop, the bishop of London, or the bishop of Bath and Wells, should be present, and agree to their resolutions: with this license, there was a letter directed to the archbishop, in which the convocation was ordered, to lay before the queen an account of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy among us; and to consider how to redress abuses in excommunications; how rural deans might be made more effectual; how terriers might be made and preserved more exactly; and how the abuses in licenses for marriage might be corrected. 1711.

In this whole matter, neither the archbishop nor any of the bishops were so much as consulted with; and some things in the license were new: the archbishop was not named the president of the convocation, as was usual in former licenses; and, in these, the archbishop's presence and consent alone was made necessary, except in case of sickness, and then the archbishop had named some bishops to preside, as his commissaries: and, in that case, the convocation was limited to his commissaries, which still lodged the presidentship and the negative with the archbishop: this was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the clergy of a province to do nothing, without the consent of the metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheardof, to limit the convocation to any of their own body, who had no deputation from the archbishop. So a report of this being made, by a committee that was appointed to search the records, it was laid before the queen: and she sent the bishops a message to let them know, that she did not intend that those, whom she had named to be of the quorum, should either preside, or have a negative upon their deliberation, though the contrary was plainly insinuated in the license. The archbishop was so ill of the gout, that after their first meetings he could come no more: so was also the bishop of London; upon which the bishop of Bath and Wells, seeing how invidiously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health, and the convocation was at a stand, till a new license was sent them, in which the bishops of Winchester, Bristol, and St. Davids, were added to be of the quorum. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before: so the queen not only passed over all the bishops made in king William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above

Exceptions to the license.

all

1711. all their brethren. All this was directed by Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief miniſter; and, becauſe the other biſhops had maintained a good correſpondence with the former miniſtry, it was thought fit to put marks of the queen's diſtruſt upon them, that it might appear, with whom her royal favour and truſt was lodged.

A repreſentation drawn for the queen.

The convocation entered on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the queen: and a committee was appointed to draw a repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of the church, and of religion among us; but, after ſome heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: and he drew up a moſt virulent declamation, defaming all the adminiſtration from the time of the revolution: into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be publiſhed, if this ſhould be laid before the queen. The lower-houſe agreed to his draught; but the biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another repreſentation to be drawn in more general and more modeſt terms. It was not ſettled which of theſe draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or whether any repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the queen: for it was known, that the deſign in aſking one was only to have an aſperſion caſt, both on the former miniſtry and on the former reign. Several proviſions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the queen's letter: but none of theſe were agreed to by both houſes (d).

Whiſton revives arianiſm.

An incident happened, which diverted their thoughts to another matter. Mr. Whiſton, the mathematical profeſſor in Cambridge, a learned man, of a ſober and exemplary life, but much addicted to ſearch after paradoxes, endeavoured to revive the Arian hereſy, though he pretended to differ from Arius in ſeveral particulars. He found his notions favoured by the apoſtolical conſtitutions; ſo he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the canon of the ſcriptures. For theſe tenets he was cenſured at Cambridge, and expelled the univerſity: upon that he wrote a vindication of himſelf and his doctrine, and dedicated it to the convo-

(d) During theſe proceedings died Dr. Aldrich, dean of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. He was a polite and learned divine, and a warm ſtickler for the church and hereditary right. His zeal, in thoſe reſpects, had made him deſcend ſo low, as to apply himſelf to the contriving of the hieroglyfical figures of the Oxford almanac, with alluſions in favour of the pretender.

cation,

cation, promiſing a larger work on theſe ſubjects. The uncontеſted way of proceeding in ſuch a caſe was, that the biſhop of the dioceſe, in which he lived, ſhould cite him into his court, in order to his conviction or cenſure, from whoſe ſentence an appeal lay to the archbiſhop, and from him to the crown: or the archbiſhop might proceed in the firſt inſtance in a court of audience. But there were no clear precedents of any proceedings in convocation, where the juriſdiction was conteſted, a reference made by the high-commiſſion to the convocation, where the party ſubmitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in hiſtory, and even of this there was no record: to that, it not being thought a clear warrant for their proceeding, the biſhops were at a ſtand. The act, that ſettled the courſe of appeals in king Henry the Eighth's time, made no mention of ſentences in convocation; and yet, by the act in the firſt of queen Elizabeth, that defined what ſhould be judged hereſy, that judgment was declared to be in the crown: by all this (which the archbiſhop laid before the biſhops in a letter, that he wrote to them on this occaſion) it ſeemed doubtful, whether the convocation could, in the firſt inſtance, proceed againſt a man for hereſy: and their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a præmunire. So the upper-houſe, in an addreſs, prayed the queen to aſk the opinions of the judges, and ſuch others as ſhe thought fit, concerning theſe doubts, that they might know how the law ſtood in this matter. 1711.

Eight of the judges, with the attorney and ſollicitor-general (Northey and Raymond) gave their opinion, that the convocation had a juriſdiction, and might proceed in ſuch a caſe; but brought no expreſs law or precedent to ſupport their opinion. They only obſerved, that the law-books ſpoke of the convocation, as having juriſdiction; and they did not ſee that it was ever taken from them: they were alſo of opinion, that an appeal lay from the ſentence of convocation to the crown; but they reſerved to themſelves a power to change their mind, in caſe, upon an argument that might be made for a prohibition, they ſhould ſee cauſe for it. Four of the judges were poſitively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the ſtatutes made at the reformation. The queen, having received theſe different opinions, ſent them to the archbiſhop, to be laid before the two houſes of convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diverſity between them, ſhe wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of their juriſdiction, ſhe did expect Different opinions about the power of the convocation.

1711. that they ſhould proceed in the matter before them. In this it was viſible, that they, who adviſed the queen to write that letter, conſidered more their own humour, than her honour. However, two doubts ſtill remained, even ſuppoſing the convocation had a juriſdiction: the firſt was, of whom the court was to be compoſed, whether only of the biſhops, or what ſhare the lower-houſe had in this judiciary authority: the other was, by what delegates, in caſe of an appeal, their ſentence was to be examined: were no biſhops to be in the court of delegates? or was the ſentence of the archbiſhop and his twenty-one ſuffragan biſhops, with the clergy of the province, to be judged by the archbiſhop of York and his three ſuffragan biſhops? Theſe difficulties appearing to be ſo great, the biſhops reſolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the queen's licenſe, an undiſputable authority; which was to examine and cenſure the book, and to ſee if his doctrine was not contrary to the ſcriptures, and the firſt four general councils, which is the meaſure ſet by law, to judge hereſy. They drew out ſome propoſitions from his book, which ſeemed plainly to be the reviving of arianiſm: and cenſured them as ſuch. Theſe they ſent down to the lower-houſe, who, though they excepted to one propoſition, yet, cenſured the reſt in the ſame manner. This the archbiſhop (being ſtill diſabled by the gout) ſent by one of the biſhops to the queen for her aſſent, who promiſed to conſider of it: but ſhe did not ſend an anſwer, till the convocation came to an end; neither, at their next meeting the winter following, did any anſwer come from her, and therefore, two biſhops being ſent to aſk it, ſhe could not tell what was become of the archbiſhop's paper; ſo a new extract of the cenſure was again ſent to her; but ſhe did not think fit to ſend any anſwer, and Whiſton's affair remained undecided, though he publiſhed a large work in four volumes octavo, juſtifying his doctrine, and maintaining the canonicalneſs of the apoſtolical conſtitutions, preferring their authority not only to the epiſtles, but even to the goſpels. But, in this laſt point, he has made no proſelytes, though he has uſed his utmoſt efforts to ſupport it.

The lower-houſe would not enter into the conſideration of the repreſentation, ſent down to them by the biſhops; ſo none was agreed on to be preſented to the queen: but both were printed, and ſevere reflections were made, in ſeveral tracts, on that which was drawn by the lower-houſe, or rather by Atterbury. The biſhops went through all the

matters,

matters, recommended to them by the queen; and drew up a ſcheme of regulations on them all: but neither were theſe agreed to, by the lower-houſe; for their ſpirits were ſo exaſperated, that nothing ſent by the biſhops could be agreeable to them. 1711.

A bill for fifty new churches. Pr. H. C.

The pariſh of Greenwich having petitioned the houſe of commons for aſſiſtance in rebuilding the church, a committee was appointed to examine the petition, and an inſtruction was given them to conſider what churches were wanting within the cities of London and Weſtminſter. Upon this, the lower-houſe of convocation ſent a ſolemn meſſage by their prolocutor to the commons, to thank them for this inſtance of their regard to the welfare of the eſtabliſhed church, and to offer ſuch lights, as they were able to afford in relation to the extreme want of churches in London and Weſtminſter. The commons immediately reſolved, That they would receive all ſuch informations, as ſhould be offered in this caſe, by the lower-houſe of convocation; and would have a particular regard to ſuch applications, as ſhould at any time be made to them from the clergy in convocation aſſembled, according to the antient uſage, together with the parliament. Purſuant to this reſolution, quickened by a recommendation from the queen (who had been addreſſed by the convocation) they paſſed a bill for the building fifty new churches, and gave the duty of one ſhilling a chaldron upon coals, from September 29, 1716, to September 29, 1719, for raiſing the ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. This duty had been reſerved for building St. Paul's, which was now finiſhed. This was the leaſt that could be expected from a houſe of commons, choſen, in great meaſure, by the zeal and influence of the clergy, eſpecially, as it was apparent, that, in the ſuburbs of London, there were above two hundred thouſand people more than could poſſibly reſort to the churches already built. Soon after this, the ſeſſion of parliament and convocation both came to an end.

The duke of Marlborough goes to Holland. Hiſt. of Eur.

The duke of Marlborough being continued in the command of the Britiſh forces in Flanders inclined many to hope, that a reconciliation was effected between him and the new miniſtry. But this was ſo far from being the caſe, that there was no longer any confidence between him and thoſe that managed affairs at court; and conſequently little was to be expected from the continuation of the war, when

1711. the chief conductor of it was in so uneasy a situation (e). However, to carry matters on the more smoothly, the queen wrote a kind letter to the states about the duke, whose conduct she declared herself to be intirely satisfied with; and assured them, that, according to their desires, she would order the duke forthwith to go over to Holland. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, he set out from St. James's, with a positive assurance, that the payment of the troops under his command wou'd be as effectually taken care of by the new ministers, as it had been by the old; and, imbarking at Harwich the next day, arrived at the Hague on the 4th of March, N. S. to the great satisfaction of the states.

While all things were preparing on both sides for the opening af the campaign, many consultations were held on several weighty affairs, particularly in relation to the assembling a body of troops, to preserve the neutrality of the empire, which was in imminent danger of being broke by the king of Sweden's refusing to come into the measures already agreed

(e) Dr. Hare, the duke of Marlborough's attendant-chaplain, then in Flanders, and who was in his secrets, describes the duke's situation in the following manner:

'That little more harmony was to be expected between two rivals in power, than between a falling and a rising favourite. Some persons, says he, would still pretend to put a good face upon the matter, and do not question, from the duke of Marlborough's past successes, that he will yet frighten our enemies into an honourable peace. But, I am afraid, he is not likely to do so much at this time, when the enemy are encouraged to take heart afresh; the allies are full of jealousies and fears, and himself extremely mortified. Things are not the same, any more than the usage he meets with. When he is uneasy in his thoughts, undermined in the favour of his sovereign, and vilely misrepresented to the people; when his want of interest at home makes it impossible for the allies to depend upon the hopes he gives them; when he is without authority in the army, where it is made criminal to espouse his interest; and to fly in his face is the surest means to advancement; when it is meritorious in his officers to cabal against him; and the most factious will be thought the most deserving; With what heart can a man in these circumstances serve? Or, what success can be expected from him, when he is made to depend upon profess'd enemies for his support? it is little, I think, we can hope for even from him hereafter, though that little be more than any body else could do.'

agreed on for that purpoſe. After ſeveral conferences it was 1711.
reſolved, that her Britannic majeſty and the ſtates-general ſhould employ in that ſervice the eight Palatine battalions in their pay, and provide the other four, that would be ſtill wanting to compleat their quota's, where they might beſt be ſpared, without affecting the common cauſe.

There was, at this juncture, another affair of no ſmall conſequence in agitation at the Hague. For when the allies expected to hear, that the king of Pruſſia's troops were on their march into the field, that prince's miniſters declared, that, unleſs their maſter had full ſatisfaction given him, as to the arrears due to his forces, and the ſucceſſion of the late king William, as prince of Orange, his troops ſhould not march out of their winter-quarters. The allies were ſomewhat ſurprized at this unexpected declaration; but, the deputies of the ſtate having had ſeveral conferences with the Pruſſian miniſters, an agreement was concluded, containing in ſubſtance, "That the arrears ſhould be paid in four "months time: that, notwithſtanding the houſe of Dieren "had been adjudged, by ſentence of a court of judicature, "to the houſe of Naſſau, the ſtates conſented, that his "Pruſſian majeſty ſhould continue to make uſe of it: and "that the council, who had adminiſtered the revenue of "the ſucceſſion of Orange, ſince the death of the late "king, ſhould be obliged ſpeedily to give an account of "the ſame." As ſoon as the deputies had made this declaration, the king of Pruſſia approved of the agreement, and his troops began their march for the Netherlands. Unexpected demands of Pruſſia.

The duke of Marlborough expected with great impatience the arrival of prince Eugene, who was for ſome time detained at Vienna by the coming of a Turkiſh aga, with a particular commiſſion from the Ottoman Port, to remove any jealouſy, that might be entertained at the imperial court, from the warlike preparations, which the Turks were making at this time againſt Muſcovy and Poland. In the mean while the duke was daily in conference with the deputies of the ſtates, to concert the operations of the war; and, it being thought of the utmoſt importance to be in the field before the enemy, it was reſolved, to cauſe detachments from all the garriſons to canton along the Scarpe, and between that river and the canal of Doway, whereby a great body might in a few hours be formed, and ready to march; which, with great diligence and ſecrecy, was put The duke of Marlborough takes the field. Broderick.

1711. in execution, under the direction of lieutenant-general Cadogan.

On the other hand, the French forces beginning about the middle of April to aſſemble near Cambray and Arras, the duke ſet out from the Hague, and arrived in three days at Tournay, near which place the troops were incamped in ſeveral bodies. At a council of war, it was reſolved, that thoſe troops ſhould join, and form the army; which was done at Orchies between Liſle and Doway. The next day the duke of Marlborough paſſed the Scarpe, and incamped between Doway and Bouchain, and found, that the enemy had aſſembled a numerous army behind the Sanſet in a moſt advantageous poſt, which was judged inacceſſible. Nothing material happend till the 9th of May, when three thouſand French, detached from Valenciennes and Condé, attacked a convoy of forty-five boats, laden with hay and oats, which ſet out for Tournay under a guard of two battalions commanded by brigadier Chambrier. But, the garriſon of St. Amand advancing to the aſſiſtance of the guard, the enemy retired, having firſt ſet on fire twelve of the boats, with the loſs of about an hundred men killed and wounded; and the allies loſt about the ſame number.

Some boats deſtroyed by the French.

The duke of Marlborough continued in his camp, where he expected the reſt of the troops, which were to form his army, and the arrival of prince Eugene. That prince was obliged to ſtay ſome days at Francfort, to concert with the elector of Mentz the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the empire, upon the unexpected death of the emperor Joſeph; after which he proceeded to the court of the elector Palatine, to regulate ſeveral matters with that prince, who, as one of the vicars of the empire, was to have the chief adminiſtration thereof during the interregnum. By this means prince Eugene did not join the grand army till the 23d of May. The duke and prince were reſolved to continue in their camp as long as poſſible, in hopes that the ſcarcity of forage would oblige the enemy to decamp; for, after the ſeveral attempts, that were made at the poſt of Arleux, which was taken and retaken, there was no likelihood to force their lines.

In the mean time the French hoping, that the elector of Bavaria had many friends in the empire, who would declare for him; and believing, that the Germans, being deprived of their general in chief, would hearken to a neutrality, if that elector appeared in Germany at the head of a powerful

a powerful army; reſolved to ſend him thither; and, to that end, reinforced their army on the Rhine from their garriſons on the Maeſe and Moſelle, and likewiſe from their army in the Netherlands. For Villars thought his lines ſo ſecure and impenetrable, that he boaſted, they were the Ne plus ultra of the duke of Marlborough. Theſe lines began at Bouchain on the Scheld, and were continued along the Sanſet and the Scarpe to Arras, and from thence along the Upper Scarpe and the river Ugy to the Canche, the opening between thoſe rivers being intrenched and fortified with all poſſible care by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works. 1711.

Prince Eugene marches to the Rhine.

The preparations of the enemy alarming the empire, prince Eugene received poſitive orders from Vienna to march with the imperial and Palatine troops to the Upper Rhine for ſecuring Germany. Upon this the two armies decamped, the 14th of June, and repaſſed the Scarpe, prince Eugene taking his way towards Tournay, and the duke of Marlborough marching towards the plains of Lens in ſight of the French, who did not offer to inſult his rear. The duke continued there till the 20th of July, when he advanced towards Aire, to make the enemy believe, that he deſigned to beſiege St. Omer, or attack their lines on that ſide. This obliged Villars to reinforce the garriſon of that place, and to draw all his troops to defend his lines between the Scarpe and the Canche, which both armies believed the duke deſigned to attack, becauſe of the preparations he had made. The duke, upon a view of the enemy's lines, finding it would be too hazardous to endeavour to force them, reſolved upon a ſtratagem. To make the enemy believe, he really intended to attack them, he ordered twelve hundred men out, to make roads and bridges in the front, and advanced, with the whole army, to Rebreuve, and from thence to Villars-Brulin, within two leagues of the lines. Here he ſet all his troops to work, in making faſcines, and gave out, that he intended to attack the lines the next morning. Villars was ſo fully perſuaded of it, that he ſent orders to a ſtrong detachment, commanded by count d'Eſtain, which had been ſent upon a ſecret expedition, to halt at Perenne, and to the garriſons of Ypres and St. Omer, to join his army, which he drew together behind the lines. The duke, to amuſe the enemy more effectually, went, the 4th of Auguſt, N. S. by break of day, with ſeveral of the general officers and two thouſand horſe, to take a nearer view of

The duke of Marlborough ſurpriſes the French lines.

1711. the ſituation of the enemy's camp; but his real deſign, when he advanced from Cote near Aire, was to endeavour to get within the enemy's lines, by attempting the paſſage of the Sanſet by Arleux, which he believed was ungarded, as indeed it happened to be. To this end he ordered Cadogan and Hompeſch to repair, with all expedition, to Doway, and aſſemble ſome troops that were left there on purpoſe, which, with a detachment of that, and the neighbouring garriſons of Liſle and St. Amand, made a body of three and twenty battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons. Their farther orders were to march directly with their troops to Arleux, and endeavour to paſs the Sanſet, while the duke himſelf would advance with the whole army to ſupport them. And, that nothing might retard this extraordinary march, brigadier Sutton was ſent beforehand with the artillery and pontons to make bridges over the Scarpe near Vitry, and over the canal of Arleux near Goulezin.

Theſe things were managed ſo privately, and the feint carried on ſo well, that the confederate generals themſelves thought of nothing but attacking the lines the next morning. Theſe amuſements had ſo good an effect upon Villars, that he kept his troops under arms night and day, and reinforced them with all the ſtrength he could poſſibly draw together, on that ſide, not leaving any number of troops in the poſts he had upon the Sanſet.

The confederate army, in the mean time, were expecting orders to march, which were not given till ſix in the evening. The march was to begin between eight and nine, as ſoon as it was dark enough to ſtrike their tents, without being ſeen by the enemy; but, whether the march was to be to the right or left, was not known. They were only told, that the ſeveral columns, which the army was to march in, ſhould find an officer at the head of each, at ſuch an hour, who ſhould lead them the way they were to take, when the time came. About nine the whole army, to their great ſurprize, were ordered to march by the left, in four columns, without beat of drum; and the duke himſelf, with the horſe of the left wing, led the van, and advanced with ſuch extraordinary expedition, that, the next morning by five, he paſſed the Scarpe at Vitry. Here he received advice, that Hompeſch had paſſed the Sanſet without oppoſition, and taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes on that river, and on the Scheld at Oiſy, the French, having, ſome time before, withdrawn the detachments they had on that ſide. The duke, upon this, haſtened his march, left the

enemy

enemy ſhould get there before him; and, at the ſame time, 1711.
diſpatched orders to the grand army, to purſue their march with the utmoſt diligence. The duke, with his van-guard of fifty ſquadrons, having paſſed the Scarpe, haſtened towards Arleux and Bacà Bachuel, where he arrived before eight of the clock, and the heads of the columns joined him there about ten, having marched above ten leagues without halting; a thing ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory.

Villars, though he had notice of this unexpected march of the confederate army about eleven at night, was ſo poſſeſſed with the belief that the deſign was to attack his lines near Aveſnes le Compte, that he waited till two the next morning for certain intelligence. Then he decamped with his whole army, and, putting himſelf at the head of the king's houſhold, marched all night with ſuch diligence, that he appeared with the head of his line about eleven o'clock, ſoon after the duke of Marlborough had joined count Hompeſch, and paſſed with twenty ſquadrons through the defile of Marquion. But, when he ſaw the duke was advancing with his horſe to attack him, he retreated to the main body of his army, which was, by that time, advanced to the high road between Arras and Cambray. Mean while the allies advanced with all poſſible diligence, and, having all paſſed, the army incamped upon the Scheld between Oiſy and Eſtrun.

Thus the confederate army entered the French lines, which they had ſo vainly boaſted to be impenetrable; the boldeſt attempt that had been made during the whole war: and the honour of it was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by the detachment, which prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over five thouſand of the beſt troops in his army for an expedition deſigned by ſea; ſo that the enemy were ſuperior to him in number. This raiſed his character beyond all that he had done formerly; the deſign was ſo well laid, and ſo happily executed, that, in all men's opinions, it paſſed for a maſter-piece of military ſkill, the honour of it falling intirely on the duke of Marlborough, no other perſons having any ſhare, except in the execution.

The next day, Auguſt 6, while the allies expected the enemy lying upon their arms, advice was brought to the duke of Marlborough, that they were in motion towards the Scheld, in order to paſs it at Crevecoeur, and incamp between Cambray and Bouchain, to prevent the ſiege of the latter. The duke detached forty ſquadrons, with orders to

fall

1711. fall upon their rear; but they found it impracticable, by reaſon of the moraſs that was between them: and, a council of war being called, the field-deputies of the ſtates-general propoſed to purſue the enemy, and hazard a battle, ſince this ſurprize had put them in no ſmall diſorder. The duke of Marlborough was of a different opinion. He thought the attempt might be too hazardous: the army was much fatigued with ſo long a march, in which the cavalry had been eight and forty hours on horſeback, alighting only twice, about an hour each time, to feed their horſes. The French were freſh, having had a much nearer march within their lines, than the confederates round them; and the allies were not in a condition for action, till ſome time were allowed for refreſhment. Beſides, the duke foreſaw, in caſe of a misfortune, their being within the enemy's lines might be fatal.

The duke having diſapproved of the propoſal made by the deputies, it was expected he ſhould make another. Accordingly he propoſed the beſieging of Bouchain, which he thought would oblige the French to endeavour to raiſe the ſiege; and that might give occaſion to their engaging on more equal terms; or it would bring both a diſreputation and a diſcouragement on their army, if a place of ſuch importance ſhould be taken in their ſight. But both the Dutch deputies and the general officers thought the enterprize too bold, yet they ſubmitted to his judgment. It ſeemed impracticable to take a place ſituated in a moraſs well fortified, with a good garriſon in it, in ſight of a ſuperior army; for the French lay within a mile of them. There was alſo great danger from the excurſions, which the garriſons of Valenciennes and Condé might make, to cut off their proviſions, which were to come from Tournay. All about the duke endeavoured to divert him from ſo dangerous an undertaking, ſince a misfortune in his conduct would have furniſhed his enemies with the advantages they waited for. All this he was ſenſible of; but he had laid the ſcheme ſo well, that he reſolved to venture on it. But, before this reſolution was executed, the duke diſpatched brigadier Sutton to England with the news, that he had without the loſs of a man entered thoſe lines, which had coſt the enemy ſo much time and labour to fortify, and of the ſtrength of which they had ſo much boaſted. The field-deputies ſent alſo an account of that affair to the ſtates-general. The news was received in Holland with an univerſal joy, and no encomiums were too great for the conductor of the great deſign;

ſign; but the ſatisfaction was not ſo general in England. When Sutton arrived at Whitehall, with an account of the duke of Marlborough's paſſing the French lines, it gave his friends indeed the greater joy, becauſe his enemies had given out, that nothing would be done this year in Flanders, becauſe, as they pretended, he was reſolved no affair ſhould ſucceed under the preſent adminiſtration, if he could help it. But, his enemies, being diſappointed, endeavoured to leſſen the glory of the action, pretending, he had only removed his army from a plentiful to a ſtarving camp. But this malicious ſuggeſtion was ſoon confuted, as well by the ſequel of his ſucceſs, as by the applauſe all Europe gave to his conduct; while Villars was openly reflected on, both in his own army and at Paris. 1711.

The ſiege of Bouchain.

Purſuant to the reſolution taken in the council of war, the ſiege of Bouchain was undertaken, the difficulty of which may be judged from the ſituation of the place. Bouchain is a fortified town, ſtanding at the confluence of the Sanſet and the Selle into the Scheld. The Sanſet parts the Upper Town from the Lower, forms an inundation between that and the Selle, and fills the ditches which ſurround the works between the Upper and Lower Towns. The Selle divides the Lower Town in two parts, and, between the Lower Town and the Scheld, is a horn-work, which covers two ſeparate baſtions, and which is cut in two by a ditch ſupplied by the Scheld. Notwithſtanding theſe, and ſeveral other difficulties, the place was inveſted the 10th of Auguſt, N. S. by thirty battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, commanded by general Fagel. Marſhal Villars tried to throw more men into the town by a narrow cauſeway (called the Cow-path) through the moraſs; but the duke of Marlborough took his meaſures ſo well, that he was guarded againſt every thing, and drove the French from that advantageous poſt. He ſaw what the event of this ſiege might be; and therefore beſtirred himſelf with unuſual application, and was more fatigued in the courſe of this ſiege, than he had been at any time during the whole war. The trenches were vigorouſly carried on, and by the batteries and bombs the town was ſoon laid in ruins. Villars did all he could to raiſe the ſiege, but to no purpoſe. When he ſaw that could not be done, he endeavoured to ſurprize Doway. To that end, he ſent a detachment of ten thouſand men under Albergotti (the late governor of Doway) and thought fit to be there himſelf in perſon. They marched the 7th of September in the evening;

1711. evening; and, about one in the morning, they were discovered by a patrole of the confederate horſe, who ſent intelligence of it to count Hompeſch; ſo that orders were immediately given to the officers in the out-poſts to be upon their guard. But, in the mean time, the enemy advanced towards the gate of St. Eloy, where they deſigned to ſcale the wall; and ſeveral of their boats, filled with ſoldiers, paſſed over the inundation to favour the attempt, and came ſo near the works, that, being challenged by the centinels, they anſwered, 'They were the governor's fiſhermen;' which the garriſon miſtruſting, and, at the ſame time, hearing ſome firing from the out-poſts, they fired likewiſe upon the boats: ſo that the enemy, finding themſelves diſcovered, retired immediately. Thoſe in the inundation left their boats behind, and made what haſte they could to join their main body, which marched back, and re-paſſed the Sanſet, with great precipitation, having loſt a conſiderable number of their men by deſertion.

The town ſurrenders. Villars having failed in all his attempts to relieve Bouchain, the garriſon, after twenty days from the opening of the trenches, capitulated, and could obtain no better terms, than to be made priſoners of war. The garriſon, conſiſting at firſt of ſix thouſand men, was reduced to leſs than three thouſand. The governor pretended he was in a condition to have defended himſelf ſome days longer; but the ſoldiers, finding Villars did not attempt to relieve the place, obliged him to capitulate.

The ſucceſs of this memorable ſiege, ſo difficult in all its circumſtances, improved the bravery and reſolution of the confederate troops; ſo that they never expreſſed ſo much eagerneſs for coming to a fair engagement with the enemy. The duke's ſtratagem in paſſing the lines without the loſs of a man; the cutting off the communication of the enemy with Bouchain; the manner of the duke's inveſting the town with an inferior army; his caſting up lines, making regular forts, raiſing batteries, laying bridges over a river, making a morais paſſable, and providing for the ſecurity of his convoys, againſt a ſuperior army on the one ſide, and the numerous garriſons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, were enterprizes that ſhewed the great military ſkill of the undertaker. As this was reckoned the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole hiſtory of the war, ſo the honour of it was acknowledged to belong entirely to the duke of Marlborough; as the blame of a miſcarriage in it muſt

muſt have fallen ſingly on him (f). Villars's conduct on this occaſion was much cenſured, but by means of madam Maintenon (whoſe favourite Villars was) it was approved by the king of France. 1711.

Whilſt the works and breaches of Bouchain were repairing, the duke of Marlborough ſent the earl of Albemarle to the Hague, to regulate the operations for the remaining part of the campaign with the ſtates; and, as he judged the enemy might be troubleſome in the winter, to the conquered places near them, without the reduction of Queſnoy, to obtain their concurrence for the ſiege of that place. But the ſtates, conſidering how far the ſeaſon was ſpent, and the difficulties which muſt attend ſuch an enterprize in the ſight of the enemy's army, eſpecially in a country where they had deſtroyed all the forage, they rejected the propoſal. They agreed however, that moſt of their troops ſhould be quartered in the frontier towns, not only, that they might be ready to take the field early in the ſpring, but alſo to hinder the enemy from making any new lines during the winter, and oblige them, at the ſame time, to continue their troops upon their frontiers, where they would find it very difficult to ſubſiſt them. The duke, who had been acquainted with the negotiations that were carrying on in England, by monſieur Meſnager from the French court, and the propoſals he had given in to the miniſtry from his maſter, could not but perceive, that the ſtates had this alſo for an inducement, to make no more ſieges during the remainder of the campaign, in order to ſpare their troops till they ſaw what would be the reſult of the negotiations; though they did not think fit to inſert it among their other arguments for putting an end to it. The duke therefore ſet the forces at work to level the approaches, fill up the breaches, and put the town of Bouchain into a poſture of defence; which was not finiſhed till about three weeks after its ſurrender, thro' the badneſs of the weather, which very much incommoded both the French and the allies, who continued incamped to ſee each other drawn off to their winter quarters. As ſoon as Bouchain was put in a good poſture of de-

(f) As Villars was lampooned in France about his Ne plus ultra, and for ſuffering Bouchain to be taken in his ſight: ſo, on the contrary, the duke of Marlborough was libelled in England by ſome mercenary pens for his ſucceſſes. Bouchain was called a dove-houſe, to leſſen the glory of taking it; and the paſſage of the French lines was repreſented as a militia-company's croſſing a kennel.

fence,

1711. fence, both the armies began to ſeparate, having already greatly ſuffered by the continual rains, and the ſcarcity of forage.

This was the laſt ſervice which the duke of Marlborough ever performed in the field. The allies were now in poſſeſſion of the Maeſe almoſt to the inlet of the Sambre, and the Scheld beyond Tournay, and of the Lys ſo far as it is navigable. And beſides the conqueſts of Bavaria, Cologne, and other countries in Germany, they had alſo reduced ſo much of Guelderland, as had formerly been left to Spain by the treaty of Munſter; and likewiſe Limburg, Brabant, Mechlin, Flanders; two thirds of Hainault, with their ſtrong holds, the conqueſt of which was thought almoſt impracticable. By the taking of Bouchain, and the progreſs of the confederate army on the Scarpe and the Lys, they were become maſters of two rivers, which, by the means of the Deule, and its canal, had been ſerviceable to the French for many years in their continual invaſions of the Spaniſh Netherlands, of which they were now altogether deprived. All theſe important conqueſts the allies had made during the courſe of this war, under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who having given the neceſſary orders for ſecuring the navigation of the Scarpe to Doway, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying ſeveral poſts on that river, and on the Scheld, left the army on the 27th of October, and, after ſome ſtay at the Hague, landed in England on the 17th of November, O. S.

Affairs in Spain. Burnet. M. S.

As the affair of Spain had been ſo much preſſed from the throne, and ſo much inſiſted on all the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and as the commons had given 1,500,000 l. for that ſervice (a ſum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding ſeſſion) it was expected matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The duke of Argyle having been recalled from the ſervice in Flanders (where he had acted in conſtant oppoſition to the duke of Marlborough) was appointed to command the Engliſh forces in Spain; and great hopes were entertained, that, by his courage, activity, and conduct, the face of affairs there would be changed for the better: but all theſe hopes failed. After the ſurrender at Brihuega, there were, as hath been related, but three Engliſh regiments left, Lepel's dragoons, with Richards's and Du Bourgay's regiments of foot, and theſe had almoſt been deſtroyed at the battle of Villaviciosa. However, they were in great meaſure compleated again by the dragoons and foot that made their eſcape from their confinement.

finement. But there was no money to ſubſiſt them; and, if the Catalans, in whoſe towns they were quartered, had not been ſo humane as they were, they muſt have been ſtarved. There had been no remittances from England in above ſix months, till the beginning of February, when the pay-maſter received bills for thirty-two thouſand pounds only, though the eſtabliſhment in Spain amounted yearly to one million, one hundred thouſand pounds and upwards. As this ſmall ſum bore no proportion to what ſubſiſtance was due, ſo it did not ſuffice to give any relief to thoſe who were in want, and therefore they muſt have periſhed, had it not been for the good nature of the people of Catalonia. 1711.

During the winter, general Stanhope had been endeavouring to get an exchange of priſoners; but the court of Madrid was ſo averſe to it, and ſo unwilling the Engliſh ſhould obtain their liberty while the war continued, that, inſtead of agreeing to it, Stanhope was removed from the city of Valladolid to a poor fiſher-town in Aſturia, and afterwards to Pau, the capital of Bearn in France, where he continued till all the priſoners on both ſides were releaſed.

Sir John Norris came with the fleet in the beginning of March from Port-Mahon to Barcelona, and a great council of war was held at the palace, in king Charles's preſence, about the ſituation of affairs, and the operations of the next campaign. Soon after, major-general Whetham arrived at Barcelona, and ſuperſeded Lepel in the command of the forces. He was followed by a few regiments of foot from Ireland, and two from Gibraltar, that were re-implaced by ſome that came from that kingdom.

The duke of Argyle was expected with great impatience, by whoſe preſence it was hoped (ſays our author *) all our wants, which were very great, would be ſupplied: for no money had been returned, except the inconſiderable ſum before-mentioned. Some bills indeed were drawn by a banker of London upon our Engliſh merchants; but theſe were proteſted. The duke of Argyle (who, in his way to Spain, came, the 4th of April, to the Hague, and went on his journey without viſiting the duke of Marlborough) ſtaid ſome time at Genoa, expecting the remittances he was promiſed before he left England, but none came, which made him very uneaſy. However, he came away with two men of war, and landed at Barcelona the 29th of May, and had his firſt audience of king Charles, as ambaſſador and plenipotentiary, the next day. The duke employed all his time

* Manuſcript account.

1711. time in putting the Britiſh troops into the beſt condition he could; but ſtill no remittances came. The enemy had marched out of their quarters ſome time before, and were advancing towards the Urgel; ſo it was thought high time for our army to be in motion, to oppoſe their progreſs. As no money came, the duke was obliged to borrow ten thouſand pounds on his own credit, which was but of little ſervice.

Vendoſme's army was in ſo ill a condition, that Staremberg, if he had been ſupported, promiſed himſelf great advantages. He marched towards the enemy with the Spaniards and the Germans, and the duke of Argyle with the Engliſh. The conſiderable paſs of Prato del Rey was the ſcene of action this campaign; it was regularly and warmly attacked by the duke of Vendoſme, and as vigorouſly defended by our generals. At laſt, the enemy was obliged to retire, and leave us in poſſeſſion of the paſs. The duke of Argyle was ſoon after ſeized with a violent fever, and obliged to return to Barcelona, where it was a long time before he was perfectly recovered. In the beginning of June, Sir John Jennings, with a fleet, arrived before Barcelona, and ſuperſeded Sir John Norris, who ſailed back to England.

The duke of Vendoſme ordered the caſtles of Venaſque, Arens, and Cardona, to be inveſted, but without ſucceſs. The ſiege of Cardona was obſtinately perſiſted in. This caſtle ſtands upon a high hill near the mountains. The garriſon being ſoon reduced to great extremities, Staremberg ordered a convoy of proviſions to be got ready, and five hundred grenadiers, ſupported by ſome regiments, to ſee it ſafe into the caſtle. The command of the grenadiers fell upon colonel Edward Stanhope, who attacked part of a French brigade that was poſted in the way to the gate of the caſtle; and, having routed them, ſaw all the proviſions delivered into the place. After which, the colonel drew his grenadiers upon a riſing ground on the ſide of the caſtle, to refreſh them, and going too near the eminence, under which the enemy had retired, a ſoldier ſhot him through the body, of which wound he ſoon after died (g). By the help of this convoy, the garriſon held out till the end

(g) The famous town of Manreſſa, to which he was carried before he expired, out of reſpect to his name, ſuffered his body to be interred in the hoſpital burying-ground, a favour allowed to no other proteſtant officer, during the ſeven years our author was in Spain. M. S.

of

of December, when Staremberg ſent ſome bodies to raiſe the ſiege, who ſucceeded ſo well in their attempt, that they killed two thouſand of the beſiegers, and forced their camp; ſo that they not only raiſed the ſiege, but made themſelves maſters of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and the duke of Vendoſme's army was ſo diminiſhed, that, if Staremberg had received the aſſiſtance, which he expected from England, he would have penetrated far into Spain. But nothing was done, after all the zeal expreſſed by the parliament and miniſtry, for retrieving matters on that ſide. The duke of Argyle wrote over heavy complaints, that he was not ſupported, by the failing of the remittances he had expected. Notwithſtanding theſe complaints, when he afterwards came over, he was very ſilent, and ſeemed in a good underſtanding with the miniſters. 1710.

The election of king Charles to be emperor, Burnet.

The emperor's death, as it immediately opened to king Charles the ſucceſſion to the hereditary dominions, ſo a diſpoſition appeared unanimouſly, among all the electors, to chuſe him emperor. However, he ſtaid in Barcelona till September, and then leaving his queen there, to ſupport his affairs in Spain, he ſailed over to Italy. He ſtaid ſome weeks at Milan, where the duke of Savoy came to him; and it was ſaid, that all matters in debate were adjuſted between them. It was hoped this campaign would have produced ſomething in thoſe parts advantageous to the common cauſe, upon the agreement made before the emperor Joſeph's death, who, a few days before he was taken ill, granted to the duke of Savoy the poſſeſſion of the fiefs in Montferrat. And Mr. St. John, when he moved in the houſe of commons for the ſubſidies to the duke of Savoy, ſaid, all our hopes of ſucceſs this year lay in that quarter, for in Flanders we could do nothing. The duke indeed took the field, forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine; but, upon what views it was not then known, he ſtopped his courſe, and, after a ſhort campaign, re-paſſed the mountains.

The election of the emperor came on at Francfort, where ſome electors came in perſon, others ſent their deputies. Some weeks were ſpent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive deputies from the electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but they were rejected, for they were under the Ban of the empire: nor were they pleaſed with the interpoſition of the pope's nuncio, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they perſiſted in refuſing to admit them. Francfort lay ſo near

1711. the frontier of the empire, that it was apprehended, the French might have made an attempt that way; for they drew ſome detachments from their army in Flanders, to increaſe their forces on the Rhine, as hath been related. This it was that obliged the court of Vienna to ſend orders to prince Eugene to march with a detachment from Flanders towards the Rhine. He came in good time to ſecure the electors at Francfort; who, being now ſafe from the fear of any inſult, went on ſlowly in all that they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an election; and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe Charles, who was now declared emperor, by the name of Charles the Sixth: he went from Milan to Inſpruck, and from thence to Francfort, where he was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign.

The king of Pruſſia preſſes the ſettling the ſucceſſion of king William. Hiſt. of Eur.

The endeavours uſed to adjuſt the diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the late king William were rendered unſucceſsful by a fatal accident. An accommodation was attempted in the beginning of the ſpring; and the king of Pruſſia repairing to the Hague ſoon after, to preſs the concluſion of that affair, the prince of Naſſau-Frieſeland, the other party, was earneſtly deſired by him to come thither alſo. The prince complied, though not without ſome reluctance to leave the confederate army in the middle of the campaign. But, upon the 14th of June, N. S. being come to Moerdyke in his way to the Hague, and being obliged to ferry over the Ames, by reaſon of the fatigue of his journey, and the rain, which fell in great abundance, he choſe to continue in his coach with Mr. Hilken, his maſter of horſe, and colonel of his guards. A ſudden tempeſtuous wind aroſe, with which, and the diſturbance of the water occaſioned by it, the horſes were ſo frighted, that they immediately leaped overboard, and dragged the coach into the Ames; ſo that the prince and his companion were ſoon drowned, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of one of his ſervants, who loſt his life in attempting to ſave his maſter's. The death of this prince, who was eminent for his bravery and great qualities, was univerſally lamented by the ſtates, and the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and particularly by the army, who had been eye-witneſſes of his conduct and reſolution in the memorable ſieges of Liſle, Douay, and Mons, the battle of Oudenarde, and chiefly in that of Blarignies.

The prince of Naſſau drowned.

Action in Turkey. Burnet.

The war between the Turks and the czar came to a quick end. The czar advanced with his army far into Moldavia,

via, that he was cut off from his provisions. An engagement followed, in which both sides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the czar found he was reduced to great extremities; for he proposed, in order to a peace, to surrender Azoph, with some other places, and demanded, that the king of Sweden might be sent home to his own country. The grand vizier was glad to obtain so speedy a conclusion of the war; and, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the king of Sweden, he concluded a peace with the Muscovites, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by money. The king of Sweden, being highly offended at this, charged the grand vizier with neglecting the great advantages he had over the czar, since he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed so far at the Porte, that upon it the grand vizier was deposed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year; for the czar delayed the rendering Azoph, and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending, that the king of Sweden was not sent home, according to agreement: yet, to prevent a new war, all the places were at length given up. 1711.

Towards the end of this year, the Danes and Saxons broke in by concert upon Pomerania, resolving to besiege Stralsund; but every thing necessary for a siege came so slowly from Denmark, that no progress was made, though the troops lay near the place for some months; and in that time the Swedes landed a considerable body of men in the isle of Rugen. At last the besiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raise the siege, and to retire from that neighbourhood in the beginning of January. They sat down next before Wismar; but that attempt likewise miscarried, which rendered the conduct of the king of Denmark very contemptible, who thus obstinately carried on a war, at a time, that the plague swept away a third part of the people of Copenhagen, with as little conduct as success. and in Pomerania.

No action happened at sea this year, for the French fitted out no fleet. All they did this summer was the sending a squadron of fourteen or fifteen men of war, under the command of Du Guay Trouin, in America, where they already had another squadron, commanded by Du Casse. Du Guay's expedition was for some time kept secret; but at last it was known, that, having entered the bay of Rio de Janeiro in Brasil, he obliged the Portuguese to run ashore, and set on fire their men of war in that port; after which he made The French expedition to Brasil.

1711. himſelf, maſter of the town of St. Sebaſtian; and, having kept poſſeſſion of it two months, ſailed from thence the 13th of November, carrying away ſix hundred ten thouſand cruſadoes, beſides a great quantity of ſugar, and other rich plunder, which they valued at ſeven millions of livres, and pretended, that the whole loſs ſuſtained by the Portugueſe amounted to five and twenty millions. On the other hand, the French made this year ſome unſucceſsful attempts on the Leeward Iſlands; and, about the ſame time, commodore Littleton took a Spaniſh galleon, and another ſhip of twenty-ſix guns, richly laden, in the Weſt-Indies.

The Canada expedition. Hiſt. of Eur.

An expedition was deſigned by ſea for taking Quebec and Placentia in North-America. This deſign was formed by colonel Nicholſon, who had taken poſſeſſion of Nova Scotia, put a garriſon into Port-Royal, and called it Annapolis. The four Indian chiefs, whom the colonel had brought over with him in the ſpring of the year 1710, had alſo promoted it, by repreſenting the dangers our ſettlements on the continent of America were threatened with from that quarter. Indeed the driving the French out of thoſe parts would have driven them alſo out of the Newfoundland trade entirely, and been a very great ſecurity to New-England and New-York. To execute this deſign, troops were ſent for from Flanders, and, with others in England, put on board tranſports under the command of brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham, the new favourite, conſiſting of about five thouſand men (h). A ſtrong ſquadron of men of war under Sir Hovendon Walker, was ordered to convoy the tranſport fleet (i). They all ſailed from Plymouth the 4th of May, and arrived at Boſton in New-England the 4th of June. General Hill and admiral Walker going aſhore, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to land the troops, the proviſions which they expected to be furniſhed with at Boſton not being in any readineſs. The fleet, upon their arrival here, conſiſted of twelve men of war, forty tranſport-ſhips, and ſix ſtore-ſhips, with all manner of warlike ſtores, and a fine train of artillery, with forty horſe for the uſe of the ſame, commanded by colonel King, with proper officers.

(h) The regiments of Kirk, Hill, Clayton, Wadneſs, Seymour, Defannay, and a battalion of marines commanded by colonel Charles Churchill.

(i) The Edgar, Monmouth, Devonſhire, Humber, Swiftſure, Kingſton, Sunderland, Mountague, and Dunkirk. Thoſe were to be reinforced by other ſhips in the Weſt-Indies.

On

On the 20th of July, the Britiſh forces returned on board their reſpective ſhips, and were joined by two regiments of New-England and New-York, commanded by colonel Vetch and colonel Walton. On the 30th of July, the fleet ſailed for the river of Canada, and colonel Nicholſon ſet out from Boſton for New-York, from whence he proceeded to Albany, where the forces of New-York, Connecticut, and New-Jerſey, about one thouſand Palatines, and about one thouſand Indians of the five nations, under the Caſſaiques, who had been in England, rendezvouſed to the number of about four thouſand men, commanded by colonel Ingoldſby, colonel Schuyler, and colonel Whiting, who marched towards Canada the 28th of Auguſt. The fleet arrived at the mouth of the river Canada on the 14th of the ſame month, and on the 18th (ſays Sir Hovenden Walker *) the wind blowing freſh at north-weſt, we put into Gaipe-bay, where we ſtaid till the 20th, being afraid of loſing company with the tranſports, that might be blown to the leeward; but, having got all of them together, we proceeded up part of the river of Canada, which is an hundred and thirty leagues long to Quebec, from the mouth of it. On the 21ſt it proved foggy, and continued ſo all night, and the day following, with little wind till the afternoon, when, in an extreme thick fog, it began to blow hard at eaſt and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. We found ourſelves then in a dangerous circumſtance, having neither ſoundings, nor ſight of land, to ſteer any courſe, or any anchorage within ſixty leagues, and that not ſafe: ſo that the pilots on board this ſhip, being the beſt in the fleet, were of opinion, that the admiral ſhould make a ſignal to bring to; which he did with our heads to the ſouthward, judging, by that, we might eſcape danger, and be driven by the ſtream in the mid-channel: but quite contrary, as we were with the wind eaſterly, and our heads to the ſouthward, in two hours we found ourſelves upon the north-ſhore among rocks and iſlands, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt. The men of war eſcaped, though with extreme hazard; but eight tranſports were caſt away, with about eight hundred men, officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen; and, had not the admiral made the ſignal, as he did, it is very likely that our loſs would have been much greater. After this diſaſter, we continued thereabouts two or three days, ſeeing what men and other things we could get from the ſhore; after which it was determined by a conſultation of ſea-officers, to return back to ſome bay or harbour, where the fleet might ſafely ride, till a further reſolution

1711.

* In a letter, dated Sept. 12, 1711.

1711. tion ſhould be taken. Accordingly, on the 14th of September, we arrived in the Spaniſh river bay, and the general and admiral called a council of war of land and ſea-officers, who conſidering we had but ten weeks proviſion for the fleet and army, and that the navigation in theſe parts of the world being ſo bad and dangerous, that, at this time of the year, we could not depend upon a ſupply of proviſions from New-England, it was unanimouſly agreed to return home, without making further attempts elſewhere.

This account of the expedition to Canada was brought to England by colonel Clayton, who arrived not many days before Sir Hovenden Walker, who came to Portſmouth with the fleet, and the remainder of the tranſports, the 9th of October. Six days after, the Edgar of ſeventy guns was blown up, with above four hundred men, beſides a great many perſons who were come on board to ſee their friends.

Remarks on this expedition. Burnet. Hare.

The ill ſucceſs of this expedition was a great mortification to the new miniſtry, it being their firſt undertaking, ill projected, and worſe executed in every ſtep. It was the more liable to cenſure, becauſe, at the very time, that the old miniſtry were charged with entering on deſigns, which had not been laid before the parliament, and for which no ſupplies had been given, they projected this, even while a ſeſſion was yet going on, without communicating it to the parliament; whereas what the former miniſtry had done, this way, was upon emergencies and ſucceſſes, after the end of the ſeſſion. Beſides, the parliament had juſt then declared it to be their ſenſe, That to enlarge the ſervice, or increaſe the charge beyond the bounds preſcribed, and the ſupplies granted, was illegal, and an invaſion of their rights. The new miniſtry did another thing to keep the deſign ſecret, which was to victual the fleet greatly ſhort of what was neceſſary, leaving them to take in a freſh ſupply in New-England, which they would not beforehand give direction for (though the event ſhewed it was very neceſſary) for fear that alſo ſhould occaſion a diſcovery. This, in ſome meaſure, preſerved the ſecrecy, but deſtroyed the deſign: for, though they had a very fortunate paſſage to New-England, much better than the fleet could ordinarily expect, yet they were ſo long detained there, that the proper ſeaſon, it was ſaid, was over, before any conſiderable quantity of proviſions could be procured; and the whole was ſo ſhort of what they wanted, that, when they failed in the deſign againſt Quebec, they were not able to ſucceed in the under-

plot

plot againſt Placentia, in which otherwiſe they apprehended no difficulty (k). 1714.

The duke of Ormond held a ſeſſion of parliament this ſummer at Dublin, where he was received with great acclamations. It is obſervable, that, during the ſeſſion, the duke, chancellor Phips, and the majority of the peers, did, on all occaſions, viſibly favour and countenance the high-party, if not the friends to the pretender, whilſt the commons ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the Revolution-principles, and ſhewed their firm adherence to the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Of this there were ſeveral inſtances *; but none more remarkable than the diſpute between the two houſes, relating to the application of the commons in 1709, to the queen, for five thouſand pounds to build a library for Trinity college (l). After the

A ſeſſion of parliament in Ireland. Hiſt. of Eur.

* See Annals of q. Anne. X. 164.

(k) To all this may be added a groſs impoſition upon the public, in the fitting out of this expedition, which the lord-treaſurer Harley himſelf owns, in his Brief account of public affairs, laid before her majeſty in June, 1714, wherein he obſerves as follows: 'On the 4th of June, 1711, three days after the treaſurer was ſworn, he was ſurprized with a demand of twenty-eight thouſand thirty-ſix pounds and five ſhillings for arms and merchandize, ſaid to be ſent to Canada. When the treaſurer ſcrupled this, Mr. ſecretary St. John and Mr. Moore came to him with much paſſion upon this affair; and, about a fortnight after, the ſecretary of ſtate ſignified the queen's poſitive pleaſure to have that money paid; and, accordingly, her majeſty ſigned a warrant, June 21, and the treaſurer not being able then, with all his precaution, to diſcover further light, the money was paid July the 4th, 1711. Since the return from that expedition, the ſecret is diſcovered, and the treaſurer's ſuſpicion juſtified; for the public was cheated of above twenty thouſand pounds. There is reaſon to be more particular upon this head, becauſe it is one of the things never to be forgiven the treaſurer; and lord-chancellor Harcourt told him more to that purpoſe, that no government was worth ſerving, that would not let them make thoſe advantages, and get ſuch jobs. The treaſurer was forced to uſe all his ſkill and credit to keep the houſe of commons from examining this affair laſt parliament.'

(l) This application was made by the commons, 'becauſe (as they ſaid) the college had cenſured Forbes for aſperſing the memory of king William, and for their ſteady adherence to the late revolution, and for the encouragement of good literature, and ſound Revolution-principles.' The duke of Ormond, in his ſpeech, having taken notice that the queen had complied with this application, the lords, in their addreſs to the queen among other things, ſaid,

1711 the ſeſſion was over, chancellor Phips (who had been publickly thanked by the clergy, for his defence of the church at

Dr.

'Your majeſty has alſo extended your royal favour to the college of Dublin, and at ſuch a juncture, as muſt teſtify to the world, that what your majeſty beſtowed, was not given to promote thoſe principles upon which it was at firſt applied for.' The commons incenſed at theſe words, came to the following reſolutions: 'That the lords, in this addreſs, have highly infringed the rights, privileges, and liberties of the commons; miſrepreſented her majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion to their humble application, and have unjuſtly inſinuated (to the diſhonour of this houſe) that the principles, for encouragement of which the application was made, were ſuch, as her majeſty diſapproved. That to inſinuate, that the houſe of commons, in their reſolution, intended any other than the late happy revolution brought about by king William III. of glorious memory, is falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious, highly and moſt unjuſtly reflecting on the loyalty, integrity, and honour of this houſe, and a great breach of the privileges thereof.' And, in their addreſs to the queen on this occaſion, they inſerted the following paragraphs:

'Being therefore moſt ſenſibly touched at heart, that our principles and good intentions ſhould be thus injuriouſly repreſented, and out of a deep concern, leſt the addreſs of the lords ſhould have made any impreſſion on her majeſty, to the diſadvantage of her moſt dutiful commons, they took this opportunity to lay before her majeſty theſe their humble and ſincere aſſurances, that the principles, upon which they had applied to her majeſty for her bounty to the college of Dublin, in their addreſs of the firſt of June, 1709, were ſuch, as they ſhould never be aſhamed to own; they being no other than thoſe, to which they owed the preſervation of their religion, lives, liberties, and properties, and more eſpecially that ineſtimable bleſſing of her majeſty's happy reign over them. That the ſound Revolution-principles, mentioned in their addreſs, neither had, nor can have, in the true conſtruction of the words, any other meaning, than what related to the late happy revolution; and that they had the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation of all principles that tend to any other revolution, or to weaken her majeſty's parliamentary right.'

The commons, hearing the lords intended to vindicate their addreſs, voted, 'That whoever ſhall, by ſpeaking, writing, or printing, arraign or condemn the principles of our late happy revolution in 1688, is an enemy to our moſt gracious queen, to our conſtitution in church and ſtate, to the Hanover ſucceſſion, and a friend to the pretender.' The next day, the lords agreed on an addreſs to the queen, wherein they complained

of

Dr. Sacheverel's trial, and for patronizing the clergy on all occaſions) and general Ingoldſby were appointed as lords juſtices 1711.

of the high indignities offered to them by the commons, in theſe terms: 'How far the commons 'have made good their profeſ- 'ſions to your majeſty of una- 'nimity; how far they have pur- 'ſued that temper recommended 'to them by your majeſty, we 'ſhall not determine: yet, ſurely, 'had thoſe profeſſions been ſin- 'cere, they would not (without 'any conference demanded, or 'any opportunity given to us to 'explain ourſelves, if we had 'been miſtaken) have uſed us in 'a manner wholly unknown to 'former parliaments, and in lan- 'guage more indecent, more op- 'probrious, than was given by 'another houſe of commons, 'when they voted the houſe of 'lords uſeleſs. However, your 'majeſty might juſtly approve 'the conduct of the college of 'Dublin in the late revolution, 'we did, and do ſtill humbly 'conceive, that your majeſty did 'not extend your bounty to 'them, to promote (in general) 'Revolution-principles; princi- 'ples, which, as explained by 'the pamphlets and libels pub- 'licly avowed by men of factious 'and ſeditious tempers, and par- 'ticularly, by a ſermon preached 'on the 30th of January, dedi- 'cated to this very houſe of 'commons, without cenſure or 'animadverſion, do, in a great 'meaſure, maintain and juſtify 'the execrable murder of king 'Charles I. your royal grand- 'father of bleſſed memory, and 'on which may be founded any 'rebellion againſt your majeſty, 'or your ſucceſſors.' Nor have 'the commons, in our appre- 'henſion, vindicated themſelves 'or their vote, by ſaying, "That "the ſound Revolution-princi- "ples, mentioned in their ad- "dreſs, neither had, nor can "have, in the true conſtruction "of the words, any other mean- "ing than what related to the "late happy revolution." 'For, 'however they may take upon 'themſelves beſt to know their 'own meaning, yet we think it 'hard to deny us the right of 'judging, as well as they, of 'the true conſtruction of the 'words; and we do take the li- 'berty to ſay, That, the com- 'mons having, in that vote, 'maintained the ſteady adhe- 'rence of the provoſt and fel- 'lows of the college to the late 'revolution, as one conſideration 'of their application for the five 'thouſand pounds ſince granted 'by your majeſty, the ſubſequent 'motive mentioned in that vote, 'viz. For the encouragement of 'ſound Revolution principles, 'cannot, in good reaſon or 'grammar, be referred to the 'late revolution, ſince adherence 'to the late revolution was a 'diſtinct motive of itſelf; and it 'is the known nature of prin- 'ciples, to be as well the rule 'and guide of future as of paſt 'actions.'

Moreover, the houſe of lords, at the ſollicitation of the biſhops, did, the ſame day, agree to a repreſentation and addreſs againſt the diſſenters, wherein they ſug- geſted, 'That they had been 'emboldened

1711. juſtices in the duke of Ormond's abſence, who returned to England the latter end of November.

The friends of the pretender ſhow themſelves openly in Scotland.

Whilſt the commons of Ireland were ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the revolution principles, the oppoſite ſpirit of jacobitiſm diſcovered itſelf in Scotland, encouraged very probably by the late numerous addreſſes in England, aſſerting the whole hereditary right. Upon this preſumption, the ducheſs of Gordon, a Roman catholic, ſent about the latter end of June to Mr. Robert Bennet, dean of the faculty of advocates, a ſilver medal, with a head on the right ſide, and this legend, cujus eſt *? and on the reverſe the Britiſh Iſlands, with this motto, Reddite †, as a preſent to the faculty. This medal was firſt left in the hands of one of their ſervants, the dean being cautious either to accept it, or place it in the repoſitory of rarities, before he had conſulted ſome of the members of the faculty, to whom he ſhowed the medal, formally telling them, that her grace the ducheſs of Gordon ſent, as a preſent to them, the medal of king James the Eighth, whom they, and the Engliſh called the pretender; and he hoped, thanks, were to be returned to her grace. Mr. Alexander Stevenſon, anſwered, that the medal ſhould be returned to her grace, for the receiving it was throwing dirt on the face of the government. He was ſeconded by Mr. Robert Alexander of Black-Houſe, who ſaid, 'That the receiving of ſuch a 'medal was owning a right contrary to her majeſty's.' Mr. Robert Frazer anſwered, 'that Oliver Cromwell's medal, 'who deſerved to be hanged, and the arms of the common-'wealth of England, had been received; and why not this?' Upon this Mr. Duncan Forbes, ſaid, 'It was time enough 'to receive the medal, when the pretender was hanged:' To whom adhered Mr. Joſph Hume, of Ninchole; Mr. Hugh Dalrymple, ſon to the preſident; Mr. James Ferguſon, ſon to Sir John Ferguſon of Kirkennel; and Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, the queen's ſollicitor. Then Mr. Dundaſs of Armiſton roſe up, and made the following ſpeech:

Hiſt. of Eur. Medal given by the ducheſs of Gordon.

* Whoſe is it?

† Reſtore.

'enabled to propagate their 'ſchiſm, and undermine the 'church, by the miſapplying 'her majeſty's bounty to them 'of twelve hundred pounds a 'year; and, therefore, they 'ſubmited it to her, whether ſhe 'would put a ſtop to theſe grow-'ing evils, by withdrawing that 'bounty from them.' But the queen did not think fit to do ſo.

Dean

'Dean of Faculty,

"Whatever theſe gentlemen may ſay of their loyalty, I "think they affront the queen, whom they pretend to ho- "nour, in diſgracing her brother, who is not only a prince "of the blood, but the firſt thereof; and, if blood can give "any right, he is our undoubted Sovereign. I think too "they call her majeſty's title in queſtion, which is not our "buſineſs to determine. Medals are the documents of "hiſtory, to which all hiſtorians refer; and therefore, "though I ſhould give king William's ſtamp, with the "devil at his right ear, I ſee not how it could be refuſed, "ſeeing an hundred years hence it would prove, that ſuch "a coin had been in England. But, dean of faculty, what "needs further ſpeeches? none oppoſe the receiving the "medal, and returning thanks to her grace, but a few pi- "tiful ſcoundrel vermin, and muſhrooms, not worthy our "notice. Let us therefore proceed to name ſome of our "number, to return our hearty thanks to the ducheſs of "Gordon." The dean of the faculty put it to the vote, and it was carried by a majority of ſixty-three voices againſt twelve (there being ſeventy-five members preſent) that thanks ſhould be returned to her grace by Mr. Dundaſs and Mr. Horne of Weſthall. Dundaſs aſking, 'In what terms 'he ſhould return thanks? the dean, in the name of the whole ſociety, anſwered, 'That they would approve whatſo- ever Mr. Dundaſs and Mr. Horne thought convenient.' Three days after Dundaſs returned her 'the moſt hearty 'thanks of the faculty for all her favours, particularly in 'preſenting them with a medal of their ſovereign lord the 'king; hoping, and being confident, that her grace would 'very ſoon have an opportunity to compliment the faculty 'with a ſecond medal, ſtruck upon the reſtoration of the 'king, and royal family, and the finiſhing rebellion, uſurp- 'ing tyranny, and whiggery.' It was obſerved on this oc- caſion, that the medal was not new; for the public had an account of its being diſperſed in the Netherlands about a year before; and it was then the general opinion, that it was ſtruck upon the hopes given by the jacobites in England to their correſpondents in France, that the Britiſh nation was ready to declare for the pretender; to which the diſtrac- tions occaſioned by Dr. Sacheverel's ſermon, and trial, and the aſſerting the doctrines of hereditary right, and of abſo- lute paſſive obedience, entirely oppoſite both to the late re-

volution,

1711 volution, and proteſtant ſucceſſion, gave ſome air of probability. Nor was this medal ſcarce, but rather common; and, as for its intrinſic value, it did not exceed half a crown; ſo that it could not be worth either the ducheſs's while to preſent it, or the faculty's to receive it, on the account of its being either new, or ſcarce, or valuable. And, if the advocates deſigned it only as a curioſity, they might have eaſily procured it, and placed it among their collection, without formality and noiſe. But the ducheſs's preſenting it, and ſome of the advocates receiving it with ſolemnity, and endeavouring to make it the act of the faculty, by returning thanks to the ducheſs in the name of the whole ſociety, with ſo much oſtentation, was certainly a public and treaſonable affront to her majeſty, a tacit arraignment of her title, and a ſtriking at the ſettlement in the houſe of Hanover. Nor is it to be doubted, that the deſign of the jacobites was to give reputation to their cauſe, by engaging ſo many gentlemen of the long robe to eſpouſe it, as the readieſt way to bring the common people into their meaſures; for, as theſe are generally led by example, they would be apt to conclude, that there could be no danger in following the pattern ſet them by thoſe, who, of all men, ought beſt to underſtand the laws and conſtitution of their country. The timing of this tranſaction was likewiſe judged very remarkable; for it was ſoon after the aſſembly of the kirk of Scotland had publicly declared themſelves for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; and their ſenſe being juſtly taken for that of the bulk of the proteſtants in Scotland, whom they repreſent in an eccleſiaſtical capacity, it ſeemed, the jacobite party there thought it neceſſary to balance them by the ſenſe of the miniſters of law and juſtice in that country. This happened alſo immediately after her majeſty had declared in her ſpeech at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, "That it was needleſs for her to repeat the aſſurances of her earneſt concern for the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover." From whence it may be concluded, that the jacobites being ſenſible of the injury this declaration had done their cauſe, they might think, that the only way to retrieve it was by procuring ſo many lawyers to declare for them. And, in the laſt place, this was done at a time, when the armies were in the field, and the pretender reported to be gone from St. Germain's, in order to imbark in ſome port of France on the ocean; which might raiſe a well-grounded ſuſpicion, that this was deſigned to favour a ſecond invaſion; the rather, becauſe Dundaſs, in his compliment

pliment to the dutchess of Gordon, did not scruple to insinuate a speedy restoration of the king and the royal family.

1714.

Sir David Dalrymple, the lord advocate, gave an account of this proceeding to the duke of Queensberry, who dying about this time, the information was laid before the queen by one of the other secretaries; and the case was so flagrant, that there was no avoiding to send the lord advocate orders to enquire into it. Upon which the faculty thought fit to disown Dundass, Horne, and the other advocates in their address concerning the medal, as done by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent, declaring by a solemn act their affection to the queen and her government, and the protestant succession, and their detestation of all practices tending to give any incouragement to the pretender. The faculty's act disowning the proceedings.

It was for some time matter of doubt, whether the government would be satisfied with this act of the faculty. But the court thought fit to make no further inquiry into that affair. This lenity imboldened Dundass to write a vindication more treasonable, if possible, than their proceedings about the medal: but, before the publication, the printer carried the copy of it to the lord provost of Edinburgh, who communicated it to Sir James Stuart, and he took care, that the queen and council should be informed of it: upon which the paper was intirely suppressed. And monsieur de Kreyenberg, resident from the elector of Hanover, having, by express orders, presented a memorial, for the prosecution of Dundass and his associates: the government thought proper to remove Sir David Dalrymple from his office of lord advocate, on pretence he had been too remiss in prosecuting the Scots Medalists, and reinstated Sir James Stuart in that post, on account of his zeal in suppressing of Dundass's vindication. Though this gave some satisfaction to the friends of the protestant succession, yet it is observable, that Sir David Dalrymple was so far from being an enemy to it, that, (as his particular acquaintance affirmed) he would have prosecuted the Medalists with greater severity than any whatever, had he not received secret instructions from a great man at court not to stir in the affair (m). Boyer.

All

(m) Nor were the jacobites less busy in England: for while these things passed in Scotland, they were very industrious in dispersing clandestinely a printed paper, intitled, An oath to an

1711. All this while the miniſters in England uſed all poſſible means to ſtrengthen themſelves, and weaken their enemies, by advancing to honours and employments, ſuch perſons as they thought inclined to carry on their new meaſures. The lord Raby was created viſcount and earl of Strafford. He was the ſurviving head of the family of Wentworth-Woodhouſe, in Yorkſhire, but by a diſpute between his father and the late earl of Strafford, cut off from the eſtate. He was recalled from his long ambaſſay in Pruſſia, and ſent ambaſſador to Holland. The lord Dartmouth was made viſcount Lewiſham, and earl of Dartmouth; the lord Ferrers, earl Ferrers; Sir Simon Harcourt, baron of Stanton-Harcourt; the earl of Orrery, baron Boyle of Marſton; the duke of Hamilton, duke of Brandon; but, a caveat being entered againſt that patent, a ſtop was put to it for the preſent.

Titles and promotions.

The earl of Winchelſea was placed at the head of the board of trade; earl Paulet was made ſteward of the houſhold, in the room of the duke of Buckingham, who was made preſident of the council upon the death of the earl of Rochcſter. Sir George Byng was declared admiral of the white. Alderman Caſs, was elected one of the Sheriff's of

'invader, and abjuring the invaded, diſſected and examined;' containing eleven queries, levelled againſt the revolution and the oath of abjuration, now adminiſtered in Great-Britain, which was printed at the end of that paper. About that time, likewiſe, a news-paper took notice of a paragraph inſerted in a written poſtſcript to the Poſt-boy, of the 5th of July 1711, ſent to Dick's coffee-houſe in Dublin, and (as may well be ſuppoſed) to many other places, which was as follows: "we are informed, "that Mr. White, alias Leſley, "is gone to Swiſſerland, in order, if he can, to convert a "certain young gentleman, and "bring him over from popery "to proteſtantiſm. If he ſucceed, it is hoped, that there "will be no experiment tried "hereafter to run the hazard of "making uſe of a come-over "for thoſe ſort of gentlemen "ought no more to be truſted, "than a ſtaunch whig ſhould, although he ſwears, that he ſhall "be for the church and monarchy; except thoſe, who "have been ſenſible of their "errors, and, ſince their converſion, have merited the "eſteem of all honeſt men." This paragraph was founded upon a report, that the pretender was, about that time, preparing to go for Swiſſerland; but he only went to the French army in Dauphiné, and having ſtaid there a few days, and conferred with the duke of Berwick and the other generals, he took a journey through Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne, the three fineſt provinces of France, and ſo returned to his reſidence at St. Germain's.

London,

London, who, in the time of the aſſaſſination-plot, harboured Sir John Friend, in his houſe, where he was apprehended. The lord Clermont, and his brother, captain Middleton, ſons to the earl of Middleton, who were taken aboard the Saliſbury, in the intended invaſion of Scotland, were admitted to bail after three years impriſonment. 1711.

In July the duke of Newcaſtle died, whoſe death is ſaid to be occaſioned by a fall from his horſe as he was hunting. He was the richeſt ſubject that had been in England for ſome ages, and had an eſtate of above forty thouſand pounds a year, which he was much ſet upon increaſing. The office of privy-ſeal being vacant by his death, it was reſolved, to give it to the earl of Jerſey. As this earl had ſome correſpondence in Paris and St. Germain's, the conduct of the private negotiation of peace was truſted to him, by the lord treaſurer Harley, who therefore made him privy-ſeal, but the earl died ſuddenly the very day that office was given him. Upon his deceaſe it was conferred on Dr. Robinſon biſhop of Briſtol, who was deſigned to be the plenipotentiary in the treaty that was now projecting. There having been a warm competition between the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Mar for the place of ſecretary of ſtate for North-Britain, vacant by the death of the duke of Queenſberry, it was thought fit to ſuppreſs that place.

In the mean time thoſe at the helm carried on the negotiation of peace, which they had clandeſtinely entered into with ſome agents of France, even before the old miniſters were removed. To this purpoſe Mr. St. John, and, as ſome affirmed, Mr. Harley himſelf, had ſeveral private meetings with the ſieur Gaultier, an obſcure French prieſt, who, for ſome time, was protected by count Gallas, the imperial miniſter, and ſuffered to ſay maſs in his chapel, and who being afterwards employed in London by count Tallard, to receive and forward his letters between Paris and Nottingham, began to be taken notice of, and aſſumed the title of abbot (n). It was the opinion of many, that, when the Negotiation of peace. Hiſt. of Eur. Rep. of the ſecr. committee. Burnet.

(n) During marſhal Tallard's embaſſy to king William, one Gaultier, a prieſt, ſon of a merchant of St. Germain's, went over to England, where he read maſs in the ambaſſador's chapel. He ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the family of the earl of Jerſey, who had been ambaſſador in France after the peace of Ryſwic, and whoſe lady was a Roman catholic. Here he got acquainted with Mr. Prior.—When Tallard was oblig'd to return to France, he deſired Gaultier, who had got an inſight into the affairs of England,

1711. the lord-treaſurer Harley formed the South-Sea project, he had verbal aſſurances given him, that France and Spain would grant to that company, either ſome ſettlement, or, at leaſt, a free trade in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, provided a peace was concluded, by which king Philip ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the monarchy of Spain. Theſe aſſurances were ſufficient to engage the treaſurer, who ſaw the load, that the carrying on the war muſt bring upon him, and therefore he reſolved to ſtrike up a peace as ſoon as poſſible.

On the other hand, the emiſſaries of France gave out every where, that a ſecret negotiation of peace was on foot: and the French court was not wanting to cheriſh and improve the eager diſpoſition towards a peace, which they found in the new Britiſh miniſters. Accordingly Torcy tranſmitted into England ſome propoſitions ſigned by himſelf, April 22d. N. S. with a remarkable preamble, importing, 'That, as it was not doubted but the (French) 'king was in a condition to maintain the war with glory; 'ſo it would not be eſteemed a ſign of weakneſs, that his 'majeſty broke the ſilence he had kept ſince the ſeparation of 'the conferences at Gertruydenberg; and that, before the 'opening of the campaign, he gave ſtill new proofs of the 'deſire, that he had always preſerved, to procure the re-'eſtabliſhment of the repoſe of Europe. But that after the 'experience he had made of the ſentiments of thoſe, who

New propoſals from France.

land, to remain in London and to tranſmit an account of every thing that ſhould happen.—Gaultier followed his inſtructions and having liberty to ſtay, he went and read maſs in count Gallas's chapel, ambaſſador for Spain.—The earl of Jerſey being connected with the new miniſtry, propoſed Gaultier as a man they could depend upon, and withal obſcure enough for their purpoſe to ſend to France.—Accordingly Jerſey was appointed to give verbal inſtructions to him but nothing in writing;—he was to let the king of France know, that the new miniſters were deſirous of peace;—that they could not begin a private negotiation;—but that the king muſt propoſe to the Dutch to renew the conferences for a general peace;—that then the ambaſſadors for England ſhould have ſuch particular orders, that it would be no longer in the power of the Dutch to hinder a peace.—The king of France refuſing to renew the negotiations with Holland, the Engliſh miniſters deſired him to communicate his propoſals for a general peace to them, and they would ſend them over to Holland,—begging he would not propoſe worſe conditions than thoſe made at Gertruydenberg.—Accordingly a memorial was drawn up, ſuch as the Engliſh miniſters deſired, and ſent by Gaultier. Torcy's Memoirs, Vol. II. N. B. This memorial is the firſt paper in the report of the ſecret committee.—

now

now governed the republic of Holland, and of thier endeavours to render their negotiations fruitless; he was willing to address to the English nation the propositions he thought fit to make to end the war; and that, with this view, the king offered to treat of peace on the basis of the following conditions: 1. that the English should have real securities to exercise their commerce in Spain, to the Indies, and in the ports of the Mediterranean. 2. That a barrier should be formed in the Low-Countries for the security of the republic of Holland, and to the good liking of the Dutch. 3. That reasonable means should be sought out to satisfy the allies of England and Holland. 4. That as the good estate of the affairs of the king of Spain furnished new expedients to end the differences touching that monarchy, endeavours should be used to surmount the difficulties raised on this occasion. 5. That the conferences to treat of peace should be immediately opened; and that the king's plenipotentiaries should either treat with those of England and Holland alone, or jointly with those of their allies, at the choice of England. 6. And that his majesty proposed, the cities of Aix la Chapelle and Liege for the place of treaty, referring it to England to chuse one of those two cities. These propositions Mr. secretary St. John transmitted to the lord Raby, the queen's ambassador at the Hague, with orders to communicate them to the pensionary, and to assure that minister, 'that the queen was resolved in making peace, as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the states; and desired, that the secret might be kept among as few as possible. He confessed, that the terms of the several propositions were very general; that there was an air of complaisance shewn to England, and the contrary to Holland, which might be of ill consequence, but could be of none, as long as the queen and states took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; and he desired the pensionary to be assured, that this rule should on the part of England be inviolably observed.' In answer to these orders, the lord Raby acquainted Mr. St. John, 'that the pensionary had, with those of the states, who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, considered Torcy's propositions, and the obliging manner, in which her majesty was pleased to communicate them: that they thanked her majesty for her confidence in them; and assured her, that their's was reciprocal, and that, as her

Apr. 27. O. S.

May 25, 26. N. S.

1711. 'journey to Paris: together with ſome ſecret tranſactions 'between the French king and an Engliſh gentleman (o)' This

(o) The author of this piece acquaints his friend, 'That 'about two months before the 'French king, reſolving once 'more to give peace to Europe, 'offered the court of England, 'to ſend a miniſter as far as 'Boulogne, who ſhould be there 'met by ſome perſons from 'England, to treat the over-'tures of a peace. That upon 'notice, that this was agreed 'to, the king diſpatched a 'perſon, who went by the name 'of monſieur de la Baſtide, to 'Boulogne, where he took lodg-'ings at one Mr. des Marais, a 'ſilk-merchant, married to an 'Engliſh woman, who former-'ly waited on the ladies of the 'earls of Portland and Jerſey, 'when ambaſſadors there in the 'time of king William. That, 'on the 14th of July, N. S. a 'perſon, who was afterwards 'known to be Mr. Prior, com-'ing directly to the door, and 'inquiring for monſieur de la 'Baſtide (the name and place 'having been before concerted) 'was immediately ſhewn to mon-'ſieur ——, where they were 'ſhut up for three hours with-'out any refreſhment, though 'Mr. Prior had rid poſt from 'Calais that day, in a great 'deal of rain. That, the next 'morning, the author of this 'account, being recommended to 'Mr. Prior by monſieur des Ma-'rais, was admitted to wait on 'him in the capacity both of a 'ſecretary and valet de cham-'bre; after which, he learned 'further particulars of Mr. 'Prior's journey to Boulogne. 'That it was reported, that, 'ſome time before the peace of 'Ryſwick, king William did 'diſpatch this very gentleman 'to Paris upon the ſame ac-'count, for which he now 'came. That having received 'his inſtructions from the Eng-'liſh court, under pretence of 'taking a ſhort journey of plea-'ſure, and viſiting Sir Thomas 'Hanmer in the county of Suf-'folk, he left his houſe on Sun-'day night, the 11th of July, 'N. S. taking none of his ſer-'vants with him. That Mr. 'M——e, who had already 'prepared a bark on the coaſt 'of Dover, took Mr. Prior diſ-'guiſed in his chariot. That 'they lay on Monday night, 'the 12th of July, at the earl 'Jerſey's houſe in Kent; arri-'ved early the next day at 'Dover; drove directly to the 'ſhore; and Mr. Prior, having 'got aboard the veſſel, arrived 'at Calais about eleven at night; 'was entertained that night by 'the governor with great re-'ſpect, and ſet out pretty late 'next morning for Boulogne, 'where, for four days, he had 'two long conferences every day 'with monſieur de la Baſtide, 'from ten to one at noon, and 'from ſix till nine in the even-'ing. That, on the third 'morning, the writer of this 'account was ordered to attend 'early; obſerved, Mr Prior to 'have a pleaſant countenance; 'and was commanded to be 'ready at an hour's warning for 'a journey

This account, under the fictitious name of Mr. Du Baudrier, was ſuppoſed by ſome to be written by Daniel de Foe, and 1711.

'a journey to England; but, 'upon the fourth evening, all 'this was changed. That, on 'the 18th, Mr. Prior ſet out 'with Mr. de la Baſtide, in the 'latter's chaiſe, for Paris, where 'they arrived, Tueſday the 20th, 'and Mr. de la Baſtide con-'ducted Mr. Prior to a private 'loding, in the Rue St. Louis, 'prepared for his reception, 'where the author had orders 'to ſay, that the gentleman, 'to whom he belonged, was 'called monſieur Matthews; 'but afterwards, at Verſailles, 'he overheard, that his real 'name was Mr. Prior. That 'Mr. de la Baſtide would have 'had Mr. Matthews to have 'gone with him next morning 'to Verſailles, but could not 'prevail with him to comply. 'That Mr. de la Baſtide re-'turned the ſame evening, from 'Verſailles, and, after an hour's 'warm conference, went with 'Mr. Prior in a chariot and ſix 'horſes to Verſailles, where 'they arrived about eleven at 'night, and alighted at a vine-'yard adjoining to madam de 'Maintenon's gardens, whereof 'Mr. de la Baſtide had the key. 'That the clock ſtruck two be-'fore they came out; and then 'the coachman drove away to a 'ſmall houſe at the end of the 'town, where Mr. de la Baſtide 'left Mr. Prior with his at-'tendant, who obſerved him to 'be very thoughtful. That, 'the next morning, Thurſday 'the 22d, about ten o'clock, 'Mr. de la Baſtide came; and 'the houſe being ſmall, and the 'writer's apartment divided 'from Mr. Prior's only by a 'thin wainſcot, he could eaſily 'hear what they ſaid, when 'they raiſed their voice. That, 'after ſome time, he could hear 'monſieur de la Baſtide ſay with 'warmth, 'Bon Dieu, &c. "Good God! were ever ſuch "demands made of a great mo-"narch, unleſs you were at the "gates of the metropolis? For "the love of God, monſieur "Prior, relax ſomething, if "your inſtructions will permit "you, elſe I ſhall deſpair of "any good ſucceſs in our ne-"gotiation. Is it not enough, "that our king will abandon "his grandſon, but he muſt "lend his own arm to pull him "out of the throne? Why did "you not open yourſelf to me "at Boulogne? Why are you "more inexorable here at Ver-"ſailles? You have riſen in "your demands, by ſeeing ma-"dam Maintenon's deſire for a "peace. As able as you are to "continue the war, conſider "which is to be moſt preferred, "the good of your country, or "the particular advantage of "your general; for he will be "the only gainer among your "ſubjects.' That Mr. Prior 'ſpoke ſo ſoftly, he could not 'be well underſtood; but, up-'on parting, the writer heard 'him ſay, 'If you inſiſt ſtill on "theſe difficulties, my next au-"dience will be that of leave.' 'That, three hours after, Mr. 'de la Baſtide returned with a

1711. and by others aſcribed to Jonathan Swift, who had for ſome years before attached himſelf to the whig-party, but, being diſappointed in his hopes of preferment, and particularly of being chaplain to the earl of Wharton, when he was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, went over to the tories upon the

'countenance more compoſed, and dined with Mr. Prior, who entertained him with much pleaſantry; and, among other things, ſaid, "That monſieur,' meaning the king, "if he were a private man, would be the moſt agreeable perſon in the world. Did you mind how obligingly he inquired, whether our famous chevalier Newton was ſtill living? He told me, my good friend, poor Deſpreaux, was dead ſince I was in France, and aſked me after queen Anne's health:' which confirmed the relator in his opinion, that Mr. Prior had an audience the night before of the king. That, about ten that evening, Mr. de la Baſtide came to take Mr. Prior to go to the ſame place they were at before, where they ſtaid about two hours. That, being returned, Mr. Prior appeared ſomewhat diſſatisfied; and, when he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in ſome paſſion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extreme penſive. That, on Friday the 23d, Mr. de la Baſtide ſtaid the afternoon with Mr. Prior, and, about eight o'clock, they went to the rendezvous; and, in an hour and half's time, Mr. Prior, with Mr. de la Baſtide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk. That, as Mr. Prior was taking his leave of thoſe perſons, the lady ſaid, "Monſieur, ſongez vous, &c. Conſider this night on what we have ſaid to you:' and that the gentleman ſeconded her, ſaying, "Oüy, oüy, monſieur, ſongez vous en pour la derniere fois. Ay, ay, Sir, conſider for the laſt time.' To which monſieur Matthews anſwered briſkly in going out, "Sire, tout ou rien; Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your majeſty before.' That, on Saturday the 24th, Mr. de la Baſtide came to Mr. Prior with a ſmiling countenance, embraced him with much joy, and told him, "Courage, monſieur, no travelling to-day; madam Maintenon will have me once more conduct you to her.' That, about ten o'clock at night, they went forth, and returned about one in the morning; and Mr. Prior, having taken his leave of Mr. de la Baſtide, ſet out in a chaiſe for Calais, where he arrived on Wedneſday the 28th in the evening; and, the next morning, the writer of this account took his leave of Mr. Prior, who thanked him in the civileſt manner, and very nobly made him a preſent of fifty piſtoles. And that the ſame day, July the 29th, N. S. Mr. Prior having put to ſea with a fair wind, it was ſuppoſed, in a few hours, he landed in England.'

change

change of the miniſtry in 1710, and with Mr. Prior, Dr. Friend, Mr. Oldiſworth, and ſome others, was employed in writing a weekly paper, called the Examiner, in defence of the new miniſtry. Mr. Prior was inſtructed to communicate to the court of France ſome private propoſitions dated July the 1ſt, importing in ſubſtance, 'That Great-Britain 'would make no peace, but what ſhould be to the ſatisfac-'tion of all her allies, according to their agreements and 'treaties: that the trade of Holland ſhould be reſtord, and 'the Dutch have a barrier, as well as the emperor, and 'duke of Savoy, for their ſecurity. That care ſhould be 'taken to keep the balance in Italy; and that the crowns 'of France and Spain ſhould never be united. In relation 'to Great-Britain, that our commerce ſhould be ſettled to 'the ſatisfaction of the Britiſh ſubjects: the government to 'be acknowledged in France, as now ſettled in Great-Bri-'tain; Dunkirk to be demoliſhed: the aſſiento to be en-'joyed by Great-Britain, after the peace, as the French had 'it at preſent: Newfoundland to be entirely given up to the 'Engliſh; but the trade of Hudſon's-Bay to be continued 'in the hands of the French and Engliſh; and all things 'in America to remain in the ſtate they ſhould be found in 'at the concluſion of the peace. That all advantages of 'trade, granted to the French by the Spaniards ſhould be 'equally granted to the Britiſh ſubjects, and, in the laſt 'place, that the ſecret ſhould be inviolably kept, till allow-'ed to be divulged by the mutual conſent of both parties 'concerned.' With theſe propoſitions Mr. Prior went to France in the beginning of July; had a power ſigned by the queen; was ordered to return immediately, if the French ſtarted any difficulties, and was particularly directed to ſee, if they had full powers from Spain. The French, not finding him ſufficiently impowered to treat, were cautious of diſcloſing their thoughts to him; for, upon his arrival in France, Torcy, in a letter to Mr. St. John, told him, 'That he ſaw with great pleaſure Mr. Prior return after an 'interval of ſo many years: that he could have wiſhed, he 'had had greater liberty to employ thoſe talents, which he 'was perſuaded he would have made a good uſe of; but 'that he hoped monſieur Meſnager would ſupply what he 'could not do.' "According, Meſnager, deputy of the council of commerce in France, accompanied by another gentleman (ſaid to be the Abbé du Bois) attended Mr. Prior into England, and (being veſted with full powers to treat, conclude, and ſign with ſuch miniſters, as ſhould be authorized

1711.

Aug. 3. N. S.

Meſnager ſent into England.

dated Aug. 3. N. S.

1711. thorized in due form, not by Britain only, but by any of the princes and eſtates then in war with France) he had frequent conferences with the queen's miniſters, particularly the lord treaſurer, Mr. St. John, the duke of Shrewſbury, Sept. 20. and the lord Dartmouth. At one of their meetings, which was held at Mr. Prior's houſe, by order of the lords of the committee of council, and unknown to the queen, then at Windſor, Meſnager delivered to theſe four Britiſh miniſters the French king's anſwer to the demands laſt ſent over by England; which, according to Mr. St. John's letter to the queen of the 20th of September, 'complied with every 'article, except the eighth, relating to North America.' He added, 'They found, however, that they ſhould be 'able to compound this point in the manner, which her ma'jeſty, ſome time before, reſolved to paſs it in, provided 'France gave her ſatisfaction upon the ſeventh article, as 'ſhe had now entirely done. That the propoſitions to be 'ſent to Holland, as the foundation of a general treaty, 'they had likewiſe received from him; and that, which 'was thought moſt liable to exception, had been very much 'mended. That, my lord treaſurer having, however, pro'poſed ſome further alterations, in order to make the whole 'more palatable abroad, and monſieur Meſnager ſeemingly 'inclined to agree to them, the lords of the council were to 'conſider of them the next morning. That, this being the 'preſent ſituation of the treaty, all her ſervants were una'nimouſly of opinion, that a warrant and full powers ſhould 'that night be tranſmitted to her majeſty, in order to paſs 'the great-ſeal the next morning: and that Mr. Prior 'ſhould be added to thoſe impowered to ſign; becauſe he, 'having perſonally treated with monſieur de Torcy, was 'the beſt witneſs they could produce of the ſenſe, in which 'the general preliminary engagements were entered into. 'Beſides which, as he was the beſt verſed in matters of 'trade of all her majeſty's miniſters truſted in this ſecret, 'if ſhe thought fit to employ him in the future treaty of 'commerce, it would be of conſequence, that he had been 'a party concerned in that convention, which muſt be the 'rule of that treaty.' He concluded, 'That the reſt of 'the plenipotentiaries were all thoſe, who had the honour 'to ſit in her majeſty's cabinet-council;' namely, the earl of Oxford, the duke of Buckingham, the biſhop of Briſtol, the duke of Shrewſbury, earl Pawlet, the earl of Dart- Sept. 17. mouth, and Mr. ſecretary St. John. But, though the warrant, antedated three days, was ſigned by the queen, direct-

ing

ing the the lord-keeper to affix the great-ſeal to an inſtru- 1711.
ment thereto annexed, meaning the full powers; yet moſt of thoſe, who ſo readily concurred in treating with the miniſter of France, declined becoming parties, when the treaty was to be concluded; and ſo the ſpecial preliminaries between Great-Britain and France, ſigned by Meſnager on the 27th of September, were accepted and ſigned only by the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. ſecretary St. John, by virtue of a warrant directed to them two only, and ſigned by the queen. And it is obſervable, that neither this, nor any one paper of powers or inſtructions, throughout this whole affair was counter-ſigned by any one miniſter, but the queen's name expoſed to cover all, in caſe this clandeſtine negotiation ſhould at laſt prove abortive, and be afterwards inquired into: and, the Engliſh miniſtry having every where extolled the great advantages, that were granted to Great-Britain, France made a proper uſe of it, and declared, 'That thoſe articles were an eventual or conditional treaty 'only; and that the French king would not be obliged to 'make them good, but in caſe of the ſigning of a general 'peace.' In this ſenſe Meſnager ſigned them; and by this means the queen was brought into this dilemma, either to go on through all adventures in the meaſures of France, or they had it in their power by divulging the ſecret, and expoſing ſuch a notorious breach of national faith, to make what advantage they thought fit among the allies; who, from this time, muſt think themſelves diſengaged from the queen, if they could find their own account in ſeparate meaſures. The ſame day, that the ſpecial preliminaries were thus accepted, another ſet of general preliminary articles on the part of France were ſigned by Meſnager; as was alſo a ſeparate article in favour of the duke of Savoy, 'whereby 'the French king promiſed to reſtore to that prince the ter-'ritories, which belonged to him at the beginning of the 'preſent war; and to conſent, that there be alſo yielded to 'him ſuch other places in Italy, as ſhould be found agree-'able to the ſenſe of the treaties between him and his al-'lies.' From this a perfect confidence was eſtabliſhed between the two miniſtries of England and France; and, in the letters written in the month of October, a mutual ſincerity was recommended and engaged for, and, that a perfect unanimity ſhould be maintained for accompliſhing the work. The earl of Strafford's inſtructions, in order to his immediate return into Holland, were now preparing, and dated October 1, O. S. and as an early proof of the con-

fidence,

1711. fidence, which Mr. St. John repoſed in the French miniſter, he acquainted Torcy by his letter of October 2, O. S. that the earl of Strafford was going for Holland, and ſaid, 'Your 'miniſter,' (meaning Meſnager, who was then going back to France, and carried this letter) 'is fully informed in what 'the earl of Strafford is to propoſe to the ſtates.' Such intelligence of the queen's counſels, which Mr. St. John confeſſed he had given to the miniſters of the queen's enemies, ſeems very extraordinary; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the earl of Strafford was ſent over to preſs the opening the general conferences, with aſſurances of the greateſt friendſhip and concern for the intereſts of the ſtates on the part of the queen, and by her authority to procure from France juſt ſatisfaction for all her allies; and in his inſtructions, was likewiſe directed to propoſe to the ſtates a new ſcheme for carrying on the war, and to acquaint them with ſuch reſolutions, as the queen had taken concerning it. In ſhort, every article in his inſtructions was a ſpecimen of the ſincerity, with which the Engliſh miniſters intended to treat the allies. He was inſtructed, that it muſt be the moſt careful endeavour and fixed principles of all the confederates to hold faſt together; and this immediately after a ſeparate treaty had been ſigned by Great-Britain; and, if the miniſters of Holland ſhould expreſs any uneaſineſs at their apprehenſions of any ſuch private agreement, he was ordered by evaſive anſwers to avoid giving them ſatisfaction concerning it.

In the mean time Meſnager and his companion took their leave of the Britiſh miniſters, in order to return to France, extremely ſatisfied with their reception here, the queen having honoured Meſnager with a private converſation in her cloſet, and, at his requeſt, granted to marſhal Tallard (who was ſuppoſed to have laid the foundation of this negotiation) the favour of going to France for four months upon his parole, which ended in his enlargement, without ranſom (p). Five

(p) It was confidently reported, That Meſnager, by the encouragement he received from Mr. St. John, ſpoke to the queen in favour of the chevalier de St. George, whom he called her brother; that, her majeſty ſeemed not diſpleaſed with the diſcourſe; and that before he left England, he obtained, by means of Mrs. Maſham, a verbal promiſe, that private inſtructions ſhould be ſent to the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, not to inſiſt on the French king's giving up the intereſt of the chevalier intirely. Moreover, a letter from a good hand in Paris, dated November

Five days after Meſnager's departure, the miniſters thought fit to communicate the preliminary articles, he had ſigned, to count Gallas the emperor's miniſter, who treated them with much ſcorn, and cauſed an Engliſh tranſlation of them to be publiſhed, on the 13th of October, in the Daily Courant, as follows: 1711. The ſeven preliminaries publiſhed.

Preliminary articles, on the part of France, for effecting a general peace.

The king being willing to contribute all, that is in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhing of the general peace, his majeſty declares,

vember 19. N. S. imported, That, upon Meſnager's return thither, he was very ſanguine, and affected publicly to affirm, that the peace was as good as concluded; and that, in particular, he laid great emphaſis on the advantages granted in favour of the prince of Wales; which to ſome people appeared very unlikely, eſpecially when they compared the weight of ſuch an affai with the abilities of monſieur Meſnager, who was never accounted a great genius. Boyer.

In the memoirs of Torcy, lately publiſhed, it is ſaid, Meſnager ſeeing his commiſſion drawing to an end, he uſed the king's inſtructions how to behave before his departure, in regard to taking leave of the queen, if the king had not hitherto acknowledged queen Anne as queen of Great-Britain. — An order was ſent him to take leave of the queen, if her miniſters ſeemed to deſire it, or he could not decently decline it.—After the inſtruments were ſigned, and the miniſters withdrew, Prior gave Meſnager notice, in St. John's name, to ſet out next day for Windſor.—He went, and was conducted by ſecretary St. John to the queen's apartment.—The queen received him very graciouſly; ſhe charged him to preſent her compliments to the king, and to aſſure him, that ſhe would forget nothing to forward the general peace.—Then ſhe ſaid, 'I do not like war, I 'ſhall do all in my power to 'conclude a peace as ſoon 'poſſible. — I ſhould be glad 'to live upon good terms with 'the king, to whom I am ſo 'nearly allied in blood, and 'I hope that there will be a 'cloſer union, after the peace, 'between us and our ſubjects, 'by means of a perfect correſpondence and friendſhip.' — He was conducted back with the ſame ſecrecy as he had been introduced.——

The ſame memoirs obſerve, that it is falſe that marſhal Tallard made the firſt overtures of peace. The Abbé Gaultier (ſays that author) had the honour of being the firſt that broke the ice, and, in juſtice to his memory, we ought to commend his prudent judgment, and the good intelligence he gave, during the whole courſe of the negotiation, without abuſing the confidence of the Engliſh miniſters. Vol. II.

'I. That

1711. 'I. That he will acknowledge the queen of Great-Britain in that quality, as alſo the ſucceſſion of that crown, 'according to the preſent ſettlement.

'II. That he will freely, and bonâ fide, conſent to the 'taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, for hindering that 'the crowns of France, and Spain may ever be united on 'the head of the ſame prince; his majeſty being perſuaded, 'that this exceſs of power would be contrary to the good 'and quiet of Europe.

'III. The king's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the preſent war, without excepting any of them, 'may find their reaſonable ſatisfaction in the treaty of peace, 'which ſhall be made; that commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and maintained for the future, to the advantage of 'Great-Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations, who 'have been accuſtomed to exerciſe commerce.

'IV. As the king will likewiſe maintain exactly the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall be concluded, and the 'object, the king propoſes to himſelf, being to ſecure the 'frontiers of his kingdom, without diſturbing in any manner 'whatever the neighbouring ſtates, he promiſes to agree, 'by the treaty, which ſhall be made, that the Dutch ſhall 'be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places, which ſhall be 'mentioned, in the Netherlands, to ſerve hereafter for a 'barrier; which may ſecure the quiet of the republic of 'Holland againſt any enterprize from the part of France.

'V. The king conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the empire, and for 'the houſe of Auſtria.

'VI. Notwithſtanding Dunkirk coſt the king very great 'ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as to fortify it; and that it 'is further neceſſary to be at very conſiderable expence for 'razing the works, his majeſty is willing however to engage to cauſe them to be demoliſhed, immediately after 'the concluſion of the peace, on condition, that, for the 'fortifications of that place, a proper equivalet, that may 'content him, be given him: and, as England cannot furniſh that equivalent, the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred 'to the conferences to be held for the negotiation of the 'peace.

'VII. When the conferences for the negotiation of the 'peace ſhall be formed, all the pretenſions of the princes 'and ſtates, engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be therein 'diſcuſſed bonâ fide, and amicably: and nothing ſhall be

'omitted

'omitted to regulate and terminate them, to the ſatisfaction 1711.
'of all the parties.'

Done at London,
Sept. 27, O. S. 1711. MESNAGER.

Soon after count Gallas received a meſſage from Mr. ſecretary St. John, in the queen's name, 'That he ſhould 'come no more to court, his behaviour of late not being 'agreeable to her majeſty, but that whatever ſhould for the 'future be preſented to her from his imperial majeſty, by 'the hands of another miniſter, ſhould be very well received.' He was further told, he might go away when he thought fit. This proceeding was ſevere and unuſual; for the common method, when a provocation was given by a public miniſter, was to complain of him to his maſter, and, to deſire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded: that which was ſurmized was, that Gaultier betrayed him, and diſcovered his ſecret correſpondence, and the advertiſements he ſent the emperor, to give him ill impreſſions of our court; for which Gaultier was ſaid to be rewarded with an abbey in France (q). Count Gallas ſent away in diſgrace. Burnet.

The

(q) It is hard to expreſs, how greatly the generality of people, and even ſome friends of the miniſtry, were ſurprized at the publication of theſe preliminaries, which they looked upon as captious, inſidious, and inſufficient to ground a treaty upon; whereas, they had been made to expect ſuch glorious and advantageous terms for all the allies, that the peace would be laſting, ſafe, and honourable. Hereupon, to calm the minds of the people, an addition of ſix other preliminary articles were the ſame day made public in the Poſt-Boy, which were ſaid to be agreed to by France, though they were not yet ſigned, nor communicated to the miniſters of the allies.

Theſe were in ſubſtance:

1. That the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the duchy of Milan, with the fortreſſes of Tuſcany, which belonged to the crown of Spain, and all Flanders, ſhould remain for ever to the houſe of Auſtria.

2. That king Philip ſhould have all Spain, with the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca, and the Weſt-Indies.

3. That, for the ſecurity of the Engliſh and Dutch trade at all times with Spain, king Philip will conſent that the city of Cadiz ſhall be always garriſoned by the Engliſh, with full liberty to the South-Sea company, to eſtabliſh themſelves on the continent of that country, according to the act of parliament.

4. That

1711.

The ſeven preliminaries were no ſooner made public, than they were ſeverely animadverted upon in ſeveral pamphlets, and defended in others; and being communicated to the ſtates-general by the earl of Strafford, who arrived at the Hague on the 10th of October, extremely alarmed the ſtates, as not being a ſufficient foundation, upon which a negotiation might be hazarded: they dreaded the fatal conſequences of opening the general conferences, before the articles offered by France were explained, and eſpecially, before they knew at all what they were to truſt to for their own barrier, and for their commerce. Theſe conſiderations made them, for ſome time, decline granting the paſſports to the French plenipotentiaries; and, in order to prevail with the queen to have ſome regard to her allies, and particularly in the two great articles of their barrier and commerce, they ſent over monſieur Buys, as envoy extraordinary, to intercede with her to alter her reſolutions; and they made the ſame repreſentations to the earl of Strafford, but all to no purpoſe (r). For as Mr. St. John declared, in his letter to that earl, of the 9th of October, "Certain it is, that her ma-"jeſty has ſo far determined upon her meaſures, that thoſe "will deceive themſelves, who may imagine by delay or "other artifices to break them." And again, November the 2d, to the ſame earl, "The queen will not finally con-"cert a plan for the proſecution of the war with the ſtates, "until they join with her in agreeing to open the confer-"ences of peace." And the earl acquaints Mr. St. John, November the 15th, "That he had now told them, her "majeſty's order to him was to declare, that ſhe would "look upon any delay as a refuſal to comply with her pro-"poſitions." In theſe circumſtances the Dutch at laſt complied to grant the paſſports, and agreed to open the general conferences at the time fixed by the queen, January

Buys ſent to England by the ſtates,

who come at laſt to a conference.

4. That the fortifications of Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed, and the harbour ruined.

5. That the Dutch may name commiſſioners, to treat with the French commiſſioners about regulating the neceſſary barriers.

6. That ſatisfaction and ſecurity ſhall be given to the reſt of the allies at the general congreſs.

With ſuch fictions, it was thought proper to amuſe the people.

(r) Buys, before he left the Hague, had boaſted, that the queen could not withſtand his eloquent remonſtrances one moment.—He was miſtaken; for the queen told him with her mouth, that ſhe would have peace; and that ſhe inſiſted the Dutch ſhould immediately ceaſe to oppoſe the opening of the conferences. Torcy's Mem. Vol. II.

the

the 1ſt, 1711-12; and, purſuant to this reſolution of the ſtates, upon the preſſing inſtances of the queen, paſſports for the French plenipotentiaries were ſent to Buys, and delivered to Mr. St. John; and Utrecht was agreed upon to be the place for the general conferences: at which the biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, were appointed plenipotentiaries, whoſe inſtructions were ſettled and ſigned on the 23d of December, 1711. By theſe inſtructions the plenipotentiaries were ordered, "That, "if it ſhould be thought proper to begin by the diſpoſition "of the Spaniſh monarchy, they were to inſiſt, that the "ſecurity and reaſonable ſatisfaction the allies expected, and "which his moſt chriſtian majeſty had promiſed, could not "be obtained, if Spain and the Weſt-Indies be allotted to "any branch of the houſe of Bourbon." So that hitherto the queen thought fit to declare in all public acts, that Spain and the Weſt-Indies ought by no means to be left in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Bourbon, although in the ſpecial preliminaries, ſigned by the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. St. John, on the 27th of September preceding, the king of France did expreſsly promiſe to make good the ſixth article for himſelf and for the king of Spain, purſuant to the powers, which were then in his hands. 1711.

Upon the receipt of the preliminaries ſigned by monſieur Meſnager, which count Gallas tranſmitted to the new emperor at Milan, his imperial majeſty wrote a circular letter to the electors, and other princes of the empire, exhorting them 'to perſiſt in the engagements of the grand alliance;' and, at the ſame time, he wrote another letter to the ſtates to the ſame effect, but with this additional deſire, "That "they would join counſels with him to induce the queen "of Great-Britain to reject thoſe propoſitions, and to con- "tinue the war; or, if a negotiation with the enemy could "not be avoided, that it might be on condition, that the "preceding preliminaries, propoſed moſt of them by the "enemy himſelf, might remain fixed, and without altera- "tion: and that ſhe would not truſt the immortal glory "ſhe had gained, and the certain welfare of her people, to "the infidelity of the French promiſes." Before this letter reached the Hague, count de Goes, the imperial plenipotentiary there, preſented a memorial to the ſtates, about the current report, "That the queen of Great-Britain had ac- "cepted the ſeven articles propoſed by France, judging "them ſufficient for proceeding to a general congreſs of "peace; and preſſed their high mightineſſes to conſent "thereto,

The emperor's letters to the electors, and to the ſtates. Nov. 7. N. S.

1711. "thereto, and to grant their paſſports for the ambaſſadors "of France. Wherefore he thought it his duty to aſk of "their high mightineſſes, Whether this report were true? "And in caſe it was, to deſire them not to come to any re- "ſolution, but in conjunction with his imperial majeſty, "or his miniſters, conformable to the ſixth article of the "grand alliance." The ſtates returned a civil anſwer, both to this memorial, and to the emperor's repreſenta- tions; but the letter, which the emperor wrote at the ſame time to the queen of Great-Britain, and which was deli- vered by monſieur Hoffman, did not meet with the like fa- vourable return.

Many libels againſt the allies.

Many mercenary pens were ſet on work, to juſtify the proceedings of the new miniſtry, and to defame the allies, more particularly the Dutch. This was done with much art, but with no regard to truth, in a pamphlet, intitled, 'The conduct of the allies, and of the late miniſtry:' to which very full anſwers were written, detecting the thread of falſhood that ran through the work (s). It was now ſaid, England was ſo exhauſted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war: and when king Charles was choſen em-

(s) On the 23d of October, being the firſt day of the term, fourteen bookſellers, printers, or publiſhers, who had been lately taken up and committed to the cuſtody of ſtate-meſſengers, by warrants from Mr. ſecretary St. John, for printing and publiſh- ing pamphlets, libels, and ballads, ſome of which were indeed ſe- vere invectives againſt the mi- niſtry, and others repreſented as ſuch, appeared at the bar of the court of queen's-bench, where Mr. Nicholas Lechmere, council for Mr. Darby and Mr. Hurt, two of the printers, pleaded with great zeal againſt the ſeverity of 'committing people, without 'telling them their crimes;' urging, 'That at this rate the 'office of a ſecretary of ſtate 'would become a Spaniſh in- 'quiſition.' But, at the requeſt of the attorney-general, all the ſaid perſons were continued on their recognizances till the laſt day of term.

Mr. Darby and Mr. Hurt were proſecuted on account of a tran- ſlation of a memorable paſſage in Tacitus about Cecilius Baſſus's deceiving the emperor Nero, with the promiſe of an immenſe but imaginary treaſure, which was inſerted in a paper called the Obſervator, and was deſigned as a reflection on the South-Sea project. Others were proſecuted on more criminal accounts, viz. for publiſhing ſeditious ballads, called, A Welcome to the Modal, Credit reſtored, Mat's Peace, &c. Notwithſtanding theſe proſecu- tions, the pens of both parties were ſtill buſy; the one in ex- ploding, and the other in vindi- cating the preſent negotiations of peace.

peror

peror; it was alſo ſaid, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbours, if Spain were joined to the emperor, and to the hereditary dominions. It was alſo zealouſly, though moſt falſely, infuſed into the minds of the people, that our allies, moſt particularly the Dutch, had impoſed on us, and failed us on many occaſions. The Jacobites did, with the greater joy, entertain this proſpect of peace, becauſe the dauphin had, in a viſit to St. Germains, congratulated that court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect with relation to the pretender's affairs. 1711.

Our court denied this; and ſent earl Rivers to Hanover, to aſſure the elector, that the queen would take eſpecial care to have the ſucceſſion to the crown ſecured to his family, by the treaty that was to be opened. This made little impreſſion on that elector: for he ſaw clearly, that if Spain and the Weſt-Indies were left to king Philip, the French would ſoon become the ſuperior power to all the reſt of Europe; that France would keep Spain in ſubjection, and, by the wealth they would fetch from the Indies, they would give law to all about them, and ſet what king they pleaſed on the throne of England. Earl Rivers ſtaid a few days there, and brought an anſwer from the elector in writing; yet the elector apprehended, not without reaſon, that it might be ſtifled: therefore his miniſter, the baron de Bothmar, who came over with the duke of Marlborough on the 18th of November, was ordered to deliver to Mr. St. John a long memorial, repreſenting 'the neceſſity of preſerving a perfect union between the allies, while the peace ſhould be treating; of their giving each other a mutual guaranty upon what ſhould therein be concluded; as alſo the pernicious conſequences, if Spain and the Indies were left to the duke of Anjou.' (t) This memorial, a few days

The elector of Hanover's memorial. Nov. 20. O. S.

(t) It concludes thus: there is ground to hope, that, by remaining firmly united, the allies may ſoon oblige France (with the bleſſing of God) to agree to reaſonable conditions; the extreme indigence that crown is in, and the need ſhe has of peace, being very certain, and confirmed from all parts. The Almighty has bleſſed the arms of the queen and of her allies, with ſo many triumphs over th ir powerful enemy, to the end they may ſecure themſelves by a ſafe and advantageous peace, from all they have to fear from him; and it cannot be his pleaſure, that an enemy ſo exhauſted, and vanquiſhed, as he has been on all occaſions, ſhould at laſt carry his deſigns by this war, and get out of it by a peace

1711. days after it was delivered, was publiſhed in the Daily Courant of December the 5th, and received with great applauſe by all the well-wiſhers to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, who highly commended the elector of Hanover, for his ſeaſonable interpoſition in an affair, which ſo nearly concerned him. But, on the other hand, as it directly condemned the preſent ſcheme of peace, it gave no ſmall offence to the miniſtry, whoſe agents openly exclaimed againſt it, ſuggeſting, that it was very impolite in his electoral highneſs, at this juncture, to intermeddle in the affairs of Great-Britain, and ſeem to eſpouſe a party. Others pretended, that this memorial had more the air of an original in Engliſh, than of a tranſlation from the French; and ſo concluded, it was contrived in London by the leading men of the whig-party in concert with baron Bothmar, who was perſuaded to preſent it: but this was altogether groundleſs; for the memorial was drawn up in form at Hanover, by monſieur Robethon, according to the elector's orders and directions. Nay, ſome were ſo bold, as in a printed 'letter from a ſuppoſed whig gentleman in the country, to a friend in town,' to queſtion the genuineneſs of that memorial, and to laugh at it as a barefaced impoſture; with other ſcandalous reflections on his electoral highneſs, and his envoy. As for the Britiſh miniſters, they had no manner of regard to that repreſentation; nor would the queen perhaps ever have ſeen it, had it not been ſhewn to her in print by the duke of Somerſet, before it was laid before her by the ſecretary of ſtate; which could not be agreeable either to her, or to Mr. St. John, who expoſtulated with the baron de Bothmar about publiſhing his memorial.

The parliament prorogued to the 7th of December. Burnet. Hiſt. of Eur.

The parliament having been prorogued to the 27th of November, a council was held on the 26th at St. James's, whether it ſhould be further prorogued, or only adjourned for a few days; and it was at laſt carried for a prorogation till the 7th of December. It ſeems the Dutch, before they gave their conſent to the opening of a congreſs, were deſirous to ſee firſt how the parliament was inclined; but the earl of Strafford, perceiving their deſign, told them plainly, that, till they agreed to treat, the ſeſſion would not be

peace glorious to him, to the ruin of the victorious allies, and to the deſtruction of the liberty of all Europe; in acquiring by this peace the power of giving a king to Spain, of impoſing one upon Great-Britain, and of making the validity of the election of the head of the empire depend on his approbation.

opened,

opened, ſo they complied. Another reaſon for proroguing the parliament ſo late in the year, was the diſcovery of a coalition of ſome eminent peers of the high-church party, with thoſe of the contrary ſide, and of their having concerted a repreſentation to be laid before the queen againſt a peace on the foot of the propoſals made by France; which, it was thought, might be prevented, if not by other means, at leaſt by the coming up of the Scotch peers, not above three or four of whom were yet arrived in London (u). 1711.

In the mean time, pains were taken on many perſons who were ſuppoſed to be concerned in the intended repre- Endeavours uſed by the court before the parliament was opened,

(u) What happened, ſome days before, afforded yet more matter of diſcourſe and ſpeculation. Upon information, that the effigies of the devil, the pope, and the pretender, were to be carried in proceſſion, and (according to the cuſtom of the London mob) burnt on the 17th of November, the anniverſary of queen Elizabeth's inauguration, the earl of Dartmouth iſſued out his warrant, purſuant to which, on the 16th, at twelve at night, ſome of the queen's meſſengers, ſuſtained by a detachment of the foot-guards, ſeized thoſe three figures, with ſeveral others of cardinals, jeſuits, and friars, all finely dreſſed, and carried them from an empty houſe in Drury-lane, where they had been lodged, to the earl of Dartmouth's office in the Cockpit. And the trained bands of London and Weſtminſter were immediately aſſembled, and continued under arms three days together. At the ſame time endeavours were uſed to render obnoxious an illuſtrious ſociety of noblemen and gentlemen, called the Kit-Cat-Club, who, for many years, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion. For which purpoſe, the mercenary writer of the Poſt-Boy, of the 22d of November, was directed to charge them with "a "conſpiracy to raiſe a mob to "confront the beſt of queens, "and her miniſtry, pull down "the houſes of ſeveral honeſt, "worthy, loyal, true Engliſh "gentlemen, having had money "diſtributed amongſt them ſome "time before for that purpoſe, "by G. G. G. S. S. S. W. H. "M. [i. e. Grafton, Godolphin, "Dr. Garth, Somerſet, Sunderland, Sommers, Wharton, "Halliſax, and Montague,] an "inſatiable junto, cum multis "aliis, who made the ſubſcription, and gave out, that her "majeſty was very ill, if not "dead, in order to have acted "their treaſons with greater "freedom." Whereas the lords and gentlemen, who were at the expence of theſe effigies, had no other deſign, than to have them carried in proceſſion, and afterwards burnt with the like ſolemnity, as was remarkably practiſed on the 17th of November, 1679, when the nation was juſtly alarmed with a popiſh plot, and a popiſh ſucceſſor.

1711. ſentation. The lord-treaſurer Harley endeavoured to engage the earl of Nottingham in the court meaſures, againſt which he had openly declared. And the queen, at the ſame time, cloſeted the dukes of Grafton and St. Albans, the earls of Dorſet and Scarborough, the lords Sommers, Cowper, and particularly the duke of Marlborough, who, upon his coming over, ſpoke plainly to the queen againſt the ſteps that were already made: but he found her ſo poſſeſſed, that what he ſaid made no impreſſion; ſo he deſired to be excuſed from coming to council, ſince he muſt oppoſe the preſent proceedings. All the reſt likewiſe remained firm in their opinion, to the great diſappointment of the new miniſtry (w). It was therefore propoſed at firſt in a council, on the 5th of December, to cauſe both houſes to adjourn for a few days, during which freſh endeavours might be uſed to defeat the deſign lately formed againſt the preſent ſcheme; but ſome members of the privy-council having repreſented the fears and jealouſies, which ſuch an adjournment, after ſo many prorogations, might create in the minds of the people; and, on the other hand, the miniſtry, either hoping, with the aſſiſtance of their Scots friends, to have a majority in the houſe of lords, or, at leaſt, being ſecure of it in that of the commons, it was, after a long debate, finally reſolved, that the parliament ſhould ſit on the day, to which they were laſt prorogued. Accordingly, a committee of the council having met the 6th of December, to conſider of the queen's ſpeech, her majeſty went the next

The ſecond ſeſſion of the third parliament of Great-Britain. Pr. H. C.

(w) Among others (ſays biſhop Burnet, Vol. II. p. 582.) the queen ſpoke to myſelf: ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped biſhops would not be againſt peace. I ſaid, a good peace was what we prayed daily for; but the preliminaries offered by France gave no hopes of ſuch an one; and the truſting to the king of France's faith, after all that had paſſed, would ſeem a ſtrange thing. She ſaid, we were not to regard the preliminaries; we ſhould have a peace upon ſuch a bottom, that we ſhould not at all rely on the king of France's word! but we ought to ſuſpend our opinions, till ſhe acquainted us with the whole matter. I aſked leave to ſpeak my mind plainly, which ſhe granted: I ſaid, any treaty, by which Spain and the Weſt-Indies were left to king Philip, muſt in a little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of France; and, if any ſuch peace ſhould be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined: in leſs than three years time, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again raiſed in Smithfield. I purſued this long, till I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy; ſo I withdrew.

day

day in a ſedan to the houſe of peers, and ſpoke to both houſes to this effect: 1711.

My lords and gentlemen,

The queen's ſpeech.

" I Have called you together, as ſoon as the public affairs " would permit; and I am glad I can now tell you, that, " notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe, who delight in war, " both place and time are appointed, for opening the treaty " of a general peace.

" Our allies, eſpecially the ſtates-general, whoſe in- " tereſt I look upon as inſeparable from my own, have, by " their ready concurrence, expreſſed their intire confi- " dence in me; and I have no reaſon to doubt, but that " my own ſubjects are aſſured of my particular care of " them.

" My chief concern is, that the proteſtant religion, and " the laws and liberties of theſe nations, may be con- " tinued to you, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the crown, " as it is limited by parliament, to the houſe of Hanover.

" I ſhall endeavour, that after a war, which has coſt " ſo much blood and treaſure, you may find your intereſt " in trade and commerce improved and enlarged by a " peace, with all other advantages, which a tender and af- " fectionate ſovereign can procure for a dutiful and loyal " people.

" The princes and ſtates, which have been engaged " with us in this war, being by treaties intitled to have " their ſeveral intereſts ſecured at a peace, I will not only " do my utmoſt to procure every one of them all reaſon- " able ſatisfaction, but I ſhall unite with them in the " ſtricteſt engagements for continuing the alliance, in order " to render the general peace ſecure and laſting.

" The beſt way to have this treaty effectual, will be to " make early proviſion for the campaign. Therefore, I " muſt aſk of you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, the " neceſſary ſupplies for the next year's war; and I do moſt " earneſtly recommend to you, to make ſuch diſpatch therein, " as may convince our enemies, that, if we cannot obtain " a good peace, we are prepared to carry on the war with " vigour.

" Whatever you give, will ſtill be in your power to " apply; and I doubt not, but, in a little time after the " opening of the treaty, we ſhall be able to judge of its " event.

1711.

My lords and gentlemen,

" As I have had your chearful aſſiſtance for the carrying " on this long and chargeable war, ſo I aſſure myſelf, " that no true proteſtant, or good ſubject, will envy Bri- " tain or Me the glory and ſatisfaction of ending the " ſame by a juſt and honourable peace for Us and all our " allies.

" Such a peace will give new life to our foreign trade; " and I ſhall do my utmoſt to improve that happy oppor- " tunity to encourage our home-manufactures, which will " tend to the eaſing my ſubjects in that exceſſive charge, " they now lie under, in maintaining the poor, and to cor- " rect and redreſs ſuch abuſes, as may have crept into any " part of the adminiſtration during ſo long a war.

" I cannot conclude, without earneſtly recommending " to you all unanimity; and that you will carefully avoid " every thing, which may give occaſion to the enemy to " think us a people divided amongſt ourſelves, and con- " ſequently prevent our obtaining that good peace, of " which we have ſuch reaſonable hopes, and ſo near a " view.

" I pray God direct your conſultations to this end, that, " being delivered from the hardſhips of war, you may be- " come a happy and a flouriſhing people."

Reflections on it.

This ſpeech gave occaſion to many reflections. The arts of thoſe, '"who delighted in war,' ſeemed to be levelled at the duke of Marlborough, and the preliminaries concerted at the Hague; and her ſaying, that the 'allies expreſſed 'their intire confidence in her,' amazed all thoſe who knew that neither the emperor, nor the empire, had agreed to the congreſs, but were oppoſing it with great vehemence; and that even the ſtates-general were far from being cordial or eaſy in the ſteps they had made.

Debate about a clauſe offered by the earl of Nottingham. Pr. H. L.

As ſoon as the queen had ended her ſpeech, ſhe retired into a room, and, having taken off her robes, came back incognito to the houſe of peers, both to hear the debates, and, by her preſence, to moderate any heats, that might ariſe; which, however, was by ſome obſerved to be unuſual on the day the ſovereign opens a ſeſſion of parliament. The earl of Ferrers having made a motion for an addreſs of thanks to the queen for her ſpeech, the earl of Nottingham roſe up, and very copiouſly ſet forth 'the inſufficiency and

'captiouſneſs

captiouſneſs of the late preliminaries; made a lively repre- 1711.
ſentation of the danger of treating upon ſo precarious a
foundation; urged the expreſs engagements, which Great-
Britain had entered into with the allies, to reſtore the in-
tire monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria; and the
neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigour, till thoſe
engagements were made good:' adding, 'that, though
he had a numerous family, he would readily contribute
half his income towards it, rather than acquieſce in a
peace, which he thought unſafe and diſhonourable to his
country and all Europe.' He concluded with offering a
clauſe to be inſerted in the addreſs of thanks, 'to repreſent
to her majeſty, as the humble opinion and advice of the
houſe, that no peace could be ſafe or honourable to Great-
Britain, or Europe, if Spain and the Weſt-Indies were al-
lotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon.' The lord
Guernſey, brother to the earl of Nottingham, ſaid, 'that
ſuch a clauſe was foreign to an addreſs of thanks: that, in
all probability, few of the members of the houſe were pre-
pared to ſpeak to it; but that it might be debated at a
more convenient time, when, according to cuſtom, the
houſe ſhould take into conſideration the ſtate of the na-
tion.' He was ſeconded by the lord North and Grey, and
another pe ; and the lord treaſurer added, 'that, accord-
ing to th e rules and orders of the houſe, this was not the
proper ti me to debate ſuch a motion.' Upon this the earl
of Wharton appealed to the houſe, whether there were
any ſuch order? and, the duke of Buckingham, the moſt
verſed in parliamentary proceedings, having over-ruled the
treaſurer's objection, the earl of Wharton proceeded; ſpoke
with great zeal againſt the preliminary articles offered by
France; and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of inſerting in the
addreſs the clauſe offered by the earl of Nottingham. He
was ſupported by the earl of Sunderland, who anſwered the
objection raiſed by ſome peers of the oppoſite ſide, namely,
that they were not prepared to ſpeak to that motion:
"What, my lords, ſaid he, is it poſſible, that any member
"of this illuſtrious houſe ſhould be unprepared to debate an
"affair, which, for theſe ten years paſt, has been the prin-
"cipal ſubject-matter of our conſultations? do not we ſit in
"the ſame houſe? and, are we not the ſame peers, who
"have conſtantly been of opinion, and have often repre-
"ſented to her majeſty, that no ſafe and honourable peace
"can be made, unleſs Spain and the Weſt-Indies be re-
"covered from the houſe of Bourbon? It is true, I ſee ſome

1711. "new faces among us: but even that lord, who ſits on the "woolpack [meaning the lord treaſurer] may well remem- "ber, that, in the late reign, four lords were impeached "for having made a partition-treaty." The earl of Angleſey, (who, with the duke of Ormond, was juſt come into the houſe, having that morning travelled above thirty miles in their return from Ireland) repreſented "the neceſ- "ſity of eaſing the nation of the burden of this expenſive "war, and ſaid, they ought to leave it to her majeſty's "wiſdom to conclude a peace, when ſhe thought it con- "venient for the good of her ſubjects:" adding, "that we "might have enjoyed that bleſſing ſoon after the battle of "Ramillies, if the ſame had not been put off by ſome per- "ſons, whoſe intereſt it was to prolong the war." The duke of Marlborough, who could not but perceive that this ſuggeſtion was levelled againſt him, made a long and pathetic ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, "he thought himſelf happy, in having an opportunity given "him of vindicating himſelf on ſo material a point, which "his enemies had ſo loudly, and ſo unjuſtly, laid to his "charge, before a perſon [meaning the queen, and mak- "ing a bow towards the place where her majeſty was] who "knowing the integrity of his heart, and the uprightneſs "of his conduct, would not fail doing him juſtice. That "he referred himſelf to the queen, whether, whilſt he had "the honour to ſerve her majeſty, as general and plenipo- "tentiary, he had not conſtantly informed her, and her "council, of all the propoſals of peace, that had been "made; and had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on "that ſubject? That he could declare with a ſafe conſcience, "in the preſence of her majeſty, of that illuſtrious aſſem- "bly, and of that ſupreme being, who is infinitely above "all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according "to the ordinary courſe of nature, he muſt ſoon appear, "to give an account of his actions, that he ever was de- "ſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and that "he was always very far from any deſign of prolonging the "war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had "moſt falſely inſinuated. That his advanced age, and the "many fatigues he had undergone, made him earneſtly "wiſh for retirement and repoſe, to think of eternity the "remainder of his days; the rather, becauſe he had not "the leaſt motive to deſire the continuance of the war, "having been ſo generouſly rewarded, and had honours "and riches heaped upon him, far beyond his deſert and "expectation,

"expectation, both by her majeſty and her parliaments. 1711.
"That he thought himſelf bound to this public acknow-
"ledgment to her majeſty and his country, that he ſhould
"always be ready to ſerve them, if he could but crawl a-
"long to obtain an honourable and laſting peace: but
"that, at the ſame time, he muſt take the liberty to de-
"clare, that he could, by no means, give into the mea-
"ſures, that had lately been taken to enter into a nego-
"tiation of peace with France, upon the foot of the ſeven
"preliminary articles; for, he was of the ſame opinion
"with the reſt of the allies, that the ſafety and liberties of
"Europe would be in imminent danger, if Spain and the
"Weſt-Indies were left to the houſe of Bourbon; which,
"with all humility, and as he thought himſelf in duty
"bound, he had declared to her majeſty, whom he had the
"honour to wait on, after his return from Holland: and,
"therefore, he was for inſerting in the addreſs the clauſe
"offered by the earl of Nottingham." This ſpeech, de-
livered with a moſt hearty concern, had the greater weight,
as it was ſupported by the lord Cowper, the biſhop of
Sarum, the lord Halifax, and ſome other peers. On the
other hand, the lord North and Grey and ſome other of-
ficious courtiers ſaid, that, ſince peace and war belonged, as
prerogatives to the crown, it was not proper to offer any ad-
vice in thoſe matters, until it was aſked: but this was re-
jected with indignation, ſince it was a conſtant practice, in
all ſeſſions of parliament, to offer advices; no prerogative
could be above advice; this was the end ſpecified in the
writ, by which a parliament was ſummoned; nor was the
motion for a delay received. The eyes of all Europe were
upon the preſent ſeſſion; and this was a poſt-night: ſo it
was fit they ſhould come to a preſent reſolution, in a matter
of ſuch importance. This debate (in which the dukes of
Shrewſbury and Buckingham were obſerved to ſay little or no-
thing) having laſted till near ſeven in the evening, the queſ-
tion was put, whether the earl of Nottingham's advice The clauſe
ſhould be part of the addreſs? and the previous queſtion be- is agreed to
ing firſt put, it was carried by the ſingle vote of that earl; by the lords.
but the main queſtion was carried by ſixty-two againſt fifty-
four: ſo this point was gained, though by a ſmall majority.
It was expected that the court-party would the next day
have the majority, by means of the proxies which eight
Scots peers had ſent to the duke of Hamilton and the earl of
Mar. Wherefore, when the addreſs of the lords was re-
ported to the houſe, by the committee appointed to prepare

it,

1711. it, the court tried to get the whole matter to be conteſted over again, pretending, that the debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they ſhould agree to the draught, prepared by the committee: but that part of it, which contained the advice, was conceived in the very words, in which the vote had paſſed; and it was a ſtanding rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into queſtion, during that ſeſſion. This was ſo ſacred a rule, that many of thoſe, who voted with the court the day before, expreſſed their indignation againſt it, as ſubverting the very conſtitution of parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: yet even upon this a diviſion was called for, but, the majority appearing ſo evidently againſt the motion, it was yielded, without counting the houſe. Three days after, the lords waited on the queen with their addreſs, which was as follows:

The lords addreſs. Pr. H. L.

"WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, "do, with hearts full of gratitude and loyalty to your ſacred majeſty, beg leave to return your majeſty our moſt "humble and hearty thanks and acknowledgments for your "majeſty's moſt tender and affectionate care for all your "people, expreſſed in your majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech "from the throne, and for imparting to us your majeſty's "deſires of ending this preſent war, by a peace advantageous to your ſubjects, and juſt and honourable for your "majeſty and all your allies; as alſo for your majeſty's "expreſſing ſo particular a regard for the intereſt of the "ſtates-general, as inſeparable from your own; and that "your majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to aſſure us, it is your "chief concern, that the proteſtant religion, and the laws "and liberties of theſe nations, may be continued to your "people, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the crown, as it is "limited by parliament to the houſe of Hanover; and that "your majeſty is pleaſed to ſhew ſo juſt a reſolution to procure a ſatisfaction for all the allies, being by treaties intitled to have their ſeveral intereſts ſecured at a peace, and "to unite with them in the ſtricteſt engagements, in order "to render the peace ſecure and laſting. And we do beg "leave to repreſent it to your majeſty, as the humble opinion and advice of this houſe, that no peace can be ſafe "or honourable to Great-Britain or Europe, if Spain and

"the

" the Weſt-Indies are to be allotted to any part of the " houſe of Bourbon." 1711.

To which the queen returned this anſwer:

My lords,

" I take the thanks you give me kindly. I ſhould be very ſorry any one could think I would not do my utmoſt " to recover Spain and the Weſt-Indies from the houſe of " Bourbon (x)."

The lords returned her thanks for this anſwer: for they underſtood, by the doing her utmoſt, was meant the continuing the war. The court was much troubled to ſee the houſe of lords ſo backward, and both ſides ſtudied to fortify themſelves, by bringing up their friends or by getting their proxies.

The houſe of commons were more complaiſant than that of the lords, for a clauſe being offered to be inſerted in their addreſs of thanks, importing, " that the houſe did not " doubt, but care would be taken, that Spain and the " Weſt-Indies ſhould not be left in the hands of any branch " of the houſe of Bourbon, which might indanger the " ſafety of her majeſty's perſon and government, the pro- " teſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, and the liber- " ties of Europe;" after a long debate, this clauſe was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two voices againſt one hundred and ſix; and ſo the commons, in their addreſs, not only expreſſed their ſatisfaction in what her majeſty had been pleaſed to declare of the juſt and honourable peace, which ſhe had in view; 'but, at the ſame 'time, aſſured her, that they would uſe their utmoſt en- 'deavours to diſappoint, as well the arts and deſigns of 'thoſe, who, for private views, might delight in war, as the 'hopes the enemies might have vainly entertained of re- 'ceiving advantage from any diviſion among them.' The queen returned for anſwer, 'that this very dutiful addreſs

The ſame clauſe rejected by the commons. Pr. H. C.

(x) The ſame day the addreſs was preſented, ſeveral court lords entered their proteſts againſt it; " 1. Becauſe the nature of it was " altered, there being no pre- " cedent for inſerting a clauſe of " advice in an addreſs of thanks. " 2. Becauſe they looked upon it " as an invaſion of the royal " prerogative, in ſo ſudden a " manner to declare their opi- " nion in a matter of ſuch im- " portance to the crown, as the " making of peace and war."

'was

1711. was what she expected from the zeal and loyalty of such 'an house of commons: that she returned them her hearty 'thanks for the confidence they had in her; and entirely 'relied upon their assurances: and that they might depend 'upon her affection and care for their interests.'

Duke Hamilton's patent examined. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

While things passed smoothly in the house of commons, the proceedings in the house of peers made a great noise, and kept the contending parties in suspence. The duke of Hamilton, one of the sixteen peers for Scotland, having, been created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of duke of Brandon, notwithstanding a caveat entered against his patent, and now claiming a place in that quality in the house of peers, many lords, who apprehended no small danger to the constitution, from the admitting into their house a greater number of Scots peers, than were agreed to by the act of union, resolved to oppose his claim. When that affair was brought into the house, it was espoused by

Dec. 20. the court with great zeal, and the queen came to hear the debates. Lawyers were heard for the patent: it was said, the queen's prerogative in conferring honours was clear. All the subjects of the united kingdom had likewise a capacity of receiving honour. The commons of Scotland had it unquestionably; and it seemed a strange assertion, that the peers of that nation should be the only persons incapable of receiving honour. By the act of union the peers of Scotland were, by virtue of that treaty, to have a representation of sixteen for their whole body: these words, by virtue of that treaty, seemed to insinuate, that, by creation or succession, they might be made capable. And in the debate, that followed in the house, the Scots lords, who had been of the treaty of union, affirmed, that these words were put in on that design. And, upon this, they appealed to the English lords. This was denied by none of them. It was also urged, that the house of lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the duke of Queensberry upon his being created duke of Dover, but had so far affirmed his being a peer of Great-Britain, that upon that account they had denied him the right of voting in the election of the sixteen peers of Scotland. But, in opposition to all this, it was replied, that the prerogative could not operate, when it was barred by an act of parliament: the act of union had made all the peers of Scotland peers of Great-Britain, as to all intents, except the voting in the house of lords, or sitting in judgment on a peer: and, as to their voting, that was vested in their representatives, by whom

whom they voted. The queen might give them what titles ſhe pleaſed; but this incapacity of voting, otherwiſe than by theſe ſixteen, being ſettled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to them. They had indeed admitted the duke of Queenſberry to ſit among them as duke of Dover; but that matter was never brought into debate, and ſo was paſſed over in ſilence; and he was mentioned in their books, upon occaſion of his voting in the choice of the ſixteen peers of Scotland, in terms that were far from determining this: for it was there ſaid, that he, claiming to be duke of Dover, could not vote as a Scots peer. The Scots lords, in arguing for the patent, inſiſted with great vehemence, not without intimations of the diſmal effect, that might follow, if it ſhould go in the negative. The court exerted their whole ſtrength to ſupport the patent. This heightned the zeal of thoſe, who oppoſed it; for they apprehended, that, conſidering the dignity and the antiquity of the Scots peers, and the property of the greater part of them, the court would always have recourſe to this, as a ſure expedient to have a conſtant majority in the houſe of lords. There was no limitation indeed on the prerogative, as to the creation of new peers; yet theſe were generally men of eſtates, who could not be kept in a conſtant dependence, as ſome of the Scots lords might be. The debate laſted till near eight o'clock in the evening, when the queſtion was put, whether the twelve judges ſhould be conſulted with? which being carried in the negative by fourteen votes, proxies included, another queſtion was put, whether Scots peers, created peers of Great-Britain ſince the union, have a right to ſit in that houſe? which was alſo carried in the negative by a majority of fifty-ſeven voices againſt fifty-two (y). The queen and the miniſters ſeemed to be much concerned 1711.

(y) On this occaſion was entered the following proteſt:

„Diſſentient,

1. Becauſe as we apprehend, by this reſolution, the prerogative of the crown in granting patents of honours, with all privileges depending thereon, to the peers of Great-Britain, who were peers of Scotland at the time of the union, as well as the right of the duke of Brandon to ſit and vote in parliament, are taken away; and this prerogative of the crown, and right of the duke, depending upon the conſtruction of an act of parliament, though council, by order of the houſe, were heard at the bar, and all the judges were ordered to attend at the ſame time, yet the opinion of the judges was not permitted to be aſked

1711. cerned at this, and the Scots were inraged at it. They met together, and ſigned a repreſentation to the queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of diſgrace put on the whole peerage of Scotland, adding ſolemn promiſes of maintaining her prerogative, either in an united or ſeparate ſtate. This made the miniſters reſolve on another

aſked touching the conſtruction of the ſaid act of parliament.

2. Becauſe the prerogative of the crown, as we conceive, in granting patents of honour, with the privileges depending thereon, ought not, in the conſtruction of any act of parliament, to be taken away, unleſs there be plain and expreſs words to that purpoſe in the ſaid act: and we conceive, there are no ſuch plain and expreſs words for that purpoſe in the act of union.

3. Becauſe by this reſolution all the peers of Great-Britain, who were peers of Scotland at the time of the union, are ſuppoſed to be incapable of receiving of any patent of honour from the crown, by virtue whereof they may be intitled to the privileges of ſitting and voting in parliament, and ſitting on the trial of peers; which we conceive, is repugnant to the fourth article of the union, which declares the privileges and advantages, which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom, except where it is otherwiſe expreſsly agreed in thoſe articles, in which, we apprehend, there is no ſuch proviſion.

4. Becauſe the duke of Queenſberry in all reſpects in the ſame caſe, as the duke of Hamilton, was introduced, ſat, and voted in this houſe, in matters of the higheſt importance, in two ſeveral parliaments, as duke of Dover, by virtue of a patent paſſed ſince the union; and, in conſequence of ſuch ſitting and voting, his vote in the election of peers of Scotland was rejected; and, as a further conſequence thereof, the marquis of Lothian was removed from his ſeat in this houſe, which he had an undeniable title to, if the duke of Queenſberry's patent, as duke of Dover, had not given him a title to ſit and vote in this houſe.

5. Becauſe, by this reſolution, the peers of Scotland are reduced to a worſe condition in ſome reſpects, than the meaneſt or moſt criminal ſubjects.

6. Becauſe we conceive, this reſolution may be conſtrued to be a violation of the treaty between the two nations.

Winchelſea,
Ormond,
Balmerino,
Clarendon,
Oxford and Mortimer,
Boyle,
Kelſyth,
Rivers,
Blantyres,
Hunſdon,
Paulet,
Harcourt,
O. S. Hume,
Mar,
Loudun,
Oſborne,
Roſeberry,
Ilay,
Orkney.

method

method to let the peers, and indeed the whole world ſee, that they would have that houſe kept in a conſtant dependence on the court, by creating ſuch a number of peers at once, as ſhould give them an unqueſtionable majority. 1711.

In the mean time an affair of no leſs importance was brought into the houſe of peers. The occaſional conformity bill, having miſcarried three times, lay dormant for ſeven years, till it was at this time revived by the earl of Nottingham, who told thoſe, with whom he now joined, that he was but one man come over to them, unleſs he could carry a bill to that purpoſe: but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he ſhould be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more eaſily, becauſe they knew, that the court had offered to the high-men in the houſe of commons, to carry any bill they ſhould deſire in that matter. The earl of Nottingham promiſed to draw it with all poſſible temper. It was thus prepared, that all perſons in places of profit and truſt, and all the common-council-men in corporations, who ſhould be at any meeting for divine worſhip (where there were above ten perſons more than the family) in which the Common Prayer was not uſed, or where the queen and princeſs Sophia were not prayed for, ſhould upon conviction forfeit their place of truſt, or profit, the witneſſes making oath within ten days, and the proſecution being within three months after the offence; and ſuch perſons were to continue incapable of any employment, till they ſhould depoſe, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle. The bill likewiſe enacted, that the toleration ſhould remain inviolable in all time to come; and that, if any perſon ſhould be brought into trouble for not having obſerved the rules that were preſcribed by the act, that firſt granted the toleration, all ſuch proſecution ſhould ceaſe, upon their taking the oath preſcribed by that act: and a teacher in any one country was by the bill qualified to ſerve in any licenſed meeting in any part of England; and, by another clauſe, all, who were concerned in the practice of the law in Scotland, were required to take the abjuration in the month of June next. This bill was brought into the houſe of lords on the 15th of December, and, no oppoſition being made to it, they paſſed it in three days, and ſent it down to the commons, who read it immediately the firſt time, and gave it a ſecond reading the next day; and on the 20th of December, a petition being offered to the houſe in behalf of the Dutch and French proteſtant

A bill againſt occaſional conformity. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

1711. proteſtant churches, praying, they might be excepted from the reſtraints laid by this bill upon Engliſh diſſenting congregations: the petition was rejected. After which the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe (which that morning was very thin) made ſeveral amendments to the bill, particularly the addition of a penalty on the offender of forty pounds, which was to be given to the informer. Theſe amendments being immediately reported and agreed to, the bill was ſent back to the peers, who the ſame day ſent down a meſſage to the commons, to acquaint them, they had agreed to theſe amendments (z). Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had formerly been ſo much conteſted, and was ſo often rejected by the lords, and now went through both houſes in ſo ſilent a manner, without the leaſt oppoſition. Some of the diſſenters complained much, that they were thus forſaken by their friends, td whom they had truſted; and the court had agents among them, to inflame their reſentments, ſince they were ſacrificed by thoſe, on whom they depended. All the excuſe, that the whigs made for their eaſineſs in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go towards quieting the fears of thoſe, who ſeemed to think that the church was ſtill in danger, till that act paſſed, and thereby to engage theſe to concur with them in thoſe important matters, that might come before them (a).

On

(z) 'The diſſenters (ſays 'Boyer) being juſtly alarmed 'at this bill, did, the ſame 'morning, make application to 'the earl of Oxford, lord high-'treaſurer, humbly beſeeching 'his lordſhip to uſe his powerful 'intereſt to prevent the paſſing 'of it: but though his lordſhip, 'with moſt of his family, had, 'for the greateſt part of his life, 'joined in communion with the 'preſbyterians; yet, on this oc-'caſion, he thought fit to ſacri-'fice his religious principles to 'his political views; and ſo the 'diſſenters were left in the 'lurch.'

(a) Dr. Calamy, in his hiſtorical additions, ſays, on this occaſion: 'Thus, after fifty 'years excluſion from the public 'churches, by the act of uni-'formity, during the one half 'of which they were expoſed to 'great rigours and ſeverities, 'though, during the other half, 'they have had more liberty, 'are the poor diſſenters exclud-'ed the ſervice of the ſtate. So 'far are we from any hopes of a 'coalition, which has been ſo 'often talked of, that nothing 'will do but an entire ſubmiſſion. 'Conſciences truly ſcrupulous 'may indeed ſtill have their li-'berty: but they, that would 'be capable of any place of 'profit or truſt, muſt quit the 'meetings after March 25, 1712; 'and they, that in all times and 'changes adhered to the true

intereſt

On the 22d of December, the queen being indiſpoſed, the lord-keeper and the lord-preſident, and other lords, were commiſſioned to paſs the land-tax bill for four ſhillings in the pound, which was ready for the royal aſſent, with the bill againſt occaſional conformity. After which, the commons adjourned to the 14th of January, which was a long receſs at ſo critical a time. 1711. The commons adjourn to the 14th of January.

Before the lords adjourned, a motion was made by the duke of Devonſhire, for leave to bring in a bill to give the electoral prince of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge, the precedence of all peers; which was granted, and ſo was likely to meet with no oppoſition. The earl of Nottingham moved next, that, before their receſs, they ſhould make an addreſs to the queen, deſiring, 'That her majeſty would 'be pleaſed to give inſtructions to her plenipotentiaries, to 'conſult with the miniſters of the allies in Holland, before 'the opening of the congreſs, that they might concert the 'neceſſary meaſures to preſerve a ſtrict union amongſt them 'all, the better to obtain the great end propoſed by her ma-'jeſty, for procuring to them all juſt and reaſonable ſatiſ-'faction, and for rendering the peace more ſecure and laſt-'ing, which could only be effected by a general guaranty 'of the terms of the peace to all the allies, and of the pro-'teſtant ſucceſſion to theſe kingdoms, as ſettled by act of 'parliament.' All the oppoſition, which the court made to this, was to ſhew that it was needleſs, ſince it was already ordered; and the lord-treaſurer ſaid, that the lords might, in order to their ſatisfaction, ſend to examine their inſtructions. To this, it was anſwered, that the offering ſuch an addreſs would ſatisfy the plenipotentiaries, in executing their inſtructions. The court moved, theſe words might be put into the addreſs, 'in caſe her majeſty had not 'already given ſuch orders;' which being agreed to, the addreſs was preſented on the 27th of December, and the lords adjourned no longer than to the 2d of January, which, as well as the addreſs, was no ſmall ſurprize to the queen and her miniſters. The lords a'dreſs about the peace. Pr. H. L.

During the receſs it was, that the duke of Marlborough was diſcharged from all his employments. In order to this, all the methods, that malice and envy could invent, were The duke of Marlborough turn'd out of all his employments on pretence of bribery. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

'intereſt of their country, muſt 'be publicly branded. Perhaps 'the time may come, when per-'ſons may have other thoughts 'of this matter, than while in 'the heat of action.'

1711. uſed to make him appear criminal. But the diſcoveries made by the commiſſioners for examining the public accounts, were made the immediate cauſe of his diſgrace. Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furniſhing bread to the army in Flanders, made a preſent yearly to the duke of Marlborough of between five or ſix thouſand pounds. The general of the ſtates, it ſeems, had the like preſent, as a perquiſite to ſupport his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence. The queen ordered ten thouſand pounds a year more to the duke of Marlborough for the ſame ſervice. King William had alſo agreed, that two and a half per cent. ſhould be deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which amounted to fifteen thouſand pounds. This the queen had by a warrant appointed the duke of Marlborough to receive on the ſame account.

The duke having heard, while he was beyond ſea, that the commiſſioners had diſcovered the preſent made him by the Jew, ſent them a letter, on the 10th of November, N. S. from the Hague, wherein he owned the whole matter to be true; and added, he had applied theſe ſums to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to the bleſſing of God on the bravery of the troops, their conſtant ſucceſſes were owing. This did not ſatisfy the commiſſioners; but, though no complaints were brought from the army of their not being conſtantly ſupplied with good bread, yet they ſaw here was matter to raiſe a clamour againſt the duke, which they chiefly aimed at. Accordingly the commiſſioners reported theſe things to the houſe of commons, on the 21ſt of December, the day before their recess (which report was referred to the 17th of January) and the next day, purſuant to an order of the houſe, Mr. Shippen, one of the commiſſioners, laid before them: *Firſt*, the depoſition of Sir Solomon de Medina, knight, proving great ſums of money taken by his grace John duke of Marlborough, Adam Cardonnel, eſquire, his grace's ſecretary, and others, on account of the contracts for ſupplying bread and bread-waggons to her majeſty's forces in the Low-Countries. Secondly, captain William Preſton's depoſition about forage in North-Britain. Upon this the duke of Marlborough's letter, which he had writ in vindication of himſelf to the commiſſioners, was, by his order or contrivance, publiſhed in the Daily Courant of the 27th of December. This letter having made an impreſſion in his favour on the minds of many perſons, the report of the commiſſioners was, by way

of

of anſwer, printed at large two days after (b); and the next day, the 30th of December, the queen declared in council, 'That 1711.

(b) The ſubſtance of the report and the duke's letter, were as follow: 'That it appeared by 'the depoſition of Sir Solomon 'de Medina, the preſent contractor, and by the accounts of 'Antonio Alvarez Machado, who 'had been contractor before him, 'that, from the year 1702 to the 'year 1711, both included, the 'duke of Marlborough had received, upon account of the 'contracts for bread and bread-waggons, the ſum of ſix hundred and ſixty-four thouſand, 'eight hundred and fifty-one 'guilders, and eight ſtivers, 'which amounted to ſixty-three 'thouſand, nine hundred and 'nine pounds, three ſhillings, 'and ſeven pence. That, ſome 'time after this evidence was 'given, they received, by the 'hands of James Craggs, eſq; a 'letter from the duke of Marlborough, deſiring the commiſſioners, That, when they made 'their report, they would lay 'ſome facts before the parliament in a true light. That they 'thought they could not better 'do him juſtice, than in his own 'words:

Gentlemen, Hague, Nov. 10, 1711.

'Having been informed, upon 'my arrival here yeſterday, that 'Sir Solomon Medina had acquainted you with my having 'received ſeveral ſums of money 'from him, that it may make 'the leſs impreſſion upon you, I 'would loſe no time in letting 'you know, that this is no more 'than what has always been allowed as a perquiſite to the general or commander in chief of 'the army in the Low-Countries, 'both before the revolution and 'ſince; and I do aſſure you, at 'the ſame time, that whatever 'ſums I have received, on that 'account, have conſtantly been 'applied for the ſervice of the 'public, in keeping ſecret correſpondence, and getting intelligence of the enemies motions 'and deſigns; and it has fallen 'ſo ſhort, that I take leave to 'acquaint you with another article that has been applied to the 'ſame uſe, and which ariſes from 'her majeſty's warrant, whereof 'the incloſed is a copy, though 'this does not properly relate to 'the public accounts, being a 'free gift from the foreign 'troops. You will have obſerved, by the ſeveral eſtabliſhments, that, before the late 'king's death, when the parliament voted forty thouſand men 'for the quota of England in the 'Low-Countries, twenty-one 'thouſand ſix hundred and twelve 'were to be foreigners, and the 'reſt Engliſh; for the laſt they 'gave ten thouſand pounds a 'year for intelligence, and other 'contingencies, without account; 'but his majeſty being ſenſible, 'by the experience of the laſt 'war, that this ſum would not 'any way anſwer that ſervice, 'and being unwilling to apply 'for any more to the parliament, 'he was pleaſed to order, that 'the foreign troops ſhould contribute two and a half per cent.

1711. 'That, being informed an information againſt the duke of 'Marlborough was laid before the houſe of commons, by 'the

'towards it; and I being then 'his ambaſſador and commander 'in chief abroad, he directed me 'to propoſe it to them, with 'an aſſurance, that they ſhould 'have no other ſtoppage made 'from their pay. This they rea-'dily agreed to; and her ma-'jeſty was afterwards pleaſed to 'confirm it by her warrant, upon 'my acquainting her with the 'uſe it was intended for; and it 'has accordingly been applied, 'from time to time, for intelli-'gence and ſecret ſervice, with 'ſuch ſucceſs, that, next to the 'bleſſing of God on the bravery 'of our troops, we may, in a 'great meaſure, attribute moſt 'of the advantages of the war 'in this country to the timely 'and good advices procured with 'the help of this money. And 'now, gentlemen, as I have laid 'the whole matter very fairly 'before you, and that I hope 'you will allow, I have ſerved 'my queen and country with 'that zeal and faithfulneſs which 'becomes an honeſt man, the 'favour I am to intreat of you, 'is, that, when you make your 'report to the parliament, you 'will lay this part before them 'in its true light, ſo as that they 'may ſee this neceſſary and im-'portant part of the war has 'been provided for, and carried 'on, without any other expence 'to the public than the ten thou-'ſand pounds a year; and I 'flatter myſelf, that, when the 'accounts of the army in Flan-'ders come under your conſider-'ation, you will be ſenſible the 'ſervice on this ſide has been 'carried on with all the œco-'nomy and good huſbandry that 'was poſſible. I am,

Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
MARLBOROUGH.

Anne R.

'Right truſty and right well-'beloved couſin and counſellor, 'we greet you well. Whereas, 'purſuant to the direction you 'have received in that behalf, 'you have agreed, with the per-'ſons authorized to treat with 'you, for the taking into our 'ſervice a certain number of fo-'reign troops, to act in conjunc-'tion with the forces of our al-'lies, that there be reſerved two 'and a half per cent. out of all 'monies payable to, and for the 'ſaid troops, as well for their 'pay and entertainment, as on 'any other account, towards de-'fraying ſuch extraordinary con-'tingent expences relating to 'them, as cannot otherwiſe be 'provided for. Now, we do 'hereby approve and confirm all 'ſuch agreements as you have, 'or may hereafter make, for re-'ſerving the ſaid two and a half 'per cent. accordingly; and do 'likewiſe hereby authorize and 'direct the pay-maſter-general 'of our forces for the time being, 'or his deputy, to make the ſaid 'deduction of two and a half per 'cent. purſuant thereunto, out 'of all monies he ſhall be direct-

'ed

'the commiſſioners of the public accounts, ſhe thought fit 1711.
'to diſmiſs him from all his employments, that the matter might

'ed to iſſue, for the uſe of the 'foreign troops in our pay, and 'thereupon to pay over the ſame, 'from time to time, according 'to ſuch warrants, and in ſuch 'proportions as you ſhall direct, 'for which this ſhall be to you, 'and to all others whom it may 'concern, a ſufficient warrant 'and direction.

'Given at our court at St. 'James's, this ſixth day 'of July, 1702, and in 'the firſt year of our 'reign.

By her majeſty's command,

C. HEDGES.

'To our right truſty and right 'well-beloved couſin and 'counſellor, John earl of 'Marlborough, our ambaſ'ſador extraordinary and 'plenipotentiary to the ſtates 'general of the United Pro'vinces, and captain-gene'ral of our land forces.

That on this letter and warrant they obſerved, 'That, ſo far 'as they had been capable of 'being informed, the great ſums, 'annually paid to the duke on 'account of the contracts for 'bread, could never be eſteemed 'legal or warrantable perquiſites: 'nor did they find, that any 'other Engliſh general in the 'Low-Countries, or elſewhere, 'ever claimed or received ſuch 'perquiſites; and, if any inſtance 'ſhould be produced, they ap'prehended it would be no juſti'fication of it, becauſe the pub'lic, or the troops, muſt neceſ'ſarily ſuffer, in proportion to 'every ſuch perquiſite; and how 'agreeable this practice was to 'that œconomy, with which the 'ſervice in Flanders was ſaid to 'be carried on, remained yet to 'be explained. That the great 'caution and ſecrecy, with which 'this money was conſtantly re'ceived, gave reaſon to ſuſpect, 'that it was not thought a juſti'fiable perquiſite; for Mr. Car'donnel, the duke's ſecretary, 'and auditor of the bread-ac'count, had declared on oath, 'that he never knew or heard 'of any ſuch perquiſite, till the 'late rumour of Sir Solomon de 'Medina's evidence before the 'commiſſioners. That, by the 'contracts for bread and bread-'waggons, the general appeared 'to be the ſole check on the 'contractors; he was to take 'care that the terms of theſe 'contracts were duly performed; 'he was to judge of all deduc'tions to be made from allow'ance to the contractors: and, 'whether in ſuch circumſtance, 'he could receive any gratuity 'or perquiſite from the contrac'tors, without a breach of his 'truſt, they did not preſume to 'determine. That the general 'might with equal reaſon claim 'a perquiſite for every other 'contractor relating to the army, 'as for thoſe of the bread and 'bread-waggons; but his grace 'being ſilent as to this, the com'miſſioners ought to ſuppoſe he 'had not received any ſuch al'lowance.' As to the deduction of two and a half per cent. from

1711. ‘ might take an impartial examination.’ This declaration was entered in the council-books; and the day following it

the foreign troops, the commiſſioners obſerved: ‘That the ‘ warrant for it had been kept ‘ dormant for nine years, and ‘ the deduction concealed ſo long ‘ from the knowledge of parliament; for which his grace ‘ had not aſſigned ſufficient reaſons. That the calling it a ‘ free gift was inconſiſtent with ‘ the words of the warrant, which ‘ expreſs an agreement, and with ‘ that part of his grace's letter, ‘ which took notice, that “ he, “ being ambaſſador and general, “ ſtipulated for this very ſtoppage by the late king's order.” ‘ That therefore they were of ‘ opinion, that a deduction, ſo ‘ made, was public money, and ‘ ought to be accounted for in ‘ the ſame manner as other public money. That the ten thouſand pounds granted yearly for the contingencies of the army, ‘ was at firſt intended by parliament for the ſervice of forty ‘ thouſand men, without diſtinction; and was ſo far from having always been thought exempt from account, as the ‘ duke had ſuggeſted, that, in ‘ a privy-ſeal, dated March 5, ‘ 1706, there was a clauſe to releaſe and diſcharge the duke of Marlborough from a ſum of ‘ ſeven thouſand, four hundred ‘ and ninety-nine pounds, nineteen ſhillings and ten pence, ‘ part of this money; which ‘ they ſaid, he would otherwiſe ‘ have been accountable for. ‘ But that they no where met ‘ with any mention of this deduction of two and a half per ‘ cent. and therefore preſumed, ‘ the reaſon why it had never ‘ been brought to an account, ‘ was, what his grace ſuggeſted, ‘ that he never conſidered it as ‘ public money. In the next ‘ place, the commiſſioners ſubmitted it to the houſe, whether ‘ the warrant, produced to juſtify this deduction, was legal, ‘ and duly counterſigned?’ or, ‘ whether, admitting it to be ſo, ‘ either the ſtoppage, or the payment, had been regularly made? ‘ That the warrant directed that ‘ it ſhould be ſtopped in the ‘ hands of the paymaſter, or his ‘ deputy, and iſſued thence by ‘ the duke's order only. But ‘ this method did not appear, by ‘ the pay-maſter's accounts, to ‘ have been at all purſued; ſo ‘ far otherwiſe, that the payments ‘ to the foreign troops were always made complete, and their ‘ receipts always taken in full, ‘ without any notice of a deduction. That when any part of ‘ the ten thouſand pounds, contingent-money, was drawn out ‘ of the paymaſter's hands, for ‘ any ſecret ſervice, the general's warrant, and his ſecretary's receipts, were the paymaſter's vouchers. But that ‘ Mr. Cardonnel, as he declared ‘ on oath, never gave any receipt for any part of that two ‘ and a half per cent. nor did ‘ Mr. Bridges, as he alſo declared on oath, ever ſee any ‘ warrant for that purpoſe, or ‘ know any thing, as paymaſter ‘ general, of this deduction. That ‘ if Mr. Sweet, at Amſterdam, had

it was notified to the duke, by a letter under her own hand, 1711.
'That her intention was to reſume all the employments ſhe 'had intruſted him with; complaining, at the ſame time, 'of the treatment ſhe had met with.' This appears from the duke's anſwer, which he ſent by the counteſs of Sunderland, one of his daughters:

Madam,

'I am very ſenſible of the honour your majeſty does me, 'in diſmiſſing me from your ſervice by a letter of your own 'hand; though I find by it, that my enemies have been 'able to prevail with your majeſty to do it in the manner 'that is moſt injurious to me. And, if their malice and 'inveteracy againſt me had not been more powerful with 'them, than the conſideration of your majeſty's honour and

'had taken upon himſelf to 'tranſact the diſpoſition of his 'two and a half per cent. with 'the duke of Marlborough, the 'commiſſioners were of opinion, 'that he ought to have tranſ-'mitted conſtant accounts of it 'to Mr. Bridges, whoſe agent 'he only was; and not to have 'negotiated ſo large ſums of 'public money in ſo clandeſtine 'a manner. That, by the war-'rant, this deduction was re-'ſerved for the defraying extra-'ordinary contingent expences 'of the troops, from whom it 'was ſtopped; and, if the whole 'had been employed in ſecret 'correſpondence and intelli-'gence, there muſt have been 'ſome neglect of the other ſer-'vices, for which it was origi-'nally deſigned: and ſuch a diſ-'poſition, being in no ſort au-'thorized by the warrant, was a 'miſapplication of it. Beſides, 'the commiſſioners apprehend-'ed, that the article for ſecret ſervice, to which this deduc-'tion was pretended to have 'been applied, was always in-'cluded in the ten thouſand 'pounds above-mentioned, for 'the contingencies of the army; 'and, if ſo, the whole remained 'to be accounted for; which, 'on a computation, made from 'the whole ſum of eleven mil-'lions, two hundred ninety-four 'thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty 'nine pounds, four ſhillings, 'and a penny halfpenny, paid 'by Great-Britain, to, and for 'all the foreign forces, ſince the '23d day of December, 1701, 'amounted to two hundred 'eighty-two thouſand three hun-'dred ſixty-ſix pounds, nine 'ſhillings, and ſeven pence. And 'on a computation made from 'the ſum of ſeven millions, one 'hundred and ſeven thouſand, 'eight hundred ſeventy-three 'pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and 'eleven pence halfpenny, paid 'to, and for the foreign forces, 'ſince the time aforeſaid (ex-'cluſive of Italy, Spain, and 'Portugal) amounted to one 'hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred ninety-five pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and three farthings.'

1711. ‘ juſtice, they would not have influenced you to impute the
‘ occaſion of my diſmiſſion to a falſe and malicious inſinua-
‘ tion contrived by themſelves, and made public, when there
‘ was no opportunity for me to give in my anſwer; which,
‘ they muſt needs be conſcious, would fully detect the fal-
‘ ſhood and malice of their aſperſions, and not leave them
‘ that handle for bringing your majeſty to ſuch extremities
‘ againſt me.

‘ But I am much more concerned at an expreſſion in your
‘ majeſty's letter, which ſeems to complain of the treatment
‘ you had met with. I know not how to underſtand that
‘ word, nor what conſtruction to make of it. I know I
‘ have always endeavoured to ſerve your majeſty faithfully
‘ and zealouſly through a great many undeſerved mortifica-
‘ tions. But if your majeſty does intend by that expreſſion,
‘ to find fault with my not coming to the cabinet council, I
‘ am very free to acknowledge, that my duty to your ma-
‘ jeſty and my country would not give me leave to join in
‘ the counſel of a man, who, in my opinion, puts your ma-
‘ jeſty upon all manner of extremities. And it is not my
‘ opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the
‘ friendſhip of France muſt needs be deſtructive to your ma-
‘ jeſty, there being in that court a root of enmity irre-
‘ concileable to your majeſty's government, and the reli-
‘ gion of theſe kingdoms. I wiſh your majeſty may never
‘ find the want of ſo faithful a ſervant, as I have always en-
‘ deavoured to approve myſelf to you. I am, with the
‘ greateſt duty and ſubmiſſion,

Madam,

Your majeſty's moſt dutiful,
and obedient ſubject,
MARLBOROUGH.’

The removal of the duke of Marlborough was thought very extraordinary, after ſuch long and eminent ſervices; and was ſo little expected, that thoſe, who looked for precedents, could find none ſince the diſgrace of Beliſarius in Juſtinian's time. The only thing pretended to excuſe it was, his being conſidered as the head of thoſe, who oppoſed the peace, on which the court ſeemed to ſet their hearts.

A reſolution to remove the duke of Somerſet, put off.

The duke of Somerſet continuing to oppoſe the ſchemes of the new miniſters, it was alſo reſolved, in a conſultation about the middle of December, to remove him. But the great friendſhip between the queen and his ducheſs (who was

was groom of the ſtole, and firſt lady of the bed-chamber) prevented that reſolution from being then put in practice (c). 1711.

The

(c) However to ſhew their reſentment to the duke for oppoſing their meaſures, a pamphlet (ſaid to be penned by lord-keeper Harcourt, and called, 'Advice to the October club)' was publiſhed, wherein he and his ducheſs are both abuſed and inſulted. It is there ſaid, 'It would have been a maſter-piece of prudence, in this caſe, to have made a friend of an enemy: but, whether it were ever-attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered deſperate, by an unlucky proceeding ſome months ago at Windſor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous, for that ſituation of affairs, and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great miniſter *. It was obvious to ſuppoſe, that in a particular, where the honour and intereſt of a † huſband were ſo cloſely united with thoſe of a wife, he might be ſure of her utmoſt endeavours for his protection, though ſhe never loved nor eſteemed him. The danger of loſing power, favour, profit, and a ſhelter from domeſtic tyranny, were ſtrong incitements to ſtir up a working brain, early practiſed in all the arts of intriguing.'

This pamphlet is lately reprinted in Vol. VII. of Swift's Miſcellanies, to which is prefixed a preface, ſetting forth: 'That about the year, when her late majeſty, of bleſſed memory, thought proper to change her miniſtry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and ſome others, the firſt of theſe being made an earl and lord-treaſurer, he was ſoon after blamed by his friends, for not making a general ſweep of all the whigs, as the latter did of their adverſaries upon her majeſty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew ſo warm upon the ſlowneſs of the treaſurer in this part, that they formed themſelves into a body, under the name of the October club, and had many meetings, to conſult upon ſome methods, that might ſpur on thoſe in power, ſo that they might make a quicker diſpatch, in removing all the whig leaven from the employments they ſtill poſſeſſed. To prevent the ill conſequences of this diſcontent among ſo many worthy members, the reſt of the miniſtry joined with the treaſurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide thoſe, who were in greater haſte than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the ſuppoſed author ‡ met a conſiderable number of this club in a public houſe, where he convinced them very plainly of the treaſurer's ſincerity, with many of thoſe very reaſons, which are urged in the following diſcourſe, beſides ſome others, which were not ſo

proper.

* The lord-treaſurer.

† The duke and ducheſs of Somerſet.

‡ Harcourt.

1711. The duke was not removed till the 26th of January, and, though endeavours were uſed to the contrary, his ducheſs was by the queen continued in her places, which ſhe offered to reſign.

The duke of Marlborough's diſgrace was attended with other removes, and made way for ſeveral promotions. The duke of Ormond, with the firſt regiment of foot-guards, was appointed commander in chief of all the forces in Great-Britain, and ſoon after, upon the elector of Han-

'proper to appear at that time 'in print. The treaſurer alledg-'ed in his defence, that ſuch a 'treatment would not conſiſt 'with prudence, becauſe there 'were many employments to be 'beſtowed, which required ſkill 'and practice: that ſeveral gen-'tlemen, who poſſeſſed them, 'had been long verſed, very 'loyal to her majeſty, had 'never been violent party-men, 'and were ready to fall into all 'honeſt meaſures for the ſervice 'of their queen and country. 'But however, as offices be-'came vacant, he would hum-'bly recommend to her majeſty 'ſuch gentlemen, whoſe prin-'ciples, with regard both to 'church and ſtate, his friends 'would approve of, and he 'would be ready to accept their 'recommendations. Thus, the 'earl proceeded in procuring 'employments for thoſe, who 'deſerved them by their honeſ-'ty, and abilities to execute 'them. However, the gentle-'men of this club ſtill continued 'uneaſy, that no quicker pro-'greſs was made in removals, 'and till thoſe, who were leaſt 'violent, began to ſoften a little, 'or, by dividing them, the 'whole affair dropped. During 'this difficulty, we have been 'aſſured, that the following 'diſcourſe was very ſeaſonably 'publiſhed with great ſucceſs, 'ſhewing the difficulties that 'the earl of Oxford lay under, 'and his real deſire, that all 'perſons in employment ſhould 'be true loyal churchmen, zea-'lous for her majeſty's honour 'and ſafety, as well as for the 'ſucceſſion in the houſe of Han-'over, if the queen ſhould hap-'pen to die without iſſue.'

The principal members of the October club, who met at the Bell-Tavern in Weſtminſter, were theſe:

John Aiſlaby,
Francis Anneſley,
William Bromley,
Robert Byerley,
Henry Campion,
Charles Cæſar,
Sir Robert Davers,
Charles Eversfield,
Ralph Freeman,
Sir Thomas Hanmer,
John Hungerford,
Sir Juſtinian Iſham,
George Lockhart,
Sir Roger Moſtyn,
Sir John Packington,
Francis Scobel,
William Shippen,
Sir Thomas Thorold,
John Trevanion,
Sir William Whitlocke,
Sir William Windham.

over's

over's refusal to command the queen's forces in Flanders, captain-general of all her forces at home and abroad. The earl Rivers was made master-general of the ordnance, and colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards. The duke of Beaufort was appointed captain of the band of pensioners, and brigadier Hill lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan. The countess of Sunderland and the lady Rialton, two of the duke of Marlborough's daughters, resigned their places of ladies of the bed-chamber. 1711.

The ministers, finding the majority of the house of lords could not be brought to favour their designs, resolved to make an experiment, which none of our princes had ventured on in former times. A resolution was taken up very suddenly of making twelve peers all at once, which was accordingly done on the last day of December, by calling up by writ to the house of lords James lord Compton, eldest son to the earl of Northampton, and Charles lord Bruce, eldest son to the earl of Ailesbury; and creating by patent ten new peers of Great-Britain; George Hay, or lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, the lord-treasurer's son-in-law, baron Hay of Bedwarden in the county of Hereford; the lord viscount Windsor of Ireland, baron Montjoy, of the isle of Wight, in the county of Southampton; Henry Paget, son to the lord Paget, baron Burton, of Burton, in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, baron Mansel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor, of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, baron Lansdowne, of Biddeford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, baron Masham, of Oates, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, baron Bathurst, of Battlesden, in the county of Bedford. Sir Miles Wharton had been offered a peerage; but he thought it looked like the serving a turn, and that, whereas peers used to be made for services, which they had done, he should be made for services to be done by him; and therefore excused himself from accepting it; and the favourite's husband, Mr. Masham, was put in his room. And whereas formerly Jefferies had the vanity to be made a peer, while he was chief justice, which had not been practised for some ages; yet the precedent set by him was followed, and Trevor, chief-justice of the common pleas, was now advanced. Twelve new peers made. Burnet.

1711. vanced to be a peer. This creation of peers was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative; ſo that there was no ground in law to oppoſe the receiving the new lords into the houſe; nor was it poſſible to raiſe in the antient peers a ſenſe of the indignity, which was now put upon their houſe; ſince the court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in abſolute ſubmiſſion and obedience,

1711-12. The queen's meſſage to the lords to adjourn diſputed, but obeyed. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

On the ſecond of January the twelve new peers were introduced into the houſe of lords without any oppoſition; and, the court-party having by this reinforcement, and by the coming up of the Scots lords, got the majority, the houſe acquieſced in the queen's ſullen anſwer to their late addreſs, importing, 'That her majeſty thought her 'ſpeech to both houſes would have given ſatisfaction to every 'body: and, that ſhe had given inſtructions to her plenipo-'tentiaries, according to the deſires of that addreſs.' This done, the lord-keeper delivered to the houſe a meſſage from the queen, 'That, having matters of great importance to 'communicate to both houſes of parliament, ſhe deſired 'the lords to adjourn immediately to the 14th, the ſame 'day, to which the commons had adjourned themſelves.' This occaſioned a very warm debate. It was ſaid, that the queen could not ſend a meſſage to any one houſe to adjourn, when the like meſſage was not ſent to both houſes: that the pleaſure of the prince in convening, diſſolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of parliaments, was always directed to both houſes, but never to any one houſe, unleſs the ſame intimation was made at the ſame time to the other. That the conſequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one houſe to adjourn, while the other was left ſtill to ſit; and this might end in a total diſjointing of the conſtitution. The reſolution however was carried for adjourning by the weight of the twelve new peers. It is true, the odds were thirteen; but that was, becauſe one of the peers, who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for (d).

The

(d) This meſſage for adjourning ſeems only to have been ſent to try the ſtrength of both parties, Mr. ſecretary St. John having been heard to ſay in the court of requeſts, as ſoon as the debate was over, 'That, if thoſe 'twelve had not been enough, 'they would have given them '[the whigs] another dozen.' However, very ſtrong reflections were made, both in print and in

The court having received no news of the opening the congreſs, councils were held on Saturday and Sunday the 12th and 13th of January, in which it was debated, Whether the parliament ſhould ſit, or be deſired further to adjourn themſelves? and, it being carried for the adjournment, a meſſage was on the 14th ſent to both houſes, importing, "That her majeſty fully determined to have been "perſonally preſent in parliament that day; but, being pre- "vented by a ſudden return of her gout, her majeſty, in "hopes ſhe might, by the bleſſing of God, be able to ſpeak "to both her houſes of parliament on Thurſday next, the "17th of this inſtant January, deſired them to adjourn "to that day." Both houſes readily complied with this 1711-12.

in moſt converſations, on that ſtep, many not ſcrupling to ſay, 'That, though the queen had 'an undoubted right to create 'as many peers as ſhe pleaſed, 'yet her miniſters might be 'called to an account for adviſing her to abuſe that right. 'That peace and war were alſo 'the prerogatives of the crown; 'and yet the engaging in a ruinous war, or making a treacherous peace, are things, 'which no miniſter ever did, 'and eſcaped uncenſured or unpuniſhed. That the creating 'twelve peers, to ſerve a turn, 'was, in effect, making a houſe 'of peers a property to the 'court, and taking away a negative upon the crown; which 'would render our liberties precarious. That it could not 'be denied, that the new-made 'peers were men of noble fortunes; and that ſome of them 'had ſhewn a commendable zeal 'for the preſent eſtabliſhment; 'but who would ſecure us, that 'hereafter ſuch a number ſhould 'not be made of men of a quite 'different character? and, in 'ſhort, that this was a precedent, which might be made 'uſe of to inſlave the nation, 'and to introduce a popiſh pretender, or the popiſh religion. 'That if in the reign of ſuch a 'queen this abuſe of the prerogative was ſo much exclaimed 'againſt, how much greater 'would the cry have been, had 'it been in a ſuſpicious reign? 'whereas now they have an unexceptionable inſtance to produce, to ſilence any clamour 'or noiſe. That it was impoſſible for men, who owed ſo 'much to her majeſty for her 'ſhare in the late revolution, to 'oppoſe a prerogative, that had 'never been diſputed, becauſe 'never uſed in that manner: 'but had any prince, who had 'merited leſs of his country, 'began ſuch a thing, it would, 'no doubt, have been oppoſed, 'and perhaps denied him.' But, after all, the ſevereſt reflection upon the twelve new peers was made by the earl of Wharton, who, the ſame day they were introduced, when the queſtion about adjouring was going to be put, aſked one of them, 'Whether they voted by their foreman?' thereby comparing them to a petty jury. Boyer.

meſſage;

1711-12. meſſage; but, before the ſame was delivered by Mr. St. John to the commons, they ordered their ſpeaker to iſſue out writs, for the electing nine members in the room of thoſe called up to the houſe of peers.

Prince Eugene comes to England. Burnet. Hiſt. of Eur.

At this time prince Eugene of Savoy was ſent by the emperor to England, to try, if it was poſſible to engage our court to go on with the war, offering a new ſcheme, by which his imperial majeſty took a much larger ſhare of it on himſelf, than the late emperor would bear. The prince having reſolved to embark for England, notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed at the Hague to keep him on the other ſide of the water, he applied to the earl of Straſford, who wrote the following letter to captain Deſborough, commander of the Fubs yatcht:

Sir,

The earl of Strafford's letter to the captain of the Fubs yatcht. Jan. 3. N. S.

"Prince Eugene having deſired my orders to you to carry "him over, you know, I do not pretend to command any "of her majeſty's yatchts, without her ſpecial command. "You know your orders, and how far they authorize you "to carry over the prince. You know the reſpect and conſideration due to the prince, and his great merit; therefore, it is needleſs for me to tell you what reſpect and "conſideration you ought to ſhew him. I can aſſure you, "I have a particular reſpect and eſteem for him; and I "ſhall always be glad to do the prince all the ſervice, that "lies in my power. I am

"Your moſt humble ſervant,

"STRAFFORD."

Though this letter rather implied a tacit prohibition than a poſitive order, yet, the captain being left to his own diſcretion, he thought it his duty, as he could not but eſteem it an honour, to carry over ſo great a man as prince Eugene, who, on the 8th of January, N. S. embarked at the Brill (with his nephew, the chevalier de Savoye, ſon to the count de Soiſſons, count de la Corſana, and count Cornelius of Naſſau) and on the 1ſt of January, O. S. arrived off Harwich, where being informed, that he could not eaſily get all the neceſſary carriages for his attendants, he was perſuaded to go up the Thames. The next day he received, on board the yatcht, near the Buoy of the Nore, an account of the duke of Marlborough's being removed from all his employments, at which he was extremely concerned. Upon advice,

advice, that he was coming up by water, the government sent down Mr. Drummond, a broken merchant or ſtock-jobber, a creature of the lord-treaſurer, and Mr. Brinſden, an oculiſt, a private agent to Mr. St. John, to attend, or rather to be ſpies upon the prince. Brinſden being detained at Greenwich by an accidental ſprain of his foot, Drummond only waited on the prince with a barge, which carried him from Graveſend to Whitehall; from whence he went in an hackney-coach to Leiceſter-Houſe, which count Gallas, before his departure, had prepared for his reception. Immediately, upon his arrival, the prince cauſed it to be notified to the treaſurer, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the foreign miniſters; and ſome of theſe waited upon him the ſame evening; as did the duke of Marlborough, to whom the prince ſhewed a diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and with whom he afterwards paſſed moſt of his time, notwithſtanding the caution, which Mr. Drummond had given him, either from himſelf, or from thoſe, who ſent him, 'that the leſs he 'ſaw the duke of Marlborough, the better:' to which the prince anſwered, 'that, as the miniſtry might depend upon 'it, he would not cabal againſt them; ſo he hoped they 'did not expect, he ſhould forbear his uſual familiarity with 'his good friend the duke of Marlborough.' On the 6th of January the prince received a compliment from the treaſurer, which he inſtantly returned by the baron de Hohendorf, and about ſeven o'clock in the evening went to St. James's-Houſe, where he was introduced by Mr. St. John, to a private audience of the queen, at which none were preſent but the treaſurer and Mr. ſecretary. After a ſhort compliment, which her majeſty anſwered very graciouſly, he delivered to her a letter from the emperor, which he deſired her to peruſe, becauſe it contained the ſubſtance of his errand. After reading the letter, the queen told the prince, 'that ſhe was ſorry the ſtate of her health did not permit 'her to ſpeak with his highneſs as often as otherwiſe ſhe 'ſhould be glad to do: but that ſhe had ordered thoſe two 'gentlemen (there preſent) to receive his propoſals, and 'confer with him as frequently as he ſhould think proper.' In the mean time people were variouſly affected by his coming to England at this critical juncture. All the whigs, as well as ſome tories, who began to be jealous, that a peace would be concluded upon diſhonourable terms, were very glad of his arrival, hoping, that, by the propoſals he was ſaid to bring from the emperor, he would prevail, if not to break off the preſent negotiation, at leaſt to engage Great-Britain 1711-12.

1711-12. Britain to make early preparations to carry on the war, as the moſt effectual means to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace. Upon this conſideration, and the great fame of his actions, multitudes of people crowded to ſee him, and with loud acclamations attended him wherever he went. On the other hand, the friends of France, and of the pretender, who were equally deſirous of a peace, upon any conditions, being apprehenſive, that he would blaſt their expectations, could not forbear ſhewing their diſcontent; and a rude rabble committed ſome diſorders in Leiceſter-Fields, the ſecond night after his arrival. A more flagrant inſtance of the malice of that party was ſeen on the 8th of January in the Poſt-boy, where an advertiſement was inſerted, infamouſly reflecting on the counteſs of Soiſſons, the prince's mother; which ſcandalous affront the prince overlooked with his uſual magnanimity; and by his diſcret carriage convinced all, that he was not come to meddle with inteſtine diviſions, but rather to endeavour to bring the leading men of both parties to ſuch a temper, as might conduce to remove any difficulties, that might obſtruct the carrying on the common cauſe. This indeared him to every body, and gained him more reſpect, than was ever ſhewn in England to any foreign prince, ſo that, for two whole months, the nobility and gentry of both parties vied with one another who ſhould entertain him (e).

CHAP.

(e) The perſons, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this generous emulation, were the dukes of Marlborough, Ormond, Buckingham, Montague, Schomberg, Devonſhire, Shrewſbury, Richmond, and Grafton; the earls Pawlet, Sunderland, Portland, Oxford, Rivers, Wharton, Berkley, Stair, and Orkney; the lords Lexington, Aſhburnham, Halifax, and North and Grey; Sir Thomas Hanmer; the honourable Mr. Henry Boyle; Mr. ſecretary St. John; general Palmes; the foreign miniſters then in London; Dr. Garth and Dr. Radcliffe, two of the moſt eminent phyſicians. It was then currently reported, that, when the prince dined with the lord-treaſurer, the latter, among other compliments, told his highneſs, 'that he looked upon that day 'as the happieſt in the whole 'courſe of his life, ſince he had 'the honour to ſee in his houſe 'the greateſt captain of this age.' To which the prince replied, 'that, if he were, he was obliged to his lordſhip for it;' alluding to the earl's being the author of the duke of Marlborough's diſgrace, which rid him of a competitor in military glory. It was obſerved the prince was not entertained by the lord Dartmouth.

On the 14th of January, Sir Alexander Cairnes, bart. and Sir Theodore

CHAP. V.

The queen's meſſage to the parliament.—Debates about the Scots peers.—Mr. Walpole's caſe and cenſure.—The duke of Marlborough cenſured and libelled.—His innocence evidently appears.—The barrier treaty condemned.—The ſtates juſtify themſelves.—Remonſtrance of the kirk of Scotland againſt the toleration-act.—Patronages reſtored.—A place-bill loſt.—The queen's meſſage upon prince Eugene's memorial.—He leaves England.—Falſe report of Mohocks.—Motion for a grant-bill.—Death of the two dauphins.—The treaty of Utrecht opened.—The French propoſals.—Received with ſcorn in England.—Summary of the proceedings at Utrecht.—Proceedings in the convocation.—The earl of Strafford's conferences at the Hague.—The allies take the field.—The duke of Ormond refuſes to fight.—Memorial of the ſtates-deputies upon it.—The biſhop of Briſtol's declaration to the Dutch miniſters.—Debate about the duke of Ormond's declining to fight.—Negotiation about the renunciation of Spain and the ceſſation of arms.—Remarks on it.—The queen's ſpeech on the plan of the peace.—The public ſurpriſed at it.—Proceedings of the peers upon it.—Biſhop Fleetwood's preface burnt.—The parliament adjourned.—The Dutch entertain the auxiliaries in Britiſh pay.—The duke of Ormond declares his orders about a ceſſation.—An irruption into France.—Prince Eugene refuſes to relinquiſh the ſiege of Queſnoy.—Conferences with the ſtates.—Prince Eugene marches with the Britiſh auxiliaries.—Remarks on the ceſſation of arms.—The action of Denain.—Progreſs of the French.—

BY this time the parliament being met again, a meſſage from the queen was delivered to both houſes. That to the commons was as follows: 1711-12. The queen's meſſage to the parliament. Jan. 17. Pr. H. C.

'I. Her Theodore Janſſen, two of the moſt eminent merchants of the city of London, who had contributed moſt to the loan made ſome years before to the emperor, upon the ſecurity of his revenues in Sileſia, for the uſe of the prince of Savoy, waited upon him with a compliment from that company. The prince gave them a very kind reception, and told them, 'he was very much obliged to 'them, ſince the raiſing of the 'ſiege of Turin, and the ſucceſſes that followed, were, under God, chiefly owing to the 'ſeaſonable ſupply he received 'from England.' Thoſe gentlemen anſwered, 'that, when 'they made that loan, they had 'not

1711-12.

'I. Her majeſty not having recovered ſtrength enough, 'ſince the return of the gout, to be preſent that day in per-'ſon;

'not ſo much in view the improvement of their money, as 'the honour of being ſerviceable to the common cauſe, and 'of having an opportunity to 'ſhew their reſpect for a prince 'of ſo great a reputation; and 'as they accounted themſelves 'particularly obliged to his highneſs's integrity for the punctual payment of their intereſt 'and principal; ſo, if, in the 'courſe of this war, his highneſs ſhould have occaſion for 'any greater ſums, their company would readily advance 'them upon his highneſs's ſingle 'ſecurity.' They concluded with deſiring him to accept of a ſmall entertainment, which their company deſigned to give him in the city, and to fix a day, when it ſhould beſt ſuit with his convenience; which he promiſed to do. The lord-mayor and court of aldermen, having notice of this invitation, and deſigning likewiſe to ſhew their reſpect to the prince, it was propoſed amongſt them, on the 15th of January, that, ſince moſt of their court were concerned in the Sileſian company, they ought, for greater magnificence ſake, to make but one united entertainment. The motion was approved; but one of the court having ſuggeſted, 'that they would do well to 'know, how the queen would 'take ſuch an invitation to prince 'Eugene;' it was thought proper to ſend two aldermen to the earl of Dartmouth, to know the queen's pleaſure; but, there being, it ſeems, ſome want of formality in the meſſage, his lordſhip wrote the following letter to the lord-mayor:

Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1711-12.

My lord,

"Two of the court of aldermen having brought a verbal meſſage to be delivered to "her majeſty, which was, that "the lord-mayor, court of aldermen, and ſeveral citizens of "the beſt rank, deſired to treat "prince Eugene, and ordered "them to attend me, to know "the queen's pleaſure; and being aſked by the lords of the "council, whether they had "their meſſage in writing, "anſwered, that they had no "order or meſſage in writing, "but that they came upon a "minute taken at the court of "aldermen, of which they had "no copy: they were thereupon "told, that the queen had commanded the lords to acquaint "them, that her majeſty would "return no anſwer to any meſſage,, which is not brought "to her with the ſame reſpect, "as has always been paid by "the city of London to her "predeceſſors. To prevent any "miſtake in repeating what was "ſaid to them, I ſend your "lordſhip this account; and "am, My lord,

"Your lordſhip's moſt obedient

"and moſt humble ſervant,

Dartmouth."

Upon

'ſon; and being unwilling, that the public buſineſs ſhould 1711-12.
'receive any delay, thinks fit to communicate to them the
'ſubſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoke.

'II. At the opening of this ſeſſion, her majeſty acquainted the parliament, that both time and place were appointed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries of all the confederates, to treat with thoſe of the enemy concerning a general peace; and alſo expreſſed the care, which ſhe intended to take of all her allies, and the ſtrict union, in which ſhe propoſed to join with them, in order to obtain a good peace, and to guaranty and ſupport it, when obtained.

'III. Her majeſty can now tell them, that her plenipotentiaries are arrived at Utrecht, and have begun, in purſuance of their inſtructions, to concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a juſt ſatisfaction to all in alliance with her, according to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the Weſt-Indies.

'IV. You may depend on her majeſty's communicating to her parliament the terms of peace, before the ſame ſhall be concluded.

'V. The world will now ſee, how groundleſs thoſe reports are, which have been ſpread abroad by men of evil intentions, to ſerve the worſt deſigns, as if a ſeparate peace had been treated, for which there has not been the leaſt colour given.

'VI. Her majeſty's miniſters have directions to propoſe, that a day may be fixed for the finiſhing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and, in the mean time all the preparations are haſtening for an early campaign.

'VII. The zeal, which this houſe has already expreſſed, was a ſure pledge, that they will proceed in giving the neceſſary diſpatch to the ſupplies.

'VIII. Her majeſty finds it neceſſary to obſerve, how great licenſe is taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous libels, ſuch as are a reproach to any government. This evil ſeems to be grown too ſtrong for the laws now in force; it is therefore recommended to you to find a remedy equal to the miſchief.'

The meſſage, the queen ſent to the houſe of lords, was exactly the ſame with that ſent to the commons; except

Upon the receipt of this letter, the court of aldermen did not think fit to make any further ſteps in that matter, to the great diſappointment and mortification of moſt of the citizens.

1711-12. only, that inſtead of the ſeventh paragraph, about the ſupply, her majeſty took notice of the affair relating to the Scotch peers, in the following words: 'there is one thing 'in which her majeſty's ſubjects of the north part of this 'kingdom are extremely concerned: the diſtinction ſuch of 'them who were peers of Scotland before the union muſt lie 'under, if the prerogative of the crown is ſtrictly barred a-'gainſt them alone. This is a matter which ſenſibly af-'fects her majeſty, and ſhe therefore lays it before this houſe, 'earneſtly deſiring their advice and concurrence in finding 'out the beſt method of ſettling this affair, to the ſatiſ-'faction of the whole kingdom.'

The lords and commons addreſs of thanks. Pr. H. L. P. H. C.

The houſe of lords agreed to an addreſs, thanking her majeſty for communicating theſe things to them, and for the promiſes ſhe had made them, repeating the very words in which they were made. It was moved to add the words, 'conform to her alliance;' but it was ſaid, that the queen aſſured them of that, and therefore the repeating theſe words would ſeem to intimate a diſtruſt, ſo that was not carried. But, becauſe there ſeemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of Spain and the Weſt-Indies, the houſe expreſſed in what ſenſe they underſtood them, by adding theſe words: 'which are of ſo great concern to the ſafety and commerce 'of your majeſty's kingdoms.' The commons made an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe, in which they only named Spain and the Weſt-Indies.

A bill giving precedence to the houſe of Hanover. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

The duke of Devonſhire, purſuant to the motion he had made before the receſs, having prepared a bill for giving precedence to the duke of Cambridge, the lord-treaſurer was reſolved to prevent him, and offered January 17, a bill giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as the children and nephews of the crown; and it was intimated, that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the crown: the duke of Devonſhire would make no diſpute on this head; if the thing paſſed, he acquieſced in the manner of paſſing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the houſe. On this occaſion, the court ſeemed, even to an affectation, to ſhew a particular zeal in promoting this bill; for it paſſed through both houſes in two days. Notwithſtanding this haſte, the court did not ſeem to deſign any ſuch bill, till it was propoſed by others, out of whoſe hands they thought fit to take it. The act was ſent over to Hanover, by Mr. Thomas Harley, in order to raiſe favourable thoughts there of the miniſtry. But that court ſaw through theſe thin diſguiſes, which were contradicted by the open counte-

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nance to thoſe who were no well-wiſhers to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the diſcouragement to its beſt friends. The lords entered upon the conſideration of the paragraph in the queen's meſſage, relating to the peers of Scotland. The court propoſed that an expedient might be found, that the peers of Scotland ſhould not ſit among them by election, but by deſcent, in caſe the reſt of the peers of that nation ſhould conſent to it. A debate followed concerning the articles of the union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable. It was ſaid, that, by the union, no private right could be taken away, but by the conſent of the perſons concerned; therefore no alteration could be made in the right of the peers of Scotland, unleſs they conſented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in caſe they ſhould conſent to it; or whether the firſt riſe to any ſuch alteration ought not to be given by a previous deſire. This was not ſo ſubject to an ill management; the court ſtudied to have a ſubſequent conſent received as ſufficient: but a previous deſire was inſiſted, as viſibly fairer and juſter. 1711-12.

Debate concerning the Scots peers.

The Scotch lords, ſeeing no redreſs to their complaint, but that the peers adhered to their late judgment, ſeemed reſolved to come no more to ſit in the houſe of lords; but the court was ſenſible, that their ſtrength, in that houſe, conſiſted chiefly in them and the new peers: for which reaſon pains were taken, and ſecret forcible arguments were uſed to them, which proved ſo effectual, that, after a few days abſence, they came back, and continued, during the ſeſſion, to ſit in the houſe. They gave out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the ſatisfaction of the peers of Scotland; but, nothing of that appearing, it was concluded, that the ſatisfaction was private and perſonal. The great arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the houſhold and of ſalaries and penſions, was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the civil liſt, though it exceeded the eſtabliſhment very much, was applied to other payments, which the miniſters durſt not own. And, though ſecret practice on members had been for a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed with an extraordinary profuſion.

The Scots lords are promiſed ſatisfaction. Burnet.

The houſe of commons entered on the obſervations of the commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, which had been laid before them on the 21ſt of December; and they began with what related to Mr. Walpole, whom they

Mr. Walpole's caſe and cenſure. Ibid.

1711-12. reſolved to put out of the way of diſturbing them in the houſe. The charge againſt him was thus: Mr. Walpole, as ſecretary of war, had contracted with ſome perſons for forage to the horſe that lay in Scotland. He, finding the contractors made ſome gain by it, named a friend of his own to be joined with them, that he might have a ſhare of the gain: but the others were unwilling the ſecret of their management ſhould be known; ſo, inſtead of admitting him, offered him five hundred guineas for his ſhare, which he accepted, and the money was remitted. But the contractors, not knowing how to direct to him, addreſſed their bill to Mr. Walpole, who endorſed it, and the perſon concerned received the money. This was found out, and Walpole was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own uſe, for making the contract. Both the perſons that remitted the money, and he who received it, were examined, and affirmed, that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the houſe inſiſted upon his having endorſed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but ſent him to the Tower, and expelled him the houſe. Not content with this, when Mr. Walpole was afterwards choſen again for Lynn Regis, the commons, upon a petition againſt his election, reſolved, 'That Robert 'Walpole, eſq; having been, this ſeſſion of parliament, 'committed a priſoner to the Tower of London, and ex'pelled this houſe, for an high breach of truſt in the execu'tion of his office, and notorious corruption when ſecretary 'of war, was, and is incapable of being elected a member 'to ſerve in this preſent parliament.' (f)

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(f) This proceeding againſt him was examined in the Poſtſcript to the ſecond edition of 'Mr. Walpole's Caſe in a letter 'from a Tory Member of Parlia'ment to his friend in the coun'try.' The author of this piece conſiders, 'Whether Mr. Walpole 'was, at the time of his election, 'incapable of being elected a 'member to ſerve in parliament; 'and if he was capable, how far 'a ſecond expulſion was juſt and 'reaſonable:' and then ſhews, that ſuch an incapacity cannot ariſe either from the tenour and words of the writ, nor from Mr. Walpole's being a priſoner in the Tower, nor from his having been expelled the houſe. And, upon the whole, he declares, that if Mr. Walpole 'was to be tried by 'the law of the land, or by the 'law and uſage of parliament, 'or by any known rules of rea'ſon and juſtice, there was no 'foundation to declare, that he 'was incapable of being elected 'a member to ſerve in the pre'ſent parliament: and that it 'will be thought an hardſhip of 'the firſt impreſſion, that for a 'ſlight

The next attack was on the duke of Marlborough. 1711-12.
On the 24th of January, his affair was debated. The money received from Sir Solomon Medina was ſaid to be a fraud, and the deduction out of the pay of the foreign troops was ſaid to be public money, and to be accounted for. The debate held long. It appeared, that, during the former war, king William had fifty thouſand pounds a year for contingencies; which were often reckoned to have coſt much more. The contingency was that ſervice, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence. The duke of Marlborough had only ten thouſand pounds for the contingencies; which, with all the other items joined together, amounted but to thirty thouſand pounds; a ſum much inferior to what had been formerly given: and yet, with this moderate expence, he had procured ſo good intelligence, that he was never ſurprized, and no party he ſent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this intelligence, all his deſigns were ſo well concerted, that he ſucceeded in every one of them; and, by many inſtances, the exactneſs of his intelligence was fully demonſtrated. It was proved, both by witneſſes, and by formal atteſtations from Holland, that, ever ſince the year 1672, the Jews had made the like preſent to the general of the ſtates army; and it was underſtood as a perquiſite belonging to that command. No bargain was made with the Jews for the Engliſh troops, that made by the ſtates being applied to them; ſo that it appeared, that the making ſuch a preſent to the general was cuſtomary; but that was denied. So it was reſolved at laſt by two hundred and ſeventy voices againſt a hundred and ſixty-five, 'That 'the taking ſeveral ſums of money annually, by the duke 'of Marlborough from the contractors for furniſhing the 'bread and bread-waggons for the army in the Low-Coun-'tries was unwarrantable and illegal.' After which, tho' the duke had the queen's warrant to receive it, they alſo voted, that the two and a half per cent. deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops was unwarrantable, and to be accounted for. Theſe reſolutions being laid before the queen, ſhe anſwered, 'I have a great regard for whatever is pre-'ſented to me by my commons, and will do my part to re-

The cenſure put on the duke of Marlborough. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

'ſlight offence, proved by no di-'rect evidence, vindicated by po-'ſitive evidence upon oath, a 'gentleman ſhould be cenſured 'in the ſtrongeſt terms, impri-'ſoned, and expelled the houſe, 'and afterwards expelled again.'

1711-12. 'dreſs what you complain of.' To colour this cenſure, the commons voted, 'That the two and a half per cent. which 'had, or ought to have been made from the pay for foreign 'forces, be continued for the year 1712, and applied for 'the ſervice of the war.' And it is obſervable, that though ſome of the foreign princes, who had troops in the queen's pay, did ſome time after order their miniſters in London to repreſent, 'that the two and a half per cent. was their 'own money, but they were willing to allow it as a free 'gift to the duke of Ormond, as they had done to the duke 'of Marlborough;' which repreſentation ſeemed to be a full juſtification of the latter. The queen however was prevailed upon to ſend an order to the attorney-general to proſecute the duke for the fifteen thouſand pounds, which was deducted yearly out of the pay of the foreign troops, for the receiving whereof he had her own warrant.

Many libels againſt the duke of Marlborough. Burnet.

The court eſpouſed theſe reſolutions of the commons with great zeal, and paid well for the great majority by which they were carried. Upon this, many virulent writers (whether ſet on to it, or officiouſly ſtudying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of malice againſt the duke of Marlborough: they compared him to Cataline, to Craſſus, to Antony, and ſtudied to repreſent him as a robber of the nation, and as a public enemy. This gave indignation to all who had a ſenſe of gratitude, or a regard to juſtice. In one of theſe ſcurrilous papers, penned on deſign to raiſe the rabble againſt him, a period began thus, 'He was perhaps once fortunate.' *By Burnet. This paſſage being mentioned * to prince Eugene, he pleaſantly ſaid, it was the greateſt commendation could be given him, ſince he was always ſucceſsful: ſo this implied, that in one ſingle inſtance he might be fortunate, but that all his other ſucceſſes were owing to his conduct. It was anſwered, that ſingle inſtance muſt then be, his eſcaping out of the hands of the party, who took him as he was going down the Maeſe in a boat (g).

Secret

(g) Among the libels againſt the duke was publiſhed, by either Prior or Swift, 'A Fable 'of the Widow and her Cat,' the laſt ſtanza of which is as follows:

IX. 'So flagrant is thy inſolence,
'So vile thy breach of truſt is,
'That longer with thee to diſpenſe,
'Were want of power, or want of ſenſe:
'Here, Towzer,— Do him juſtice.'

It

Secret inquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the duke of Marlborough, and to ſee whether poſts in the army, or in the guards, were ſold by him; but nothing could be found. He had ſuffered a practice to go on, that had been begun in the late king's time, of letting officers ſell their commiſſions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himſelf. Few thought that he had been ſo clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which now his enemies were confident, that ſome diſcoveries would have been made to his prejudice: ſo that the endeavours uſed to ſearch into thoſe matters, producing nothing, raiſed the reputation of his incorrupt adminiſtration, more than all his well-wiſhers could have expected. 1711-12. His innocence appeared evidently. Burnet.

In this whole tranſaction was ſeen a new ſcene of ingratitude, acted in a moſt imprudent manner; when the man, to whom the nation owed more than it had ever done, in any age, to any ſubject, or perhaps to any perſon whatever, was, for ſome months, purſued with ſo much malice. He bore all with ſilence and patience, appearing always calm and chearful: and, though he prepared a full vindication of himſelf, yet he delayed publiſhing it, till the nation ſhould return to its ſenſes, and be capable of examining thoſe matters in a more impartial manner.

Another affair of a more public nature was now taken into conſideration by the commons, namely, the barrier treaty with the ſtates. Both houſes had, in the year 1709, agreed in an addreſs to the queen, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion might be ſecured by a guaranty in the treaty of The barrier treaty. Burnet.

It is no wonder the duke of Marlborough was thus uſed, ſince the earl of Nottingham himſelf did not eſcape for oppoſing the negotiations of peace. It was not only ſaid that he did ſo, becauſe he was refuſed the privy-ſeal, but the following advertiſement was inſerted in the Poſt-Boy, of December 6, viz. 'Whereas 'a very tall, thin, ſwarthy com- 'plectioned man, between ſixty 'and ſeventy years of age, wear- 'ing a brown coat, with little 'ſleeves, and long pockets, has 'lately withdrawn himſelf from 'his friends, being ſeduced by 'wicked perſons to follow ill 'courſes: Theſe are to give no- 'tice, That whoever ſhall diſ- 'cover him, ſhall have ten ſhil- 'lings reward; or, if he will vo- 'luntarily return, he ſhall be 'kindly received by his friends, 'who will not reproach him for 'paſt follies, provided he give 'good aſſurances, that, for the 'future, he will firmly adhere to 'the church of England, in which 'he was ſo carefully educated by 'his honeſt parents.' There were alſo lampoons, and other libels, both in verſe and proſe, publiſhed againſt the ſame peer.

peace;

1711-12. peace; and this was ſettled at the Hague to be one of the preliminaries. But when an end was put to the conferences at Gertruydenberg, the lord Townſhend was ordered to ſet on a treaty with the ſtates to that effect. They entertained it very readily; but at the ſame time propoſed, that England ſhould enter into a guaranty with them, to maintain their barrier, which conſiſted of ſome places which they were to garriſon, the ſovereignty of which was ſtill in the crown of Spain, and of other places which had not belonged to that crown at the death of king Charles the ſecond, but had been taken in the progreſs of the war; for, by their agreements with Great-Britain, they bore the charge of the ſieges, and ſo the places taken were to belong to them. Theſe were chiefly Liſle, Tournay, Menin, and Doway, and were to be kept ſtill by them. But as for thoſe places, which, from the time of the treaty of the Pyrenees belonged to the Spaniards, they had been ſo ill looked after by the Spaniſh governors of Flanders, who were more intent upon enriching themſelves, and keeping a magnificent court at Bruſſels, than on preſerving the country, that neither were the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furniſhed, nor the ſoldiers paid; ſo that, whenever the war broke out, the French made themſelves very eaſily maſters of places ſo ill kept. The ſtates had therefore propoſed, during this war, that the ſovereignty of thoſe places ſhould continue ſtill to belong to the crown of Spain, but they ſhould keep garriſons in the ſtrongeſt and the moſt expoſed, in particular thoſe that lay on the Lys and the Scheld; and, for maintaining this, they aſked a hundred thouſand pounds a year from thoſe provinces; by which they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the Spaniards. They aſked likewiſe a free paſſage for all the ſtores that they ſhould ſend to thoſe places. This ſeemed to be ſo reaſonable, that, ſince the intereſt of England, as well as the ſtates, required that this frontier ſhould be carefully maintained, the miniſtry were ready to hearken to it. It was objected, that, in caſe of a war between England and the ſtates, the trade of thoſe provinces would be wholly in the hands of the Dutch: but this had been ſettled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of France and England, was made in 1609, between the Spaniards and the ſtates. There was a proviſional order therein made for the freedom of trade in thoſe provinces; and that was turned into a perpetual one by the peace of Munſter. King Charles of Spain had agreed to

the

the main of the barrier; ſome places on the Scheld were not neceſſary for a frontier, but the ſtates inſiſted on them, as neceſſary to maintain a communication with the frontier. The king of Pruſſia excepted likewiſe to ſome places in the Spaniſh Gueldre. The lord Townſhend thought that theſe were ſuch inconſiderable objections, that, though his inſtructions did not come up to every particular, yet he ſigned the treaty, known by the name of the Barrier Treaty, on the 29th of October, 1709; by which the ſtates bound themſelves to maintain the queen's title to her dominions and the proteſtant ſucceſſion with their whole force; and England was reciprocally obliged to aſſiſt them in maintaining this barrier. 1711-12.

The mercenary writers, who were hired to defend the peace then projected with France, attacked this treaty with great virulence (h) and by arguments that gave juſt ſuſpicions That treaty complained of.

(h) Dr. Swift in particular publiſhed a piece, intitled, 'Some 'remarks on the barrier-treaty 'between her majeſty and the 'ſtates-general; to which are 'added, the ſaid barrier-treaty, 'with two ſeparate articles; part 'of the counter-project; the ſen- 'timents of prince Eugene and 'count Zinzendorf upon the ſaid 'treaty; and a repreſentation 'of the Engliſh merchants at 'Bruges.' He attacked likewiſe the ſame treaty in his 'conduct 'of the allies and of the late 'miniſtry;' but his remarks upon it were confuted in the 'ſecond 'part of Dr. Hare's allies and 'the late miniſtry defended 'againſt France, and the preſent 'friends of France.' On the ſame ſide was alſo publiſhed a piece in octavo, called, 'The 'Dutch barrier our's; or the in- 'tereſt of England and Holland 'inſeparable.' But the moſt conſiderable treatiſe upon this ſubject was publiſhed at London, in 1712, in octavo, under the title of 'The barrier-treaty vin- 'dicated,' which is ſuppoſed to have been written by the lord Townſhend, Mr. Stephen Poyntz, Dr. Samuel Clarke, and Dr. Hare. This piece begins with repreſenting the fatal conſequences of ſubmitting to a popiſh prince, and the neceſſity of ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion: that the proteſtant ſucceſſion, under the circumſtances of it at that time, could no otherwiſe be effectually ſecured, than by a foreign aſſiſtance; ſince the French king's promiſe, of not ſupporting the pretender, could not be depended upon, and ſince England alone was not ſufficient to defend herſelf againſt France. That no alliance was ſo uſeful, in order to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as that of the ſtates-general, whether we conſider their ſituation, ſtrength, religion, or intereſt, and the nature of their trade compared with our own. That, with regard to the barrier, it is in itſelf, and apart from all other conſiderations, the true intereſt of England, that there ſhould be a good

1711-12. cions of black deſigns. They ſaid, it was a diſgrace to this nation, to engage any other ſtate to ſecure the ſucceſſion among

good and ſufficient barrier againſt France on the ſide of the Netherlands: that no barrier could be ſufficient, that was not at leaſt equal to that ſtipulated in the barrier treaty: that the barrier inſiſted on, in the preliminaries of 1709, was not ſufficient for the defence of the Low-Countries, becauſe it conſiſted but of one ſingle line or chain of towns; whereas what might further be claimed, by virtue of the barrier treaty, was far from being more than neceſſary for that end: that the defence of the barrier ought to be committed to the ſtates, ſince it could not be preſerved by treaties with France, nor by defenſive alliances againſt her, nor by the houſe of Auſtria; nor by troops lent for the defence of the barrier, nor by England, but only by the ſtates. That, for the defence of the barrier in the hands of the ſtates, it was neceſſary they ſhould have a ſafe and free communication with it, and reaſonable, that the country of the barrier ſhould contribute towards the charge of maintaining it. That the Dutch had a right to a ſufficient barrier, and to have themſelves the defence of it, was acknowledged by the allies previous to the barrier treaty: that the ſtates having a barrier purſuant to the preſent treaty, was far from expoſing Great-Britain to any danger from them: that their barrier was granted them under ſuch regulations and reſtrictions, that they could not attempt any thing to the prejudice of the trade of Great-Britain, without a direct violation of the treaty, and an open rupture with our nation: that they were to have only the military command in the barrier towns, without any power of impoſing duties, prohibiting trade, or making any orders relating to commerce: that they were bound by the treaty to aſſiſt her majeſty, in caſe any others ſhould attempt to put our trade on a worſe foot than that of the nations the moſt favoured: that, even in caſe of a rupture with us, the ſtates could not obſtruct our trade in the Netherlands, without breaking at the ſame time with the emperor alſo: that if the fear of obſtructing our trade was an objection againſt truſting the ſtrong towns in the Netherlands in the hands of the ſtates, it was a ſtrong objection againſt truſting them in any other hands whatſoever. That, when the barrier was once put into the hands of the ſtates, it would be more their intereſt than ever to avoid breaking with England. That ſuppoſing the ſtates ſhould be ſo imprudent, as to break with England, their barrier would be ſo far from making them more rich or formidable, that it would rather exhauſt and weaken them, with reſpect to England; becauſe the whole revenue of the Spaniſh Netherlands had never been ſufficient, ſince the Pyrenean treaty, to keep them in a tolerable poſture of defence; and therefore much leſs can that portion, aſſigned the ſtates by the treaty, be ſufficient. That with regard

among us, which perhaps we might ſee cauſe to alter; whereas by this treaty the ſtates had an authority given them to interpoſe in our counſels. It was alſo ſaid, that, if the ſtates were put into poſſeſſion of all thoſe ſtrong towns, they might ſhut us out from any ſhare of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in provinces very capable of them. But it was anſwered, that this could not be done, as long as this treaty continued in force, unleſs the ſovereign of the country ſhould join with them againſt us. Some objected to the ſettlement made at Munſter, as a tranſaction, when we were in ſuch confuſion at home, that we had no miniſter there; but that treaty had only rendered the truce and the proviſional ſettlement made before, by the mediation of England, perpetual; and we had ſince acquieſced in that ſettlement for above ſixty years. By examining into the particulars of the treaty, it appeared, that in ſome inconſiderable matters, the lord Townſhend had gone beyond the letter of his inſtructions, in which he had ſo fully ſatisfied the late miniſtry, that though, upon his firſt ſigning it, ſome exceptions had been taken, yet theſe were paſſed over, and the treaty was ratified in form. 1711-12.

But the new miniſtry had other views. They deſigned to ſet the queen at liberty from her engagements by theſe alliances, and to diſengage her from treaties. The houſe

to the great objection, founded on the fifteenth article of the treaty, that it was highly prejudicial to the commerce of Great-Britain, to ſubmit our trade in the Spaniſh dominions to an equality with that of Holland and other nations; this is confuted by theſe conſiderations: that the trade of England and Holland to the Spaniſh dominions had always ſtood upon an equal foot, not only by virtue of their reſpective treaties with the crown of Spain, but likewiſe in fact; and that the crown of England had been ſo far from not ſubmitting to the advantages granted the Dutch by the treaty of Munſter, that it actually firſt procured them for the ſtates, and, by a particular expreſs treaty, became guarantee for the performance: and that her majeſty was laid under no engagement by the fifteenth article of the barrier treaty, but what ſhe was previouſly obliged to by the grand alliance, as appears from the eighth article of that alliance. In the obſervations on the Treaty and counter-project, it is ſhewn, that there was not one variation of any moment throughout the whole treaty, but what was either purſuant to former treaties, or neceſſary to the rendering the barrier complete and effectual; and, on that account, as much for the intereſt of England, as of Holland itſelf.

of

1711-12. of commons went now very haſtily into ſeveral reſolutions that were very injurious to the ſtates. They pretended the ſtates had been deficient in their quota's for ſea-ſervice, ſome years two thirds, and generally more than half their quota. That the forces ſupplied by the ſtates for the ſervice of Spain, from 1705 to 1708, were no more than twelve thouſand two hundred men, and they had ſince ſent thither no forces at all. That the ſtates, during the courſe of the war, had furniſhed leſs than their proportion in Flanders, twenty thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſeven men. That the queen had paid in ſubſidies more than her proportion three millions one hundred and fifty-five crowns. Then they fell on the barrier-treaty: they gave out, that the old miniſtry deſigned to bring over an army from Holland, whenever they ſhould, for other ends, pretend that the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger; whereas it was urged, that there was no need of any foreign aſſiſtance to maintain it. In the debate it was inſiſted on, that it could be maintained ſafely no other way: it was not to be doubted but the king of France would aſſiſt the pretender. England was not inclined to keep up a ſtanding army, in time of peace, to reſiſt him; ſo that we could not be ſo ſafe any other way, as by having the ſtates engaged to ſend over their army, if it ſhould be neceſſary. But reaſon is a feeble thing to bear down reſolutions already taken, ſo the commons voted,

Reſolutions injurious to the ſtates. Pr. H. C. Feb. 4.

The barrier treaty condemned.

I. 'That in the treaty between her majeſty and the ſtates-general, for ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, and for ſettling a barrier for the ſtates-general againſt France, under colour of ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and providing a ſufficient barrier to the ſtates-general againſt France, there were ſeveral articles deſtructive to the trade and intereſt of Great-Britain, and therefore highly diſhonourable to her majeſty. II. That the lord viſcount Townſhend had not any orders or authority for negotiating or concluding ſeveral articles in that treaty. III. That the lord viſcount Townſhend, who negotiated and ſigned, and all thoſe who adviſed the ratifying of that treaty, were enemies to the queen and kingdom.'

Theſe votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as ſtrange preludes to a peace. When the ſtates heard what exceptions were taken to the barrier treaty, they wrote a very reſpectful letter to the queen, ſetting forth their juſt claim to, and the neceſſity of the barrier for the ſecurity of England as well as Holland; concluding, 'That

'if

'if there were ſome articles, which, without affecting the 1711-12.
'eſſentials of the treaty, might be thought to want explana-
'tion, her majeſty ſhould find them willing and ready to
'treat thereupon, and with all the facility and condeſcen-
'ſion that could be required of them, whatever ſhould not
'be of the laſt importance for the ſecurity and preſervation
'of their ſtate. Intreating, withal, her majeſty to continue
'towards them that very precious friendſhip and good-will,
'with which ſhe had hitherto honoured them.' How much ſoever diſintereſted people might be affected with this letter, it made no impreſſion on the miniſtry; and the managers of the houſe of commons got all their votes to be digeſted into a well-compoſed inflaming repreſentation, which was laid before the queen *: by it all the allies, but moſt particularly the ſtates, were charged with having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements. They alſo laid before the queen the votes they had made, with relation to the barrier treaty; and that they might name a great ſum, that would make a deep impreſſion on the nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they ſaid, England had been, during the war, overcharged nineteen millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was caſt on the old miniſtry.

* See Pr. of the houſe of commons, Vol. IV. 263.

The ſtates, reſenting theſe proceedings, drew up a large memorial, in which every particular in the repreſentation was examined and fully anſwered. The two firſt heads of this memorial, which related to the ſervice at ſea and in Flanders, were printed here, and publiſhed in Engliſh in the Daily Courant, of April 7, containing a full anſwer to all that was charged on them, as to thoſe matters, to the ample conviction of all who examined the particulars. The houſe of commons ſaw the effect this was like to have; and therefore they voted the pretended (as they called it) memorial, to be a falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the reſolutions of the houſe; and that the printing of it was a breach of privilege. And, to ſtop the printing of the other heads, Mr. Samuel Buckley, the writer and printer of the Daily Courant, was taken into cuſtody. This was a confutation, to which no reply could be made; yet it ſeemed to be a confeſſion that their repreſentation could not be juſtified, when the anſwer to it was ſo carefully ſtifled. It was then generally reported, that the chief handle for this cenſure was a ſuppoſition that the memorial was not genuine; which appeared ſoon after to be entirely groundleſs; for the memorial had not only been

The ſtates juſtify themſelves.

printed

1711-12. printed at the Hague, but delivered by their envoy Van Borſelyn to the queen, by whoſe order Mr. St. John wrote a ſhort anſwer (i).

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(i) The anſwer was as follows:

'The queen having maturely conſidered the memorials of the 3d of April, which were preſented to her majeſty by the ſieur Van Borſelyn, envoy extraordinary from the lords the ſtates-general, and the reſolution of the ſaid ſtates of the 23d of the ſame month, which was communicated to her majeſty by the earl of Strafford, her embaſſador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary in Holland, has ordered me to give this anſwer in few words: that her majeſty is ſurprized to find, that far from giving the deſerved praiſes to the efforts, which her majeſty has made in Spain, and Portugal, two theatres of the war, that have been abandoned by the ſtates for ſo many years, the ſaid efforts are looked upon only as quota's, which the queen was obliged to furniſh according to the rule of proportion, which has not the leaſt foundation. Her majeſty agrees, that, according to the principles laid down in the reſolution abovementioned, Great-Britain will never contribute enough, nor the United-Provinces too little.

'There it is advanced as a maxim, that the power of each of the allies is the only rule and meaſure of the efforts they are to make; and, after this, the ſtates ſet up for judges, as well of the power of her majeſty's kingdom, as of that of their own ſtate. It is not difficult to perceive how far this ſort of logic would carry us: but her majeſty, far from being obliged by the memorial mentioned in the reſolution of the 22d of April to change her ſentiments, thinks fit to renew the declarations, which the earl of Strafford made by her order, and in her name. Theſe are not points, which the queen propoſes as a ſubject of negotiation, but a communication to her allies of the reſolution ſhe has taken, and of the rule laid down, that they may thereupon concert their meaſures.

'The houſe of commons, which is compoſed of members ſent from each county of the kingdom, and who are competent judges of what burden the people are able to bear, have only granted ſubſidies for the current year, according to the proportions, and under the conditions, which have been imparted to the ſtates-general.

'Her majeſty has declared to the houſe, that ſhe thought theſe conditions reaſonable, and has given her orders according to the plan, in which, by conſequence, there is not the leaſt alteration to be expected.

'The queen looks upon an union betwixt herſelf and the ſtates to be the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the common cauſe;

'and

The houſe of commons proceeded next to the repeal of the naturalization act, which had paſſed the laſt parliament in favour of the proteſtant foreigners. A bill for the repeal of this act had been thrown out by the lords the laſt year, but it now paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. 1711-12. Naturalization act repealed.

Thoſe, who were ſuſpected of having bad deſigns, applied themſelves with great induſtry to drive on ſuch bills as they hoped would give the preſbyterians in Scotland ſuch alarms, as might diſpoſe them to remonſtrate that the union was broken.

To this end ſeveral bills were brought into the houſe of commons: they began with propoſing one for a toleration for the epiſcopal clergy to uſe the liturgy of the church of England. This ſeemed ſo reaſonable that no oppoſition was made to it: however the kirk of Scotland being alarmed at the deſign of ſetting up the church of England's liturgy and worſhip in North-Britain; and upon the firſt notice, that a bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of commons, the commiſſioners of the general aſſembly drew up a large repreſentation to the queen, ſetting forth, 'That the ſixth 'act of parliament in 1707, "for ſecuring the proteſtant "religion and preſbyterian government, (whereby all other "acts in favour of the ſame are ratified and approved) is "declared to be an eſſential and fundamental condition of "the treaty of union, without any alteration thereof, or "derogation thereto, in any ſort, for ever, even beyond the A toleration to the Engliſh clergy in Scotland. Pr. H. C. Pr. H. L. Burnet. Remonſtrance of the kirk againſt it.

'and for that reaſon has done 'all that ſhe could to traverſe 'the deſigns of thoſe factious 'ſpirits, which tended to break 'that union. The propoſals, 'which have been made by her 'majeſty's plenipotentiaries to 'the miniſters of the ſtates-general, do uncontrovertibly manifeſt the queen's ſincere deſire 'to entertain a good correſpondence and ſtrict union with 'the ſtates. Theſe are all the 'ſteps, which her majeſty could 'take for that end. Her majeſty flatters herſelf, that they 'will have the effect, which ſhe 'ought to expect from them; 'and that they will diſſipate all 'thoſe vain fears and ill grounded jealouſies, which have been 'diſperſed with ſo much induſtry throughout the ſeven provinces. But, however that 'be, her majeſty will have this 'comfort, that ſhe has neglected 'nothing of what was in her 'power to contribute towards 'the ſatisfaction of the ſtates-general, without abandoning 'the intereſt of her own kingdoms.'

Done at Whitehall, May 19, 1712. H. St. JOHN.

1711-12. "reach of parliament." 'That they could not but expreſs 'their ſurprize and deep affliction, to hear of a bill offered 'for ſuch a large and almoſt boundleſs toleration, not only 'threatening the overthrow of their church, but giving a 'large licence almoſt to all errors and blaſphemies, and 'throwing up all good diſcipline, to the diſhonour of God, 'and the ſcandal and ruin of the true chriſtian religion, and 'the infallible diſturbance of the quiet, and to the confuſion 'of that church and nation: and therefore with all humi-'lity, but with the greateſt earneſtneſs, they did beſeech, 'nay obteſt her majeſty, by the ſame mercy of God, 'that reſtored that church, and raiſed her majeſty to the 'throne, to interpoſe for the relief of that church, and 'the maintenance of the preſent eſtabliſhment, againſt 'ſuch a manifeſt and ruining incroachment, in ſuch man-'ner, as in her royal wiſdom and juſtice ſhe ſhould think 'needful.' Notwithſtanding this repreſentation (which was preſented to the queen by Mr. Carſtairs, principal of the college of Edinburgh) the act went on, and a clauſe was put in it, that occaſioned great complaints; the magiſtrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the ſentences of the judicatories of their kirk, were by this act required, to execute none of them. It was reaſonable to require them to execute no ſentences, that might be paſſed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but the carrying this to a general clauſe took away the civil ſanction, which in moſt places is looked on as the chief, if not the only, ſtrength of church power. Thoſe, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that oath; ſo, to cover them from it, a clauſe was put in this act, requiring all the preſbyterian miniſters to take it; ſince it ſeemed reaſonable, that thoſe of the legal eſtabliſhment ſhould be required to take that, which was now to be impoſed on thoſe, who were only to be tolerated. It was well underſtood, that there were words in the oath of abjuration, to which the preſbyterians excepted. In the act of ſucceſſion, one of the conditions, on which the ſucceſſor was to be received, was, his being of the communion of the church of England; and, by the oath of abjuration, the ſucceſſion was ſworn to, as limited by that act: the word Limitation, imported only the entail of the crown; but it was ſuggeſted, that the particle, as, related to all the conditions in that act. This was ſpread among ſo many of

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that, perſuaſion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuſe to take it: ſo a ſmall alteration was made by the houſe of lords of theſe words, 'As was limited,' into words of the ſame ſenſe, 'Which was limited;' but thoſe, who intended to excuſe the epiſcopal party, who they knew were in the pretender's intereſts, from taking the oath, were for keeping in thoſe words, which the preſbyterians ſcrupled. The commons accordingly diſagreed to the amendment made by the lords; and, they receding from it, the bill paſſed, as it had been ſent up by the commons (k). By this act the epiſcopal clergy, provided they have been ordained by a proteſtant biſhop, and taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, are permitted to uſe in their meetings the liturgy of the church of England without moleſtation. By the ſame act the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland are alſo obliged to take the oaths. 1711-12.

Another act paſſed for diſcontinuing the courts of judicature, during ſome days in Chriſtmas, though the obſerving of holidays was contrary to the principles of the preſbyterians (l). But this was intended only to exaſperate them.

Some time after the toleration act, a bill was brought in for the reſtoring of patronages. It was eſtabliſhed by the preſbyterians from the time of the reformation, as a principle, that pariſhes had, from warrants in ſcripture, a right to chuſe their miniſters: and therefore they had always looked on the right of patronage as an invaſion of their principles, and had aboliſhed it by law as a grievance. This right having been reſtored with epiſcopacy in 1661, continued till 1690, when preſbyterian church-government was again eſtabliſhed, and the right of patronage taken away. But it was now reſolved that it ſhould be reſtored. It was urged in oppoſition to it, that ſince, by the act of union, preſbytery, with all its rights and privileges, was unalterably ſecured, and ſince their kirk-ſeſſion was a branch of their conſtitution, the taking from them the right of chuſing their miniſters was contrary to that act: yet the bill paſſed through both houſes, a ſmall oppoſition being only made in Patronages reſtored. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

(k) When the commons read this bill the third time, Sir David Dalrymple ſaid, 'Since I 'ſee the houſe is reſolved to 'make no alterations in the 'body of the bill, I acquieſce, 'and only deſire the title of it 'may be this: "A bill for eſta- "bliſhing jacobitiſm and immo- "rality." Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

(l) The title of this act is, 'An act for diſcharging the Yule 'Vacance.'

1711-12. either. By theſe ſteps the preſbyterians were alarmed, when they ſaw the ſucceſs of every motion that was made, on deſign to weaken and undermine their eſtabliſhment.

The place-bill loſt. Burnet.

The ſelf-denying bill for limiting the number of officers ſitting in the houſe of commons was brought in, and, as was uſual, it eaſily paſſed there: the ſcandal of corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed men were not only bribed for a whole ſeſſion, but had new bribes for particular votes. The twelve new peers, being brought into the houſe of lords, had irritated ſo many there, that, for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the houſe, the bill was likely to have paſſed that houſe: but, upon ſome prevailing arguments, ſecretly and dextrouſly applied to ſome lords, an alteration was made in it, by which it was loſt: for whereas the bill, as it ſtood, was to take place after the determination of the preſent parliament, this was altered, ſo as that it ſhould take place after the demiſe of the queen; ſo it was no more thought on.

Prince Eugene ſtill continued in England, and was treated very civilly by the queen, though not with that diſtinction that was due to his high merit: nor did he gain any ground with the miniſtry.

The queen's meſſage about prince Eugene's propoſal. Feb. 26. Pr. H. C.

He had preſented a memorial to the queen (which he publiſhed in February) containing an account of the emperor's conduct in the war; concluding, with a propoſal in relation to the war in Spain. Some days paſſed before any notice was taken of this memorial, but, at laſt, Mr. St. John acquainted the commons, 'That he had received her 'majeſty's command to communicate to that houſe a pro-'poſition made to her majeſty by prince Eugene of Savoy, 'in the name of the emperor, for the ſupport of the war in 'Spain; viz. "His imperial majeſty judges, that forty thouſand "men will be ſufficient for this ſervice; and that the whole "expence of the war in Spain may amount to four millions "of crowns, towards which his imperial majeſty offers to "make up the troops, which he has in that country, to "thirty thouſand men, and to take one million of crowns "upon himſelf." It was obſerved, that no member ſaid any thing to this meſſage; which made the prince very uneaſy about the ſucceſs of a negotiation, which had detained him ſo long from other important affairs on the continent. On the other hand, the courſe of the public entertainments, to which he was daily invited, was by this time interrupted by the death of his nephew, the chevalier de Savoye, who, being taken ill of the ſmall-pox the 20th of February, died

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four days after, in the 21ſt year of his age; and his corps was depoſited, without any funeral pomp, in the vault belonging to the dukes of Ormond, in Weſtminſter-Abbey. 1711-12.

Prince Eugene having delayed his departure as long as poſſible, in hopes of ſucceeding in his negotiation, had his audience of leave the 13th of March. He embarked the 17th, and, two days after, arrived at the Hague. Biſhop Burnet, whilſt the prince was in England, was admitted ſeveral times to much diſcourſe with him, and, from what appeared to him, the prince had a moſt unaffected modeſty, and ſcarcely bore the acknowledgments that all the world paid him: he deſcended to an eaſy equality with thoſe with whom he converſed, and ſeemed to aſſume nothing to himſelf, while he reaſoned with others. Prince Eugene leaves England.

During prince Eugene's ſtay in England, upon occaſion of ſome frolicks and diſorders committed in the night-time, either by town-rakes, or drunken ſoldiers, a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, 'That there were great numbers of diſ-affected perſons, who, under the name of Mohocks or Hawkubites, had combined together to diſturb the public peace; and who, in an inhuman manner, without any provocation, aſſaulted and wounded thoſe, whom they met with in the ſtreets, ſlitting or flatting people's noſes; gagging or diſtending their mouths with iron inſtruments, and committing many other extravagant cruelties.' At the ſame time printed liſts were handed about of many perſons, ſaid to have been taken up and committed to ſeveral priſons, upon account of theſe barbarities, amongſt whom ſome men of figure and titles were inſinuated to be; which gained ſo ſtrong a belief, and ſtruck ſuch a terror among the vulgar, that, as ſoon as night drew on, many were deterred from going about on their lawful occaſions. Hereupon the matter being laid before the queen, her majeſty, by the advice of her privy-council, iſſued a proclamation, 'for the ſuppreſſing of riots, and the diſcovery of ſuch as had been guilty of the late barbarities within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent; charging and commanding, that the offenders be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the law, and promiſing a reward of one hundred pounds for the diſcovery and apprehending of any perſon, who, ſince the firſt day of February laſt, had, without any provocation, wounded, ſtabbed, or maimed, or who ſhould, before the firſt day of May, would, ſtab, or maim, any of her majeſty's ſubjects.' Though this proclamation at firſt confirmed the belief of the barbarities False report of Mohocks. Hiſt. of Eur.

1712. and riots, for the ſuppreſſing of which it was intended; yet the conſequence of it ſhewed, upon what ſlight grounds that belief had been entertained. For when people, under ſecurity of this proclamation, came to inquire calmly and cooly into the matter, it was found, that no other diſorders had happened of late, but ſuch as are uſual, and almoſt unavoidable, in populous cities. But it was remarkable, that Brinſden, the oculiſt, and other agents of the men in power, were ſhrewdly ſuſpected of having raiſed and improved the report of this pretended combination of Mohocks and Hawkubites, in order to throw the odium of it upon the whigs, whom, by all poſſible means, they endeavoured to render obnoxious to the people. However, to colour theſe proceedings, two common pick-pockets were tried, found guilty, and ſeverely fined for form ſake. And the lord Hinchinbrooke, then a youth, and an officer of the army, who, at the deſire, and in company of a conſtable, went out one night in queſt of the pretended Mohocks, were afterwards likewiſe arraigned and tried, as diſturbers of the public peace: but, their innocence manifeſtly appearing, the notion of Mohocks and Hawkubites was univerſally exploded (m).

Petition of the French refugees.

The French refugees having preſented a petition to the queen for her interpoſition at the treaty of Utrecht in favour of their brethren under perſecution in France, and for the reſtitution of their eſtates in that kingdom, of which they had been ſo unjuſtly deprived; the earl of Dartmouth wrote a letter to monſieur Du Bourdieu and Graverole, two French proteſtant miniſters, agents for the reſt; aſſuring them, that the biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford were already under the ſtricteſt orders to ſupport the intereſt of the French refugees at the negotiations of peace. Accordingly, the queen appointed Armand de Bourbon,

(m) In Torcy's memoirs, the duke of Marlborough is infamouſly repreſented as propoſing to prince Eugene, that a band of ruffians ſhould be encouraged to ſtrole about the ſtreets by night, and inſult people, by which means it would be eaſy to aſſaſſinate ſuch perſons as ſhould be thought proper to be diſpatched, and throw the blame on that licentious band. —— Prince Eugene is ſaid to reject ſo odious a project, but, at the ſame time, propoſed the ſetting fire to London, ſeizing the tower of London, and the queen's perſon, and obliging her to diſſolve the parliament, and call a new one to enquire into the negotiations with France, and puniſh the authors.——Vol. II.

marquis

marquis de Miremont, nephew to the earl of Feverſham, to go to Utrecht, and, in her majeſty's name, to take particular care of the intereſt of the French refugees. Notwithſtanding all this, they ſoon found that their intereſts were either but faintly ſupported by Great-Britain, or the court of France ſhewed no regard to the queen's interceſſion. 1712.

The ſupplies demanded were given by the commons, in all about ſix millions. There were two lotteries of one million eighteen hundred thouſand pounds each, for which a fund was created to pay both principal and intereſt in thirty-two years. Among the duties for raiſing this ſum, was a ſtamp-duty at two-pence a ſheet on news-papers and pamphlets. A motion was made for a clauſe to be put into one of the lottery-bills, for appointing commiſſioners to examine the value and conſideration of all the grants made ſince the revolution. The miniſters apprehending the difficulty of carrying a money-bill, with a tack to it, through the houſe of lords, becauſe of their former reſolution againſt ſuch a practice, and the treaſurer promiſing ſome leading men, that he would uſe his intereſt to procure the paſſing a grant-bill, ſingle, in the houſe of peers, they prevailed to have it ſeparated from the money-bill, and, when paſſed, it was ſent up to the lords. Thoſe, who continued to pay a reſpect to the memory of king William, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the nation from ſlavery and popery, to caſt ſo particular an indignity on his grants. The bill made all its ſteps through the houſe of lords, to the laſt, with a ſmall majority of one or two. On the third reading of the bill, a warm debate aroſe, in which the duke of Argyle ſaid, 'That, if for the 'eaſe of the public it was found proper to reſume the 'grants of the crown, he would readily give his vote for it, 'provided they would go ſo far back, as the reſtoration of 'king Charles the ſecond. But he could never agree to 'limit the bill to grants of king William, becauſe ſuch an 'act would be injurious to the memory of the deliverer of 'Great-Britain, and all Europe; which ought to be had in 'reverence by all honeſt men.' The earl of Wharton, the lord Cowper, and lord Halifax ſpoke, with great force and eloquence, againſt the partial diſtinction between grants ſince the revolution, and thoſe before it; adding, that ſuch a diſtinction gave too much credit to a miniſtry, who by the paſſing of the bill would have the means in their hands, to ruin and oppreſs thoſe, who had not the good luck to

The ſupplies granted.

Motion for a grant-bill.

1712. pleaſe them. The earl of Nottingham, who had been abſent the firſt two days, ſpoke on this occaſion, and ſaid, 'He 'always thought thoſe grants were too large, and very unſeaſonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal 'way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to 'reſume them all, or to bring all concerned in them to an 'equal compoſition: he therefore could not approve of this 'bill, which, by a very clear conſequence, would put it in 'the power of a fellow-ſubject, to reſume or to cover grants, 'at his pleaſure; and ſo it would put the perſons, concerned 'in the grants, into too great a dependance on him.' To this the lord-treaſurer anſwered, 'That no one had reaſon 'to be alarmed at the bill; ſince the intent of it was only to 'examine the value of the grants made by king William, 'and upon what conſiderations they were given; but that, 'as it was preſumed, thoſe, who enjoyed them, had rendered very ſignal ſervice to their country, ſo it was not to 'be doubted, but the parliament would confirm the ſame.' The earl of Wharton replied, 'That it was alſo to be preſumed, that thoſe, who enjoyed the grants of king Charles 'the ſecond, and king James the ſecond, might have likewiſe done important ſervice to the nation: wherefore it 'would be very proper to look into the motives of all thoſe 'grants, in order to confirm them to thoſe, who had deſerved them.' The earl of Oxford ſaid, 'That he had 'been informed, that the commons had no deſign abſolutely 'to reſume the grants of king William, but only to make 'the poſſeſſors pay the value of four or five years rent, for 'which they ſhould have the grants confirmed to them for 'ever.' To which the earl of Wharton again replied, 'That he would not call in queſtion what a lord of ſuch pro'bity and ſincerity had advanced; but that the reſumption 'of all the grants of Ireland ſufficiently ſhewed, that the 'commons had not been content with a part.' Several other ſpeeches, that were made on both ſides, prolonged the debate till between ſix and ſeven in the evening, when the queſtion being put, that the bill do paſs, it appeared upon the gathering of the votes, that there were ſeventy-eight voices on each ſide, fifty-three preſent, and twenty-five proxies for the affirmative; and fifty-two preſent, and twenty-ſix proxies for the negative; ſo the votes being equal, by the rule of the houſe, the negative carried it, to the great diſappointment of the enemies of the revolution. It was obſerved, that the loſs of this bill was in a great meaſure owing to the vigilance of the late duke of Portland. He being

being informed, that the lord Colepepper had ſent his proxy to the earl of Sunderland, who, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, could not produce it, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the lord Colepepper, and he ſent his proxy to another lord time enough to create part of the negative. On the other hand, many were of opinion, that, had not the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Strafford abſented themſelves from the houſe, the bill had certainly paſſed. 1712.

The queen three days after came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the money-bills and others. As the earl of Strafford was now in London, it was expected, the queen would have laid before the parliament a ſtate of the negotiations of peace which had been carrying on at the Hague. But, ſome points not being yet ſettled between the Britiſh and French courts, ſhe did not think fit to make a ſpeech to both houſes. However, the ſpeaker, at preſenting the lottery-bill, ſaid, in his compliment to the queen, 'Your faithful commons are in hopes, that what they have 'ſo chearfully given, for your majeſty's occaſions, will ena'ble your majeſty to put an end to the preſent war by a 'ſafe and honourable peace.' There being no account come of any peace, as ſoon as the commons were returned to their houſe, Mr. Benſon, chancellor of the exchequer, afterwards lord Bingley, moved, that the call of the houſe (which had been ſeveral times put off) might be adjourned to the 4th of June, when he did not doubt, but the queen would lay before them the reſult of the preſent negotiations. Mr. Hampden complained, ſaying, 'Notwithſtanding all 'the promiſes given from time to time to the commons, 'we have an unactive and lazy campaign, and a trifling ne'gotiation of peace; ſo that we are amuſed by our miniſters 'at home, and tricked by our enemies abroad.' Mr. ſecretary St. John had too great a ſhare in the management of affairs not to reſent theſe inſinuations; and ſaid with ſome emotion, 'That they highly reflected on her majeſty, 'and her miniſters. But though ſome members had been 'ſent to the Tower for leſs offences, and that he, who 'ſpoke laſt, might be fond of that honour; yet he hoped the 'houſe would be of another opinion.' Sir Richard Onſlow replied, 'That to ſuppoſe her majeſty, or her miniſters to 'have any influence on the deliberations of that houſe, was 'injurious to her majeſty, and a violation of the privileges 'of that houſe.' In which he was ſeconded by Mr. Lechmere. But the debate went no further, in conſideration, as the friends of the prevailing party ſuggeſted, that, the ſeſſion drawing May 22.

1712. drawing to an end, the commitment of a member at that time would rather be a pride than a mortification to him. And ſo, according to the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, the call of the houſe was put off till the 4th of June.

Death of the two dauphins. Burnet. Daniel.

A great change happened in the affairs of France, at the very time their plenipotentiaries were negotiating at Utrecht. The dauphin, the only ſon of the king of France, who died, in the 50th year of his age, of the ſmall-pox, on the 14th of April, N. S. 1711, left behind him three ſons, the duke of Burgundy, the king of Spain, and the duke of Berry. On the 12th of February 1711-12, N. S. the dauphineſs, Mary Adelaida of Savoy, died at Verſailles in the 26th year of her age, having been taken ſuddenly ill of a ſurfeit, as it was given out, three days before: and the dauphin himſelf, Lewis, late duke of Burgundy, ſurvived his ſpouſe but ſix days, dying at Marly on the 18th of the ſame month, in the 30th year of his age: and, in a few days after him, his eldeſt ſon, who was five years old, died likewiſe; and his ſecond ſon, then but two years old, was thought to be in a dying condition. Theſe deaths, coming ſo quick one after another, ſtruck the French court. The king himſelf was for ſome days ill, but he ſoon recovered. Such repeated ſtrokes were looked upon with amazement. Poiſon was ſuſpected, as is uſual upon all ſuch occaſions; and the duke of Orleans was generally charged with it. He was believed to have dealt much in chemiſtry, and was an ambitious prince. While he was in Spain at the head of king Philip's army, he formed a project to ſet him aſide; and to make himſelf king of Spain, in which, as the lord Townſhend told biſhop Burnet, he went ſo far, that he tried to engage Mr. Stanhope, to preſs the queen and the ſtates-general to aſſiſt him, promiſing to break with France, and to marry king Charles's dowager (n). This being diſcovered, he was upon that called out of Spain; and it was thought,

(n) This is the project hinted at by the author of the manuſcript account of the campaigns in Spain, which was made to lord Galway, who ſent Mr. Stanhope to the duke of Orleans to hear his offers. But the author of the duke of Orleans's life gives a different account of the duke's project. He ſays, Lewis XIV. being obliged by the ſucceſſes of the allies to promiſe to abandon his grandſon Philip king of Spain, the Spaniards offered to place the duke of Orleans upon the throne in his room, to which he conſented. But, this conſent of his being afterwards miſrepreſented

thought, that the only thing, that ſaved him, was the king's kindneſs to his natural daughter, whom he had married. The king not only paſſed it over, but ſoon after obliged the duke of Berry to marry his daughter; ſuch care had the old king taken to corrupt the blood of France, with the mixture of his ſpurious iſſue. King Philip was not at all pleaſed with the alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, expoſtulating with him for not oppoſing the marriage more vigorouſly; with which he profeſſed himſelf ſo diſpleaſed, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was ſent from Madrid to Paris, but was intercepted, and ſent to Barcelona, and from thence to the Hague. 1712.

The duke of Burgundy, when he became dauphin upon his father's death, had been let into the underſtanding the ſecrets of government; and, as was given out, he had on many occaſions expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the miſeries of the people, with great ſentiments of juſtice. He had likewiſe, in ſome diſputes, which cardinal de Noailles had with the jeſuits, eſpouſed his intereſts, and protected him. It was likewiſe believed, that he retained a great affection to the archbiſhop of Cambray, whoſe fable of Telemachus carried in it the nobleſt maxims poſſible for the conduct of a wiſe and good prince, and ſet forth that ſtation in ſhining characters, but which were the reverſe of Lewis the XIVth's whole life and reign. Theſe things gave the French a juſt ſenſe of the loſs they had in his death; and the apprehenſions of a minority, after ſuch a reign, ſtruck them with great conſternation. Theſe deaths, in ſo critical a time, ſeemed to portend, that all the vaſt ſchemes, which the French king had formed with ſo much perfidy and bloodſhed, was in a fair way to be ſoon blaſted. But his affairs were ſoon retrieved by the enſuing peace, to the negotiations of which it is now time to turn.

The place appointed for the congreſs was the city of Utrecht; and the day named for opening it, was the firſt of January, 1711-12, O. S. The firſt miniſter that appeared at the place of treaty was Dr. Robinſon, lord privy-ſeal, one of the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, who came there the 15th of January; and, two days after, arrived the other Britiſh plenipotentiary, the earl of Strafford. On the 18th

The treaty of Utrecht opened. Hiſt of Eur. Burnet. Lamberti. Rep. of the Com. Secr.

miſrepreſented to the king of France, as a ſcheme to have uſurped the Spaniſh crown from king Philip, the duke was for ſome time in diſgrace at the court of France. La vie de Philipe d'Orleans, Vol. II. p. 93.

came

1712. came alſo two of the Dutch plenipotentiaries (o), who were followed, the next morning, by the three French plenipotentiaries, the marſhal d'Uxelles, the abbot de Polignac, and monſieur Meſnager (p). The emperor and the empire ſent their miniſters very late and unwillingly; but they ſubmitted to the neceſſity of their affairs. Yet, upon this condition (poſitively given them by the earl of Strafford, and confirmed to prince Eugene by the Britiſh court) that the ſeven preliminaries offered by France, and ſigned by Meſnager, ſhould be only bare propoſals, and ſhould not be admitted as the baſis of the treaty. To ſave the loſs of time in ſettling the ceremonial, it was alſo agreed, that the plenipotentiaries ſhould aſſume no character of dignity, till all matters were adjuſted, and made ready for ſigning. At the ſame time, it was likewiſe agreed, that the general conferences ſhould begin on Friday the 29th of January, N. S. and ſhould afterwards be held on Wedneſdays and Saturdays at ten in the morning.

Theſe things being ſettled, the firſt conference was opened on the day appointed, by eight miniſters of the allies, namely, the two Britiſh, four of the ſtates-general, two of the duke of Savoy's, and the three plenipotentiaries of France. The lord privy-ſeal, (who appeared in a black velvet-gown, adorned with gold loops, with a long train borne up by two pages in aſh-coloured coats, laced with ſilver orris, and waiſtcoats of green velvet) addreſſed himſelf to the miniſters of France in the following ſpeech:

(o) The plenipotentiaries named by the ſtates, were, monſieur Rauawick, for the province of Guelderland; monſieurs Buys and Vanderduſſen, for that of Holland; monſieur de Moermont for Zealand; monſieur de Renſwoude, for Utrecht; monſieur de Goſlinga, for Friezland; the count de Rechteren, for Over-Yſſel; and the count de Tu and Knipbuyſen, for Groningen.

(p) As France had named three plenipotentiaries, and monſieur Meſnager in particular, to take care of commercial affairs; the court of Great-Britain had a mind to add Mr. Prior, to their two miniſters at Utrecht, for the ſame purpoſe: but the earl of Strafford, having abſolutely refuſed to be joined in commiſſion with a perſon of ſo mean extraction, and threatening to lay down his employment, the buſineſs of trade was committed to the lord privy-ſeal; who, not being verſed in thoſe matters, was obliged to direct himſelf by the lights he received from Mr. Arthur Moore.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen,

"We are this day met together, in the name of God, "to lay the foundation of a general peace between the "high allies and the king your maſter. We bring ſincere "intentions, and alſo poſitive orders from our principals, "to concur in every thing on their part, which may tend to "the furtherance and happy concluſion of ſo beneficial and "chriſtian-like a work.

"On the other hand, we are in hopes, gentlemen, that "you are of the ſame mind, and that your inſtructions are "ſo full, as to inable you to anſwer, without loſs of time, "the expectation of the high allies, in explaining yourſelves "clearly and roundly upon the points, which are to be ſet-"tled in theſe conferences: and that you will do it in ſo "plain and particular a manner, that all and every of the "confederate princes and ſtates may find a juſt and reaſon-"able ſatisfaction upon their reſpective pretenſions." The marſhal de Uxelles, firſt plenipotentiary of France, anſwered, "that it could not be doubted, but his moſt chriſtian "majeſty had a ſincere and ardent deſire to give peace to "Europe;" adding, "that with this view his majeſty had "furniſhed his plenipotentiaries with ample inſtructions, "and a full power to come to the concluſion of ſo beneficial "a work, which was ſo earneſtly deſired by all Europe." The earl of Strafford took occaſion to declare, that the queen had received the general propoſitions as a foundation for a negotiation of peace; but that they were binding to France only, and not to the allies; to which the French miniſters readily aſſented. But it is to be obſerved through the whole proceeding, that this is meant of the propoſitions ſigned by Meſnager only, the congreſs not having the leaſt notice or cognizance of what was ſigned, both on the part of France and England too; which had been hitherto concealed, and, upon all occaſions, publicly diſowned. The plenipotentiaries of the ſtates and duke of Savoy made likewiſe ſpeeches ſuitable to the occaſion; after which, the aſſembly broke up. The next day, the miniſters of the allies agreed to meet at the Town-houſe twice a week during the congreſs, in order to preſerve union amongſt them, and to take the neceſſary meaſures for promoting the intereſt of the reſpective princes and ſtates they repreſented. At one of theſe meetings, becauſe the French miniſters had in their ſpeeches promiſed to deliver in writing the intentions of their

court,

1712. court, it was resolved to deliver to them, in the next conference, a declaration, "that the ministers of the high allies, already there, expected, according to the offers of "the ministers of France, the plan or scheme they had promised; and would not fail to return an answer thereto, "for what concerned the particular interest of their principals; and as to the ministers of such of the allies, who "were still absent, they had reason to believe, that they "would forthwith repair thither, to concur with them in "their answer."

This paper being delivered to the French ministers in the second conference on the 3d of February, they promised to give in their offers for a general peace; but declared they wished, that all the ministers of the allies were present, that they might, at the same time, receive a counter-project or answer from all the members of the grand alliance. Accordingly little was done at the third conference, but at the fourth, Feb. 10, N. S. the imperial ministers being arrived, a warm dispute arose between them and the French plenipotentiaries. The marshal de Uxelles said, 'the king, his 'master, had most sincere intentions to end this war to the 'satisfaction of the allies: that, in order to that, they 'ought to deal roundly and fairly. That he hoped a good 'success of this negotiation, since the ambassadors of the 'house of Austria had at last resolved to come to the con-'gress;' and thereupon he desired the ministers of the allies to deliver the proposals they had to make. Count Zinzendorf answered, 'that the emperor, his master, had no less 'sincere intentions to contribute all that lay in his power 'towards so desirable a blessing, as a general peace: but that 'it seemed monsieur d'Uxelles, instead of dealing roundly
* Detour. 'and fairly, began, on the contrary, with a fetch *, since 'he could not be a stranger to the demands of the allies, 'nor have forgot where the conferences at Gertruydenberg 'broke off: that there was nothing more for them to do 'now, than to find out ways and means to remove the dif-'ficulties, that had obstructed that negotiation: and, since 'the king, their master, had desired this congress of the 'allies, they had reason to expect, that he had given his 'ministers necessary instructions for that end.' By this he insinuated, that the allies insisted on the first preliminaries signed at the Hague in the year 1709. Count Zinzendorf likewise took notice of this expression, 'the ambassadors of 'the house of Austria,' as derogatory to his imperial majesty. The abbot de Polignac replied, "that they ought

" to talk no more of the affair of Gertruydenberg, ſince the 1712.
" King had fixed a time for the allies to accept his propoſal;
" which they not having done, he was under no engage-
" ment." This occaſioned a high debate; and d'Uxelles having, in relation to the affairs of Spain, ſaid, " that they " ought to wait the arrival of the ambaſſador of that " crown." Count Zinzendorf replied, " he was preſent, " and himſelf was the perſon." The marſhal returned, " that he acknowledged none but king Philip's;" which inflamed the diſpute; and the marſhal having likewiſe advanced, in a relation to a point in debate, " that the queen of " England had engaged her promiſe;" the lord privy-ſeal ſaid, " there was no ſuch thing in his inſtructions." At laſt, the French miniſters conſented to deliver their propoſals in writing, which they did, February 11, in a very high ſtrain.

They promiſed, that at the ſigning of the treaty they would own the queen and the ſucceſſion to the crown, as ſhe ſhould direct; Spain and the Weſt-Indies were to remain with king Philip; the dominions in Italy, with the iſlands, except Sicily, were to go to the emperor, and the Spaniſh Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria: the trade was to be regulated, as it was before the war; ſome places in Canada were to be reſtored to England, with the freedom of fiſhery in Newfoundland; but Placentia was to remain with the French: Dunkirk was offered to be demoliſhed; but Liſle and Tournay were to be given for it: the ſtates were to have their demands for the barrier; and the frontier between France, the empire, and Italy, was to be the ſame, that it was before the war; by which Landau, Feneſtrella, and Exiles were to be reſtored to France (q). Theſe demands

The French propoſals.

(q) Theſe propoſals at large were as follows:

A ſpecific explanation of the offers of France for a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned in the preſent war.

" The king will acknow-
" ledge, at the ſigning of the
" peace, the queen of Great-
" Britain in that quality; as alſo
" the ſucceſſion of that crown,
" according to the preſent ſettle-
" ment, and in the manner her
" Britannic majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

" His majeſty will cauſe all
" the fortifications of Dunkirk
" to be demoliſhed immediately
" after the peace, provided an
" equivalent be given him to
" his ſatisfaction.

" The iſland of St. Chriſto-
" pher, Hudſon's Bay, and
" ſtreight of that name, ſhall
" be yielded up intire to Great-
" Britain;

1712. mands (which were called a ſpecific explanation of the offers of France for a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all the

" Britain; and Acadia, with " Port-Royal, and the fort, ſhall " be reſtored intire to his ma- " jeſty. As to the iſland of " Newfoundland, the king of- " fers to yield up that alſo to " Great-Britain, reſerving only " to himſelf the fort of Pla- " centia, and the right of catch- " ing and drying fiſh, as before " the war. It ſhall be agreed " to make a treaty of com- " merce before or after the " peace, as England ſhall chuſe, " the conditions of which ſhall " be made as equal between the " two nations, as they can " poſſibly.

" The king will conſent at " the ſigning of the peace, that " the Spaniſh Netherlands, which " are made over and given to " the elector of Bavaria by the " king of Spain, ſhall ſerve for " a barrier to the United-Ne- " therlands; and, to augment " it, he will join thereto Furnes, " and the Furnes Ambaught, or " diſtrict, Knock, Ypres, and " the caſtellany of Menin with " its verge. In exchange, his " majeſty demands to form the " barrier of France, Aire, St. " Venant, Bethume, Doway, " and their dependencies. If " the ſtates-general are deſirous " to keep garriſons in the forti- " fied places of the barrier ſo " formed of the dominions " transferred to his electoral " highneſs, and of what France " adds thereto of its own; his " majeſty conſents, that they " ſhall put their troops into " them in as great number as " they pleaſe: and beſides, that " they ſhall be maintained at the " expence of the country.

" In conſideration of this " ceſſion, and of this conſent, " the king on his ſide demands, " as an equivalent for the de- " moliſhing of Dunkirk, the " towns and citadels of Liſle, " and Tournay, with their caſ- " tellanies and dependencies.

" The barrier thus regulated " between France and the ſtates- " general, the king will grant " for augmenting the commerce " of their ſubjects what is ſtipu- " lated by the treaty of Ryſwick, " and the advantageous tariff " of 1664, with an exception " only of ſix ſorts of merchan- " dize, which ſhall be agreed on, " and which ſhall remain charg- " ed with the ſame duties, that " are paid at this time; as alſo " the exemption of 50 ſols per " tun on the Dutch ſhipping, " that came into France from " the United-Provinces, and " foreign countries.

" As to the commerce of " Spain, and the Indies, the " king will engage, not only " to the ſtates-general, but like- " wiſe to her Britannic majeſty, " and to all other potentates, by " virtue of the power he has in " this particular, that the ſaid " commerce ſhall be allowed ex- " actly, and carried on in the " very ſame manner as it was un- " der the reign, and till the death " of Charles II. and will pro- " miſe, that the French ſhall " ſubmit, as all the other nations, " to the antient laws and regu- " lations made by the king, his " catholic majeſty's predeceſ-

" ſors

the allies) were as extravagant as any the French king could have made, in the moſt proſperous ſtate of his affairs. They filled 1712.

" ſors, with reſpect to the com-
" merce and navigation of the
" Spaniſh Indies.

" His majeſty further conſents,
" that all the potentates of Eu-
" rope may enter into the guaran-
" ty of this promiſe. His ma-
" jeſty promiſes, that the king
" his grandſon ſhall renounce, for
" the ſake of the peace, all pre-
" tenſions to the kingdom of
" Naples and Sardinia, as well
" as to the duchy of Milan; in
" whoſe name he will conſent,
" that the part of that duchy,
" which is made over to the
" duke of Savoy, ſhall remain
" to his royal highneſs; provid-
" ed, that in conſideration of
" this ceſſion, the houſe of Auſ-
" tria do in like manner deſiſt
" from all pretenſions to the
" other parts of the monarchy
" of Spain, from whence that
" houſe ſhall withdraw their
" troops immediately after the
" peace.

" The frontiers on both ſides
" upon the Rhine ſhall be ſettled
" in the ſame condition, as they
" were before the preſent war.

" In conſideration of all the
" terms above ſpecified, the king
" demands, that the electors of
" Cologne and Bavaria ſhall be
" re-eſtabliſhed in the full and
" intire poſſeſſion of their domi-
" nions, dignities, prerogatives,
" goods, moveable and immovea-
" ble, which they enjoyed be-
" fore the preſent war: and re-
" ciprocally his majeſty will re-
" cognize in Germany, and in
" Pruſſia, all the titles, which he
" has not yet acknowledged.

" The king will reſtore the
" duke of Savoy what he has
" taken from him during this
" war; as in like manner his
" royal highneſs ſhall reſtore to
" him what he has taken from
" France; ſo that the limits on
" both ſhall be the ſame they
" were before the declaration of
" war.

" All things as to Portugal ſhall
" be re-eſtabliſhed, and remain
" on the ſame foot in Europe,
" that they were before the pre-
" ſent war, as well with regard to
" France as to Spain: and as to
" the dominions, which that
" crown has in America, if there
" be any differences to ſettle,
" endeavours ſhall be uſed to
" agree them amicably.

" The king will conſent free-
" ly, and bona fide, to take in
" concert with the allies all the
" moſt juſt meaſures for hinder-
" ing the crowns of France and
" Spain from being ever united
" on the ſame head; that is to
" ſay, that one and the ſame
" prince ſhall never be at once
" king of both.

" All preceding treaties, that
" is, thoſe of Munſter, and
" others, that have been made
" ſince, ſhall be repeated and
" confirmed, to remain in their
" force and virtue, excepting on-
" ly ſuch articles, from which
" the treaty of peace, now to
" be made, ſhall derogate or
" alter ſomething."

Signed, UXELLES.

It may be obſerved, that the king of France here makes, as well as in the ſpecial preliminaries, his firſt offers in the name, and by virtue of powers from his grandſon

1712. filled the allies with indignation, and heightened the jealouſy they had of a ſecret underſtanding, between the courts of England and France. This indignation had ſuch an effect, that the earl of Strafford, in his letter of the 16th of February, 1711-12, ſays, "the French miniſters were mortified at the general diſcontent theſe offers gave; and ſeemed to wiſh, they had put in Tournay for the Dutch; and St. Venant to be demoliſhed, to have ſoftened the matter at its firſt coming out." Nor were the Britiſh plenipotentiaries without their uneaſineſs. They had done all they could, as the earl of Strafford ſays in his letter of the 12th of February, to perſuade the French to be as ample in the explication as they could, "ſeeing that is what will have a great effect, and ſtrike the minds of unthinking people, and make ſome work for reflection for the faction." The Britiſh plenipotentiaries complained, that they were under great difficulties on all hands, for both Buys and Meſnager thought they came ſhort of what had been told them in England; and, the allies then forming their reſpective demands in concert with each other, they wanted further orders. Theſe plenipotentiaries were likewiſe at a great loſs how to behave about Spain, both in regard to the particular advantages, that were to be aſked on the behalf of Great-Britain, and the general diſpoſition of it. But Mr. ſecretary St. John ſoon ſent them words of comfort, in a letter of the 16th of February, that Mr. Harley, ſecretary of the treaſury, would ſet out in a few days, who is fully inſtructed in all the queen's views and deſires: "that it were to be wiſhed this gentleman could have been ſooner ſent; but the hurry, ſays he, which we have been in for ſome time, is inexpreſſible; and he was too uſeful to be ſpared, till the houſe of commons were perfectly ſecured to the queen's intereſt, and to the meaſures of peace. I think I may ſay, they are abſolutely ſo now. The ſecretary confeſſed the French plan to be too ſcanty; and obſerved, that they muſt let the French miniſters know, that the whole turned upon their manner of proceeding, her majeſty having gone further than could have been expected from her in promoting the peace."

The ſpecific explanation raiſed no leſs indignation among

grandſon as king of Spain. But how the Britiſh plenipotentiaries could reconcile this to their inſtructions, and how their behaviour upon it was to be juſtified, is not very clear. 'See report of the committee of ſecrecy.'

true Engliſhmen, than among the allies; more particularly 1712.
" the putting off the owning the queen, till the treaty came to be ſigned: the lord-treaſurer, to ſoften this, ſaid, 'he ſaw a 'letter, in which the king of France acknowledged her 'queen;' this was a confeſſion, that there was a private correſpondence between them; yet the doing it by a letter was no legal act. In excuſe of this it was ſaid, 'that the 'late king was not owned by the French, till the treaty of 'Ryſwick came to be ſigned:' but there was a mediator in that treaty, with whom our plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no mediator at Utrecht: ſo that the queen was now, without any interpoſition, treating with a prince, who did not own her right to the crown. The propoſitions made by the French were treated with the greateſt ſcorn, nor did the miniſters pretend to ſay any thing in excuſe for them. The lord Halifax made a motion in the houſe of peers, for preſenting an addreſs to the queen, about the ſpecific offers of France, which his lordſhip called, 'trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majeſty and her allies.' He was ſeconded by ſeveral peers, of both parties, who ſaid in ſubſtance, 'that thoſe propoſitions ought to be 'rejected with the utmoſt ſcorn and indignation; that it 'plainly appeared, France had no other deſign in view, 'than to amuſe the allies; and, in particular, that it was 'derogatory to her majeſty's honour, to enter into any negotiation with that crown, before her majeſty's juſt title was 'acknowledged.' Some endeavours were uſed to adjourn the debate at leaſt till the next day, by ſuggeſting, 'that the 'offers that were handed about, having yet no other authority, than their being inſerted in the Holland Gazettes, 'might not be genuine; and therefore the lords ought not 'to take any notice of them, till ſuch time as the queen 'had communicated them to the houſe.' But this, and other arguments, were over-ruled; and an addreſs was made to the queen, expreſſing a juſt indignation at ſuch a proceeding, promiſing her all aſſiſtance in their power, in carrying on the war, till ſhe could obtain a ſafe and honourable peace (r).

They are received with ſcorn in England.

Addreſs againſt them by the lords. Feb. 16. Pr. H. C.

(r) The addreſs was as follows:

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

" We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the " lords ſpiritual and temporal, " in parliament aſſembled, beg " leave humbly to repreſent to " your majeſty the juſt indignation

1712. Whilſt this paſſed in England, the propoſitions of France, which were quickly diſperſed in print in all the United Provinces, were received with the utmoſt indignation by people of all ranks, the multitude not forbearing to vent the ſevereſt reproaches againſt thoſe, from whom they ſuppoſed the French court had received encouragement. Theſe offers, however, had this good effect, that thoſe among the Dutch, who before were moſt eager for a peace, particularly the regency of Utrecht, reſolved to ſpend their laſt penny to carry on the war.

Copies of the ſpecific explanation being ſent by all the miniſters of the allies to their reſpective principals, the earl of Strafford, at the next general conference, told the miniſters of France, purſuant to what had been agreed at a meeting of the other miniſters, "that they found it neceſſa-"ry to take time till the 5th of March, N. S. to give in the "ſpecific demands of the parties engaged in the war." To which the French miniſters readily agreed. In the mean time, the miniſters of the allies communicated to each other their reſpective demands, agreed upon the manner in which they were to deliver them in, and, at a meeting on the 3d of March reſolved, that a clauſe of mutual guarantee, importing, 'that a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfac-'tion ſhould be given to all the allies, according to treaties, 'engagements, and other conventions,' ſhould be inſerted among their demands.

The miniſters of the proteſtant allies were ſeveral times in conference together, to concert ſuch meaſures as might

"tion of this houſe, at the diſ-"honourable treatment of your "majeſty by France, in having "propoſed to acknowledge your "majeſty's title to theſe realms, "no ſooner, than when the peace "ſhall be ſigned. And we can-"not forbear expreſſing our ut-"moſt reſentment at the terms of "peace offered to your majeſty, "and your allies, by the plenipo-"tentiaries of France: and we "do, with the greateſt zeal and "affection, aſſure your majeſty, "that this houſe will ſtand by, "and aſſiſt your majeſty with "our lives and fortunes, in car-"rying on this war, in conjunc-"tion with your allies, till a "ſafe and honourable peace can "be obtained for your majeſty "and your allies."

The queen's anſwer was to this effect:

My lords,

"I return you my hearty thanks "for the zeal you expreſs for "my honour, and for the aſ-"ſurance you give of ſupport-"ing me." Pr. H. L.

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be proper to be taken, during the courſe of this congreſs, for the ſecurity of their religion, and particularly an abolition of a clauſe in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryſwick, prejudicial to the ſame: as likewiſe the making ſome proviſion, in their negotiations with the miniſters of France, for the relief of the proteſtants of that kingdom. But, though theſe particulars were mentioned in the demands of the proteſtant allies, yet they were afterwards but faintly inſiſted on; and it was obſerved, that in this negotiation, as in moſt former treaties, the proteſtants ſhewed not an equal zeal for their religious concerns, as they did for their temporal intereſts. 1712.

On the 4th of March, the miniſters of the allies met again, and count Zinzendorf again inſiſted, that the reſtitution of the whole Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be expreſsly mentioned. The Dutch declared, they were reſolved to make good all their treaties, made on occaſion of this war, as well thoſe that related to Spain and the Indies, as thoſe made with Portugal; but the Britiſh were the only miniſters, that did not make any mention of Spain and the Indies, contenting themſelves with a general declaration concerning the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the queen's allies, in conformity to her alliances. However, it is obſervable that a few days after, upon the earneſt inſtances of the imperial miniſters, the Britiſh and Dutch plenipotentiaries made a declaration (which was regiſtered in the Protocol, kept by monſieur Buys) importing, that by the clauſe of mutual guarantee, or claim, agreed to on the 3d, and inſerted in their reſpective demands, 'they underſtood the reſtitution of Spain and the Indies to the houſe of Auſtria.'

At the general conferences held the next day, the miniſters of the allies delivered in writing their ſpecific demands, which ran as high as the French explanation another way. The emperor aſked the whole Spaniſh monarchy; England aſked the reſtoring Newfoundland, and the demoliſhing of Dunkirk; the ſtates aſked their whole barrier; and every ally aſked ſatisfaction to all the other allies, as well as to himſelf. England and the ſtates declared, that they demanded Spain and the Weſt-Indies for the emperor; ſo the high pattern ſet by the French, in their demands, was to the full imitated by the allies. The French plenipotentiaries declared they could not give in ſpecific anſwers to ſo many demands of the allies, till they had received new inſtructions from Paris and Madrid, and therefore deſired till

1712. the 30th of March, N. S. to deliver them in, to which no objection was made (s).

When the 30th of March came, ſuch of the miniſters of the allies, as were not in the ſecret, were full of expectation, that the French plenipotentiaries would give in a ſpecific anſwer to their demands; but they were not a little ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of offering an anſwer in writing, marſhal d'Uxelles propoſed to enter into verbal conferences on the demands made on both ſides. This indeed had been practiſed in treaties where mediators interpoſed, but that was not done till the main points were ſecretly agreed to. The miniſters of the allies rejected this propoſal, and demanded 'ſpecific anſwers in writing.' Upon Polignac's ſaying, they would not anſwer in writing, their inſtructions being only to treat verbally, one of the Dutch miniſters propoſed to break up the congreſs: but he was ſoon taken down by the Britiſh miniſters, who could not agree with the Dutch in that particular; but ſaid, on the contrary, they would enter into a negotiation by way of dictating, as was done at the Hague, in the conference with the deputies of the ſtates. However, the next day, at a meeting among themſelves, they unanimouſly agreed upon a declaration, wherein they inſiſted, 'That an anſwer be delivered them in writing.' But at the next general conference, the French miniſters refuſed ſtill to comply with this declaration, which was delivered to them by monſieur Buys.

(s) The French miniſters and their partiſans exclaimed againſt the demands of the allies as unreaſonable and exorbitant; but they excepted in a particular manner againſt the pretenſions of the allies in favour of the French proteſtants. The abbot de Polignac, who had a cardinal's hat in view, and therefore could not fail on all occaſions to ſhew his zeal for the Romiſh church, appeared the moſt obſtinate on that article; and diſcourſing one day with Vanderduſſen, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries, about the demand, "That the French "proteſtants in the gallies, or "detained in priſon, ſhould be "ſet at liberty;" aſked him, "Whether the ſtates would ſet "at liberty the people detained "in their Spin-houſe and Raſp-"houſe, if the French king ſhould "demand it?" Vanderduſſen, juſtly reſenting that odious compariſon, told him, "That if the "French court would own the "people detained in thoſe houſes "for their brethren, as the ſtates "owned for ſuch the proteſtants "in the gallies, whom they in-"terceded for, he did not queſ-"tion but their high mightineſſes would ſet at liberty "thoſe malefactors." The French abbot, being confounded with this anſwer, turned off the diſcourſe to other matters.

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This refuſal of the French raiſed a very great heat in the aſſembly; and ſome miniſters gave it as their opinion, that ſuch trifling was a ſufficient ground to diſſolve the congreſs; for, the French plenipotentiaries refuſing to anſwer in the method all the miniſters of the allies had agreed on, it would be fruitleſs, as well as diſhonourable, for the latter to remain at Utrecht. However, the Britiſh miniſters were of opinion, that the negotiations might be managed on the foot propoſed by France: but when they obſerved, that the tide ran too ſtrong againſt them, and that the generality were of contrary ſentiments, they concurred with the reſt, and declared, that they had poſitive inſtructions to conform themſelves to the general opinion of the miniſters of the congreſs. According to this reſolution, Mr. Buys delivered a ſecond declaration in the name of all the allies, wherein they perſiſted to demand an anſwer in writing to their ſpecific demands. In anſwer to this, the French miniſters declared, "That, as they had poſitive inſtructions not to engage "themſelves in a negotiation in writing, they could not do "it without new orders from the king their maſter; to "which end they would immediately diſpatch a courier, to "acquaint him with this laſt reſolution of the allies." Some of the miniſters of the allies replied, "That they "had reaſon to have expected that they had not wanted "ſuch inſtructions; but, however, they were willing a "longer time might be taken, if it were deſigned with pur-"poſe to anſwer effectually." The French miniſters replied, "That they could promiſe no more than to follow "the inſtructions they ſhould receive, ſince they did not ex-"pect the allies would have dealt with them in ſo tyranni-"cal a manner:" adding, "That they pleaded for no more "than was practiſed at the treaties of Munſter, Nimeguen, "and Ryſwick." But their aſſertion was proved to be wrong with reſpect to theſe treaties, where every thing was not altogether tranſacted by word of mouth, without writing. Beſides, it was urged, that there were mediators at thoſe treaties, whereas there was none at Utrecht, which made this an irregular ſort of a congreſs. The marſhal de Uxelles anſwered, "That they had no reaſon to deliver "any thing in writing, ſince the confederates made a bad "uſe of the laſt, to inflame the people againſt them." To which one of the imperial miniſters replied, "That the "French had no more to do, but to give in juſt and reaſon-"able propoſals in writing; and then it would inflame "the people againſt the allies, if they refuſed to accept "them."

1712.

1712. "them." One of the Dutch miniſters having been ſo plain as to tell the marſhal d'Uxelles, that the French court would be deceived, if they expected a peace by tampering with ſome of the allies, in order to divide them from the reſt; the marſhal warmly replied, "That not only the "preſent king of France, but even the whole royal family, "would enter into a vow to be revenged upon the Dutch, "if they obſtructed the peace." To which one of the confederate miniſters anſwered, "That ſuch menacing diſ-"courſes would only ſerve to keep the Dutch on their "guard, and arm them againſt all future revenge, by in-"ducing them to lay hold on this opportunity to cruſh that "power, which now threatened them." When theſe heats were over, the French miniſters promiſed again to write to the king their maſter, in order to know his pleaſure on the ſubject in hand, in which the miniſters of the allies were obliged to acquieſce. But it was agreed, that, unleſs ſome extraordinary occaſion required it, no general conference ſhould be held on the 9th of April. On the 13th, another general conference was held, in which nothing material was done; and the French miniſters, whoſe only buſineſs, it ſeems, was to gain time, propoſed, that the next general conference, which was to be held the 16th, might be put off, as had been done before, unleſs the allies had ſomething particular to offer. This propoſal not being agreed to, the general conference was held, as uſual, on the 16th; and the miniſters of the allies enquiring again of thoſe of France, whether they were ready to give ſpecific anſwers in writing, the French plenipotentiaries ſtill excuſed themſelves, on pretence of their not being yet fully inſtructed from the king their maſter, on that ſubject. The truth is, they knew very well that their buſineſs was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a negotiation carried on directly between London and Verſailles. And it appears from the 'report of 'the committee of ſecrecy,' that the refuſal of the French to give no anſwer in writing was no ſurprize to the Britiſh miniſters, whom they had beforehand adviſed with. The earl of Strafford, in his letter to Mr. ſecretary St. John, of the 25th of March, expreſſed himſelf thus: "I cannot help "ſaying, I believe the French have taken the wiſeſt part not "to anſwer in writing, though moſt of the miniſters of the "allies will be ſurprized, expecting they ſhould." And he ſaid further; "I believe it is beſt they ſhould firſt begin "in the open congreſs to reaſon upon ſome of the allies "demands, which will occaſion ſo much difficulty, that

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" the miniſters of the allies will propoſe debating ſepa- 1712.
" rately, which had better come from them than any elſe."
And, when his lordſhip ſent an account, that a reſolution was taken at the Hague, upon the French miniſters continuing obſtinate, Mr. St. John, in his letter of April 5, expreſſed himſelf in this manner: " That he hoped the " reſolution, taken at the Hague to carry things to an ex- " tremity, was the laſt convulſive pang of an expiring fac- " tion." And yet this reſolution was no more than to inſiſt on a demand, in which all the allies were unanimous, and in which the Britiſh plenipotentiaries had themſelves concurred. But what made the French thus perſiſt in the reſolution of giving no anſwer in writing, is accounted for in the earl of Strafford's letter of the 27th of March, wherein he ſays, " That the penſionary was extremely deſirous that " the French would anſwer in writing, which, it was his " lordſhip's opinion, they would evade, till they ſaw what " ſucceſs the abbot Gaultier had at London." And, in his letter of the 30th, he ſaid, " The French will avoid giv- " ing their anſwer in writing, till they ſee all agreed be- " twixt their court and ours." And, to ſhew that the French were very well ſatisfied with the method which their buſineſs was in, the plenipotentiaries, in their letter of April 15, ſay, " They do not find the French are much " convinced of the neceſſity of diſpatch; and, when any " thing is let fall of breaking off the conferences, they " ſeem to take it with a great air of indifference, well " knowing their buſineſs was not to be done at Utrecht, " but by a negotiation carried on directly between London " and Verſailles." About the beginning of April, Mr. Thomas Harley and the abbé Gaultier arrived at Utrecht. For whoſe uſe and ſervice Mr. Harley had been ſo well employed at home, as has been already obſerved, and was now ſent abroad, cannot be a doubt, ſince Mr. ſecretary St. John thought it neceſſary to give monſieur de Torcy an immediate account of his ſucceſsful endeavours at home, and the buſineſs he was ſent abroad to manage. In his letter of March the 4th, he tells monſieur de Torcy, " That he " had deferred writing of late, till he might write with " certainty; till the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made among " our people at home; and till the queen had taken the " only reſolution, which could bring us, in a ſhort time, " to a good and ſolid peace. I have now the ſatisfaction to " tell you, that this reſolution is taken; and that Mr. " Harley will carry with him this night or to-morrow morn-

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1712. " ing the final inſtructions of the queen to her plenipoten-
" tiaries. I refer myſelf to monſieur Gaultier, to explain
" to you, more at large, the ſubject of this gentleman's
" commiſſion, and what the queen hopes his moſt chriſ-
" tian majeſty will do to co-operate with her." Theſe inſtructions of Mr. Harley do not appear; but it ſeems the ſubject of them was not proper to be committed to writing; for which reaſon, as in almoſt all matters relating to the pretender, it is referred to monſieur Gaultier to explain them. But what was meant by 'the neceſſary diſpoſitions 'made among our people here at home,' is pretty well explained by monſieur de Torcy, in a memorial dated the 28th of March, 1712, in anſwer to what was brought by monſieur Gaultier, wherein he commends the prudent conduct of the court of Great-Britain, in managing the houſe of commons, and, in particular, their wiſe conduct in making known to the houſe of commons, that the nation was abuſed by its allies; and ſays, " The king of France aſ-
" ſures himſelf, that thoſe, who now manage with ſo much
" capacity the affairs of the queen of Great-Britain, know
" how to curb the paſſion of the turbulent party in the
" other houſe." A few days after Mr. Harley's and the abbé Gaultier's arrival at Utrecht, the French plenipotentiaries communicated to the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of Straſford, a plan for a general peace, to which they had added, by way of marginal notes, in a diſtinct column, what they were told would be abſolutely neceſſary in order to a general peace. But this was intruſted to them under the higheſt obligation of ſecrecy, to diſcover nothing of it to the reſt of the allies. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries accepted this plan as a mark of the great confidence which France had in them, and readily engaged, that the allies ſhould not be permitted to know a word of it; and, under the ſame caution, ſent it to Mr. ſecretary St. John. But there was no room to doubt, but this plan, that was tranſmitted to England as a great diſcovery, was concerted here, and ſent by Mr. Harley to Utrecht, and by Gaultier to France.

Mr. ſecretary St. John, being much concerned at the behaviour of the allies, and the Dutch in particular, thought it proper to make one attempt more, as he called it, to gain them; and therefore ordered the plenipotentiaries, in a letter of the 12th of April, to acquaint them, " That
" her majeſty would conſent to their having Dendermond
" and Ghent, and, at the ſame time, depart from her pre-
" tenſions to Oſtend; and was willing, that the trade to
" Spain

" Spain and the Spaniſh Indies be ſettled upon the ſame 1712.
" foot, as it ſubſiſted at the death of the late king of Spain,
" in all reſpects, except the Aſſiento: and their lordſhips
" were ordered to tell them, in very plain terms, that her
" majeſty's meaſures would be taken according to the re-
" turn they ſhould make to the queen on this occaſion."
But, at the ſame time, no communication at all was made to the ſtates of the general plan of peace laſt delivered by the abbé Gaultier, as there never had been of any other, although, in this laſt, the intereſts of all the allies were ſettled and determined between Great-Britain and France. And, to ſhew how candidly the queen's good friends and allies, the Dutch, as her majeſty was pleaſed to ſtile them, were dealt with, the 15 per cent. upon all the goods and manufactures of Great-Britain, which was offered at firſt as one of the chief bribes to England to come into this deſtructive peace, monſieur Meſnager had now explained away, and confined to ſuch goods, as were carried, not to Spain, but to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies only; and, our miniſters finding that France would not make this effectual, Mr. Harley was ordered to let it drop. But to ſee the uſe that was to be made of this inſincerity of the French, at the ſame time that Mr. ſecretary St. John acquainted the Britiſh plenipotentiaries with her majeſty's conſent to give this up, he told them, in his letter of April 5, " But you will take care to
" do this in ſuch a manner, as not only to get ſomething
" for it another way, but alſo to render this conceſſion of
" the queen's a means of bringing the Dutch to reaſon,
" and to a compliance with her majeſty's meaſures." The lord privy-ſeal, on the 29th of April, acquainted Mr. ſecretary St. John, that the negotiation was at a ſtand, till the French miniſters were ready to return one anſwer or another: and, on the 10th of May, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries ſay, " The French tell us, they cannot think of giv-
" ing in their anſwer to the allies, till they hear from Eng-
" land the ſucceſs of monſieur Gaultier; and you may
" believe we wait for it with no leſs impatience than they
" do."

The ſecretary, on the 3d of May, acquainted their excellencies: " I hope in a few days my diſpatches will be-
" come more material, and that we ſhall be able either to
" ſatisfy our friends at Utrecht, or not have reaſon to be
" much concerned at their uneaſineſs." This ended in lord Strafford's being ſent for into England; and the following orders were ſent, on the 16th of May, to the lord privy-

ſeal

1712. ſcal for his farther conduct: "You are to ſtop all inſtances "for procuring the tariff of 1664 to the Dutch: you are "to decline abſolutely to confer any further with them "upon any matter, till you receive the queen's plan from "hence; and that you will not, I hope, be long in ex- "pectation of. And her majeſty finds ſo ill a return made "by the ſtates to her condeſcenſion towards them, that ſhe "likewiſe orders your lordſhip to take the firſt ſolemn op- "portunity of declaring to the Dutch miniſters, that all "her offers for adjuſting our differences were founded upon "this expreſs condition, that they came immediately into "the queen's meaſures, and acted openly and ſincerely "with her; and that ſhe looks upon herſelf, from their "conduct, now to be under no obligation whatſoever to "them."

Summary of the proceedings at Utrecht.

The ſummary then of this whole proceeding at Utrecht, in one ſhort view, appears to be this: a conference for general conferences was neceſſary to be opened, that the allies might in appearance, agreeable to the grand alliance, have the opportunity of treating and adjuſting their ſeveral pretenſions. The Britiſh miniſters were by their inſtructions to act in concert with the allies; but they really acted in concert with the French plenipotentiaries. The allies giving in their ſpecific demands was not to be avoided; but the French were to gain as much time as they poſſibly could, by unneceſſary delays, and at laſt inſiſt upon ſuch a method of anſwering theſe demands, as they knew the allies could not comply with. In the mean time the negotiations were carrying on directly between England and France; or rather all the conditions dictated and preſcribed by France, whilſt the allies were amuſed with a diſpute about the method of anſwering, from which France would not, and they could not poſſibly depart; in which England agreed with the reſt of the allies. All particulars, that concerned even the intereſt of the allies, were tranſacted betwixt the miniſters of England and France, under the higheſt obligations of ſecrecy. The Dutch were preſſed to come into the queen's meaſures, without being acquainted what the queen's meaſures were. And, becauſe they would not conſent to they knew not what, as ſoon as it was reſolved to ſend orders to the duke of Ormond not to engage in either ſiege or battle, and the great projects were ready to be executed on the other ſide of the water, the queen declared, ſhe looked upon herſelf now, from their conduct, to be under no obligation whatſoever to the ſtates-general. And thus the alliance

liance betwixt Great-Britain and her principal ally was declared to be diſſolved and cancelled, before any thing was finally agreed and concluded betwixt Great-Britain and France, or the former had any ſecurity for its own trade and commerce, or any other advantages that were to accrue to it. 1712.

During the congreſs at Utrecht, the preparations for the campaign were carried on by the emperor and the ſtates with all poſſible vigour: prince Eugene, after having ſtayed (as hath been related) three months in England in a fruitleſs negotiation, was ſent back with general and ambiguous promiſes. The ſtates gave him the ſupreme command of their army, and aſſured him, that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he ſhould be put under no reſtraint by their deputies or generals, and that no ceſſation of arms ſhould be ordered, till all was ſettled by a general peace. The duke of Ormond followed him in April, well ſatisfied both with his inſtructions and his appointments; for he had the ſame allowances, that had been lately voted criminal in the duke of Marlborough. Preparations for the campaign. Burnet.

At this time the pretender was taken ill of the ſmall-pox: he recovered of them; but his ſiſter, who was taken with the ſame diſeaſe, died of it. She was, by all that knew her, admired as a moſt extraordinary perſon in all reſpects; inſomuch that a very great character was ſpread of her, by thoſe who talked but indifferently of the pretender himſelf. Thus he loſt a great ſtrength, which ſhe procured to him, from all who ſaw or converſed with her.

Before we proceed to the operations of the campaign, it will be proper to give an account of the convocation, which was held with this ſeſſion of parliament.

There was a doubt ſuggeſted, whether the queen's licence did ſtill ſubſiſt, after a prorogation by a royal writ. The attorney-general gave his opinion, that it was ſtill in force; upon which, the biſhops went on with the reſolution, in which the former ſeſſion had ended, and ſent back to the lower houſe a paper, which had been ſent to them from that houſe in the former ſeſſion, with ſuch amendments, as they thought proper. But then Atterbury ſtarted a new notion, That as, in a ſeſſion of parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they were to begin all anew; the ſame rule was to be applied to convocations, in purſuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in parliament were likewiſe to be obſerved amongſt them. The biſhops did not agree to this; for, upon ſearching their books, Proceedings in convocation.

1712. books, they found a courſe of precedents to the contrary: and the ſchedule, by which the archbiſhop prorogued them, when the royal writ was ſent him, did, in expreſs words, continue all things, in the ſtate in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not ſatisfy Atterbury and his party; ſo the lower houſe ordered him to lay the matter before the attorney-general for his opinion: he did that very partially, for he did not ſhew him the paper ſent down by the biſhops; he only gave him a very defective abſtract of it. Whereupon the attorney-general gave him ſuch an anſwer as he deſired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The biſhops reſolved to adhere to the method of former convocations, and not to begin matters afreſh, that had been formerly near finiſhed. By this means they were at a full ſtop, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the queen: but they entered upon new ones. As an act had paſſed for building fifty new churches, an office was prepared for conſecrating churches and churchyards.

Cenſure on Whiſton's book not confirmed by the queen.

The cenſure that paſſed on Whiſton, in the former ſeſſion, was (as hath been ſaid) laid before the queen for her approbation. But, at the opening of this ſeſſion, in December, the biſhops, finding no return was come from the throne, ſent two of their number to receive her majeſty's pleaſure in that matter. The archbiſhop was ſo ill of the gout, that he came not to the convocation all the winter. The queen had put the cenſure into the hands of ſome of her miniſters, but could not remember to whom ſhe gave it: ſo a new extract was ſent to her, and ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſend her pleaſure upon it very ſpeedily: but none came this ſeſſion. So all further proceedings were ſtopped, ſince the queen did not confirm what was done.

There appeared at this time an inclination in many of the clergy, to a nearer approach towards the church of Rome; Hicks, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the jacobite party, had in ſeveral books promoted a notion, that there was a proper ſacrifice made in the euchariſt, and had on many occaſions ſtudied to leſſen our averſion to popery. The ſupremacy of the crown in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the method in which the reformation was carried, was openly condemned: one Brett had preached a ſermon, in ſeveral of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed; in which he preſſed the neceſſity of prieſtly abſolution, in a ſtrain beyond what was pretended to, even in

in the church of Rome: he ſaid no repentance could ſerve without it, and affirmed, that the prieſt was veſted with the ſame power of pardoning, that our ſaviour himſelf had. A motion was made in the lower houſe of convocation, to cenſure this; but it was ſo ill ſupported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of lay-baptiſm, on which ſeveral books have been writ; nor was the diſpute a trifling one, ſince, by this notion, the teachers among the diſſenters paſſing for laymen, this went to the re-baptizing them and their congregations (t). 1712.

The

(t) Dodwell gave the riſe to this conceit. He was a very learned man, and led a ſtrict life; he ſeemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few: he thought none could be ſaved, but thoſe who, by the ſacraments, had a federal right to it; and that theſe were the ſeals of the covenant: ſo that he left all, who died without the ſacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the ſacraments, but thoſe who were commiſſioned to it; and theſe were the apoſtles, and after them biſhops and prieſts ordained by them: it followed upon this, that ſacraments adminiſtered by others were of no value. He purſued theſe notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the ſouls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptiſm, given by perſons epiſcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the epiſcopal function ſo high, he did not lay the original of that government on any inſtruction or warrant in the ſcripture; but thought it was ſet up, in the beginning of the ſecond century, after the apoſtles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which the canon of the New Teſtament was ſettled; he thought it was not before the ſecond century, and that an extraordinary inſpiration was continued in the churches to that very time, to which he aſcribed the original of epiſcopacy. This ſtrange and precarious ſyſtem was in great credit among us; and the neceſſity of the ſacrament, and the invalidity of eccleſiaſtical functions, when performed by perſons, who were not epiſcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applauſe; this made the diſſenters paſs for no chriſtians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: and ſeveral little books were ſpread about the nation, to prove the neceſſity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a ſtate of damnation till that was done; but few were, by theſe arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized. This ſtruck even at the baptiſm by midwives in the church of Rome; which was practiſed and connived at here in England, till it was objected in the conference, held at Hampton-court, ſoon after king James the firſt's acceſſion to the crown, and baptiſm was not till then limited to perſons in orders. Nothing of this

1712. The biſhops thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this new and extravagant doctrine; ſo a declaration was agreed to, firſt againſt the irregularity of all baptiſm by perſons, who were not in holy orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the conſtant uſage of the church of England, no baptiſm (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt) ought to be reiterated. The archbiſhop of York at firſt agreed to this; ſo it was reſolved to publiſh it, in the name of all the biſhops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refuſed to ſign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptiſm: ſo the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with moſt of the biſhops of his province, reſolved to offer it to the convocation. It was agreed to in the upper-houſe, the biſhop of Rocheſter only diſſenting: but when it was ſent to the lower-houſe, they would not ſo much as take it into conſideration, but laid it aſide; thinking that it would encourage thoſe, who ſtruck at the dignity of the prieſthood. This was all that paſſed in convocation.

The earl of Strafford's conferences at the Hague.

On the 26th of April, the earl of Strafford went from Utrecht to the Hague, and, in ſeveral conferences he had with the penſionary and other miniſters, earneſtly preſſed the ſtates to come into the queen's meaſures. This, together with the ſecret methods, that were uſed to hinder the ſtates of Brabant from ſupplying the imperial troops, that were marching into the Netherlands, with bread and forage, did not a little increaſe the jealouſies of the ſtates, who two days after thought fit to ſend a ſolemn deputation to the earl of Strafford, to know what the queen's meaſures were? The earl not having yet orders to explain himſelf, and being under an engagement of ſecrecy with the French plenipotentiaries, made no ſcruple to declare, in conformity to a late letter from the queen to the ſtates, "That "her majeſty's intentions were, that her troops ſhould act "with the ſame vigour againſt France, as if there were no "negotiation on foot." This declaration the earl repeated the ſame evening in another long conference with prince Eugene of Savoy, count Zinzendorf, the ſtates deputies, and the council of ſtate; and on the 21ſt of April returned to Utrecht. Several other miniſters, who went to the Hague, to confer with prince Eugene, returned alſo to the

this kind was ſo much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by *diſſenters*; but it was now promoted with much heat. Burnet, Vol. II. 604.

place

place of congreſs, in order to aſſiſt at the general conference, which was held there the 23d of the ſame month. The miniſters of the allies having again inquired of thoſe of France, whether they were yet ready to give their anſwer in writing; and being anſwered in the negative; it was propoſed and agreed to, that the general meetings ſhould for ſome time be ſuſpended, till the French plenipotentiaries ſhould give notice, that they were prepared. In the mean time the confederate miniſters held ſome intermediate conferences among themſelves, and made frequent journies from Utrecht to the Hague, and from the Hague to Utrecht; not without a well-grounded jealouſy of the intimacy and cloſe correſpondence, which appeared to be between the miniſters of France and thoſe of Great-Britain; the effects of which were ſoon after manifeſted to the amazement of all chriſtendom. 1712.

About the middle of April the confederate forces began to march into the field, and prince Eugene of Savoy ſet out from the Hague on the 22d of that month, in order to put himſelf at the head of the army. The duke of Ormond, being appointed to command the queen's forces in Flanders, received his inſtructions on the 7th of April, whereby he was ordered "to repair with all poſſible diligence to the "Hague, and to acquaint the penſionary, that he had received her majeſty's orders to ſee him, before he went to "put himſelf at the head of her majeſty's troops, and to "expreſs to him her reſolution of puſhing the war with all "poſſible vigour, until the enemy ſhould agree to ſuch "terms of peace, as might be ſafe and honourable for herſelf and her allies; to aſſure him, that he was prepared to "live in a perfect and good correſpondence with all the "generals of the allies, and particularly with thoſe of the "ſtates; and to deſire the penſionary to inform him, what "plan had been agreed upon for the operations of the campaign: and as ſoon as he arrived at the frontier, to meet "with prince Eugene, and ſuch others of the generals, "as ſhould be in the ſecret, and with them to concert the "proper meaſures for entering upon action." The duke left London on the 9th of April, and in three days arrived at the Hague, where having viſited the penſionary, he gave him, according to his inſtructions, all the aſſurances of carrying on the war with vigour, and acting in confidence with all the allies, and more eſpecially the Dutch: which were received with the greateſt profeſſions of duty and reſpect to her majeſty. He had alſo a conference with the council of

The allies take the field. Cond. of the D. of Orm. Rep. of the com. of ſecr.

1712. ſtate, who told him, "That there was no particular reſo-
"lution taken as to the operations of the campaign, but
"they left it to their generals, who with their deputies were
"to act in concert with the generals of the allies; and that
"they had given orders to their generals to live in a good
"correſpondence with his grace." The preſident of the week made many excuſes for their having given the command of their army to prince Eugene; but however he ſaid, "That, as to the point of command, his grace and "the prince were now upon an equal foot." About this time the duke received a letter from Mr. Cadogan, who had been ſome time before left out of the eſtabliſhment of lieutenant-generals, deſiring his intereſt for being employed under him this campaign. The duke readily complied with his requeſt, and ſoon obtained the queen's leave for his ſerving in that poſt. The duke reſolving to take the field as ſoon as poſſible, left the Hague, and arrived at Ghent the 3d of May; and after a ſtay there of two or three days, and ſecuring the government of the citadel in Engliſh hands, went on to Tournay, where he met prince Eugene and the deputies of the ſtates. All the Engliſh forces, for ſome weeks, had been in the field, and lay cantoned along the road between this city and Liſle. And the reaſon of drawing them out of their quarters ſo early was, that there had been a project formed to take poſt at Oiſy, on the Senſette, which would have ſecured the march over the Scheld, and might have given the allies an opportunity of ſeizing Cambray. Lieutenant-general Cadogan did not in the leaſt queſtion the ſucceſs of it. But, the Dutch making many difficulties and delays in this affair, Villars had prevented the deſign, and taken poſſeſſion of Oiſy, and of all the paſſes on the Senſette.

On the 17th of May, prince Eugene and monſieur Vegelin came to the duke Ormond, and it was agreed between them to paſs the Scheld near Bouchain, in order to incamp at Aveſne le Sec, and ſee whether the confederates could attack the enemy without great diſadvantage; or, ſhould the enemy be too ſtrongly poſted, it was propoſed to inveſt Queſnoy, which, being a little place, could not hold out above three weeks at moſt after the opening of the trenches: in order to theſe motions, the proportion of the two armies to be commanded by the prince and duke being ſettled (u), the neceſſary directions were given for aſſembling

(u) The duke had under him the following troops, conſiſting of thoſe in the queen's pay, and of thoſe paid jointly by her majeſty

bling all the troops, paſſing the Scarpe, and forming the armies on the 21ſt between Doway and Marchiennes, where prince Eugene and the duke of Ormond deſigned to join their reſpective forces, and there concert ſuch further meaſures, as might be requiſite for carrying on the ſervice of the campaign. 1712.

The duke had, ſome days before, received two expreſſes from Mr. ſecretary St. John, who, in his letter of the 16th of April, told his grace, "That he found, by very certain "intelligences from Holland, that the Dutch miniſters "were not without their fears of their new general; that "they began to conſider, he was a papiſt, and a German, "at leaſt in intereſt: that the emperor, his maſter, had no-"thing to loſe on the ſide of the Netherlands: that a bat-"tle won might give ground for inſiſting on higher terms "than the houſe of Auſtria was now likely to obtain: that "a battle loſt might ſtill continue to prolong the war; "and that, in either caſe, the expence of blood would fall "to the ſhare of the queen and ſtates: that he was of opi-"nion, that theſe reflections had occaſioned private direc-"tions to their generals, to uſe more caution than the prince "would perhaps approve: and that his grace might ſee, "that this meaſure was not very conſiſtent with the com-"pliment of an unlimited command, made to that prince "by Mr. Lathmer, in the name of the ſtates." And, on the 25th of April, O. S. (which was before it was known, that France had agreed ſo much as to propoſe to the king of Spain the alternative of the two monarchies, which was not till the 18th of May) Mr. ſecretary St. John began to give the duke of Ormond ſome diſtant hint of the ſcene, which was afterwards to be opened, and told him, "That "the queen inclined to be of opinion, that all the troops, "whether ſubjects or foreigners, belonging to her, ſhould "be immediately under his grace's command. That there "might have been formerly reaſons for uſing a different

jeſty and the ſtates, together with a regiment of Huſſars: Engliſh, 22 battalions and 19 ſquadrons; Danes, 9 battalions and 21 ſquadrons; Pruſſians, 10 battalions and 36 ſquadrons; Saxons, 7 battalions and 12 ſquadrons; Hanoverians, 14 battalions and 29 ſquadrons; Holſtein, 2 battalions and 8 ſquadrons; Wolfenbuttle, 2 battalions; Walloons, 4 ſquadrons; Anſpach, 2 battalions and 4 ſquadrons; Naſſau Dillenburg, 1 battalion; Ottinghen, 1 battalion; and Huſſars, 5 ſquadrons: in all 70 battalions, and 138 ſquadrons.

1712. "method; but there ſeemed at preſent to be ſome of a "very ſtrong nature for taking this; and perhaps theſe "might every day grow ſtill ſtronger. That there could "be no need for him to enter into the grounds, which they "had, in this conjuncture, to be jealous of prince Eugene's "conduct: his grace would ſee and know them all better "than they could be repeated; but that on this occaſion "the queen directed him to inform his grace, that ſhe "thought, he was to be more cautious, for ſome time, of "engaging in any action, unleſs in the caſe of a very ap- "parent and conſiderable advantage, becauſe he would "daily be ſtrengthened by the arrival of the imperial troops: "and it was but juſt, theſe ſhould have their part, if any "thing of that kind was to happen. That the great arti- "cle of preventing the union of the two monarchies was "not yet entirely ſettled; the expedients were hard of di- "geſtion to the French ſtomachs; but, if this was got "over, he did not ſee any formidable difficulty in the way." The duke returned an anſwer to theſe diſpatches, wherein he gave an account, what the Dutch had done in regard to the point of command: "That he was intirely of the "ſecretary's opinion, that a battle, either loſt or won, "would at this time make very great alterations in the trea- "ties now on foot. But that the ſecretary might remem- "ber, that in his inſtructions he was ordered to act in con- "junction with the allies, in proſecuting the war with vi- "gour; ſo that, ſhould there happen a fair opportunity "to attack the enemy, he could not decline it, if propoſed "by the prince and ſtates: but he hoped to hear from him "by a meſſenger, before the armies were formed, which "would be on the 21ſt." The duke added, in a ſecond letter of May the 20th, "That, if there were a good op- "portunity to attack the enemy, and get into France, by "the way of Champagne, he was ſure, the prince and the "ſtates would preſs it, unleſs they heard from England, that "the peace was near being concluded: that he wiſhed it "very heartily; but, if it were delayed, he hoped, he "ſhould have the good fortune to force the French to com- "ply with the queen's demands."

The armies having marched on the day appointed, the duke took his quarters at Marchiennes, where, in concert with prince Eugene, and the foreign generals, he reſolved to go nearer the enemy; and it was agreed, that the two armies ſhould paſs the Scheld, and encamp, the right of prince Eugene's at Neuſville, and the left of the duke of Ormond's

at

at Sôlemes, where they had the river Selle in their rear. 1712.
But, on the 24th of May, in the evening an expreſs came from Mr. ſecretary St. John, with a letter dated May 10, O. S. to acquaint the duke, "That, ſince her majeſty had "reaſon to believe, that ſhe ſhould come to an agreement "upon the great article of preventing the union of the two "monarchies, as ſoon as a courier ſent from Verſailles to Ma-"drid could return, it was her majeſty's poſitive command, "that he ſhould avoid engaging in any ſiege, or hazarding a "battle, till he received further orders from England." The ſecretary acquainted the duke likewiſe, "That the "queen would have him diſguiſe the receipt of this order; "and that ſhe thought he could not want pretences for "conducting himſelf ſo, as to anſwer her ends, without "owning that, which might at preſent have an ill effect, "if it was publicly known. That ſhe could not think "with patience of ſacrificing men, when there was a fair "proſpect of obtaing her purpoſe another way; nor would "ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be expoſed to the reproach of hav-"ing retarded, by the events of the campaign, a negotia-"tion, which might have been as good as concluded in "few days." He added, "That this order was communi-"cated at the ſame time to the court of France; ſo that, if "the marſhal de Villars ſhould take any private notice of "it, the duke was to anſwer accordingly."

On the 25th of May, N. S. the duke wrote two letters to Mr. ſecretary St. John, a private and a public letter. In the firſt, which was his private letter, and all written with his own hand, he "acknowledged the receipt of the ſecre-"tary's orders, not to engage in ſiege or battle; to which "he promiſed an exact obedience, and to keep ſecret his "having received any ſuch command; and that he would "endeavour to hinder its being ſuſpected. But that prince "Eugene and the ſtates having propoſed to attack the "enemy; or, if that be found too hazardous, to beſiege "Queſnoy, he feared it would be very difficult for him to "diſguiſe the true reaſon of oppoſing all propoſals, that "ſhould be made for undertaking any thing, having no "excuſe for delays, all the troops expected and the heavy "cannon, being to be there on Saturday. And that, if he "could have found forage there, he would have made ſome "pretence to delay the march, though the diſpoſitions of "it were made before he received this letter." But, on the ſame day, the duke wrote another public letter of the

1712. 10th, wherein he took no notice of his orders, not to engage in ſiege or battle, but ſpoke of his having reviewed the Engliſh troops, and found them in ſo good a condition, as muſt convince all the allies, how groundleſs the complaints were, that had been made of our backwardneſs, "of which, "he ſaid, I believe you will now hear no more." And he added, "If we find an opportunity to bring the enemy to "a battle, we ſhall not decline it." On the 28th of May, N. S. the duke in his letter to the ſecretary ſaid, "Yeſ-"terday prince Eugene, and the ſtates-deputies deſired, "that I would conſent to ſend the quarter-maſters to view "the French camp; which I could not refuſe, without giv-"ing them ſome ſuſpicion of what I am ordered to diſ-"guiſe; but I was ſure, that nothing of action could hap-"pen, the enemy being behind the Scheld. The detach-"ment, that went with them, were forty ſquadrons, and "all the grenadiers of my army to ſupport them, and "make good their retreat, ſhould the enemy have endea-"voured for to have attacked them. They went as far (I "mean the horſe) as Catelet, where the right of the ene-"my's army lies, and are come back without ſeeing any of "the French on our ſide the Scheld. The diſtance between "the head of the Somme, and that of the Scheld, is not "above a league and a half, which is a plain, and the enemy "have not yet offered to throw up any retrenchment. May "be to-morrow they will begin to work, ſince they have "ſeen our troops reconnoitring that way." Prince Eugene and the deputies being to dine with the duke the next day, he was under apprehenſions, that they would preſs him to undertake ſomething immediately, which it would be very hard to conceal the true reaſon of his refuſing, having no reaſonable excuſe for it. In this letter he gave an account of a letter, which he had received from the marſhal Villars, and the anſwer, which he had written to the marſhal. For May the 25th, N. S. the marſhal acquainted the duke, "That he had the king's orders, and the queen's conſent, "to write to him, as ſoon as he received the courier; and, "whatever glory was to be acquired againſt a general, "whoſe valour was ſo well known among them, he deſired "him to be aſſured, that he never received more agreeable "news, than that they were to be no longer enemies: "and that it was the king's particular injunction to him "to keep this matter with an inviolable ſecrecy." The duke, according to the intimation given him by Mr. St. John, anſwered, "That he had received orders on that

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" ſubject from the queen, and ſhould be ſure to conform 1712.
" himſelf punctually to them; but the keeping the ſecret
" enjoined would very much depend on the meaſures the
" marſhal himſelf ſhould take. The duke, on his part,
" let him know, that the march, he ſhould be obliged to
" make, was chiefly for the ſubſiſtance of the troops;
" and that the marſhal need not be in any apprehenſions
" on that account; at leaſt, the duke would anſwer for
" the army, which he had the honour to command." It is impoſſible to account for this tranſaction, unleſs the duke had orders, not only not to act againſt France, but to give the French general intelligence of all that was deſigned in the confederate army. The report being made by the quarter-maſters-general, who went with the detachment to view the French camp, and they all agreeing, that the ground was as advantageous as could be, their ſituation being ſuch, as gave an opportunity of falling upon their flank and rear, it was propoſed to the duke to march without delay to the enemy, and to attack them. What the duke did upon this occaſion appears from this letter of May the 29th, N. S. to Mr. St. John: " You may eaſily ima-
" gine, ſays he, the difficulty that I was under to excuſe
" the delaying a matter, which, according to the informa-
" tions I had from the quarter-maſters-general, and ſeve-
" ral other general-officers, that went out with the detach-
" ment, ſeemed to be ſo practicable. The beſt excuſe I
" could make was lord Strafford's ſudden voyage to England,
" which gave me reaſon to believe there muſt be ſomething
" of conſequence tranſacting, which a delay of four or five
" days would bring to light: and therefore I deſired they
" would defer this undertaking, or any other, till I ſhould
" receive freſh letters from England, ſince ſo ſhort a delay
" could not be of any ill conſequence." Upon which both prince Eugene, and the ſtates deputies, told the duke plainly, " That his anſwer was agreeable to the ſuſpicions
" they had for ſome time entertained, particularly ſince
" the expreſs of the 24th, which they knew had brought
" him letters from England." And they were the more confirmed in theſe ſuſpicions, becauſe marſhal Villars, " who
" had on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf very vigilant, did
" not ſend out a man to obſerve their motions, nor take
" any other precautions to ſecure his camp, where it lay ſo
" much expoſed; and he could not be ignorant how ſtrong
" a detachment had been abroad on that ſide." The duke could not divert the propoſal, which had been made

The duke of Ormond refuſes to fight.

1712. to fall upon the French army, by offering to undertake a siege; since Quesnoy, the place to be attacked, was within less than three leagues of the army, and all things necessary for a siege were already at Marchiennes; so that the consequence of this offer would have been the immediate investing of that place, which was as contrary to the queen's last orders, as a battle. Prince Eugene, and the deputies seemed extremely dissatisfied with the duke's answer, and said, "They "were obliged to give an account of what had passed, and of "the delays made by the duke, to their masters, by ex-"press." In this posture things continued for some days, when, on the 4th of June, N. S. two of the deputies made a visit to the duke; and, in the evening, sent him a long memorial, containing the substance of their discourse with him. In this they told the duke, "That, by order of their ma-"sters, they represented to him, with how great a degree "of surprize the states had received the news of his declar-"ing, he would undertake nothing, till he had letters from "England, and of his refusing to assist either in a siege or a "battle. That it seemed to them incomprehensible and un-"accountable, why the allies should lose such an apparent "opportunity they had, as well in regard to the goodness "and number of their troops, as the situation of the armies, "to gain some great advantage over the enemy, which, if "once neglected, might for ever be irretrievable. That they "could by no means conceive his orders was so strict, as "to tie up his hands, when so fair an occasion of annoy-"ing the enemy presented itself: and that, in their opinion, "such orders ought to be understood in the best sense, so "as to enjoin the declining any attempt for some little "time, provided no great prejudice might redound by "that means to the common cause; but in no wise so "justify the sitting still with their arms across, in such a "situation, where inaction would cut off all hopes of their "being able to attempt any thing for the future; since, if the "army continued inactive for any time, the forage would "be consumed, and the operations for the rest of the cam-"paign would be rendered not only difficult, but impracti-"cable. Besides, the enemy would have time to intrench "and fortify their camp, as much as they pleased. That "the states had ordered them to inforce these arguments "with others, and particularly with this, That the army, "his grace commanded, consisted not only of her ma-"jesty's national troops, but, for the most part, of such, "as were in the joint pay of her majesty and the states,

Memorial of the states deputies upon it.

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" the command of which, indeed belonged to his grace, as 1712.
" general in chief; but, as thoſe troops were engaged by
" both powers jointly, to make war, and act againſt the
" enemy, they could not be exempted from that ſervice by
" his grace alone, without the knowledge and conſent of
" the ſtates; at leaſt, without contradicting the treaties and
" the ends, by and for which they were engaged. That
" not only the treaty of the grand alliance, but others made
" between her majeſty and the ſtates, obliged her majeſty
" to puſh on the war with vigour; but the declaration
" his grace made, that he could not act till farther orders,
" at a time, when, by his grace's own approbation, they
" had marched juſt within ſight of the enemy, and when
" there was ſo fair a proſpect of ſucceſs, if ſomething were
" attempted, could not, they thought, be reconciled ei-
" ther with thoſe treaties, or the repeated aſſurances, which
" her majeſty had given them by letters, by my lord Straf-
" ford, and by his grace, lately at the Hague. There-
" fore they deſired his grace, if he had any regard to thoſe
" treaties and aſſurances, which ought to be kept ſacred, to
" puſh on the war with vigour, offenſively againſt the
" enemy; but that, if his grace perſiſted in his reſolution of
" not acting offenſively, they deſired to know, whether he
" would conſent, that the troops under him might be em-
" ployed to cover a ſiege, which they would undertake;
" and whether he would give a promiſe to attack the enemy,
" if they came to diſturb them. That, in caſe his grace
" refuſed, they did in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the
" ſtrongeſt terms, proteſt againſt the irreparable damage,
" which ſuch a conduct would occaſion to the confederacy.
" That, in order the better to guide themſelves, they de-
" manded to know preciſely, what his orders were; how far
" they reached; and what dependance the ſtates might have
" on her majeſty's troops for the future: and laſtly, they
" required, on their part, that his grace would not hinder
" the troops in the joint pay from acting agreeably to the
" reaſon of war, and their ſolemn treaties and engagements.
" The concluſion of the memorial was, that the ſtates had
" ordered this repreſentation to be made in writing to his
" grace, that all the world and poſterity might ſee, that they
" have been ſo far from being guilty of the great injury,
" which the common cauſe receives from the preſent inac-
" tion, that they have done all in their power to prevent it;
" and that others are to anſwer for all the unhappy conſe-
" quences of it." To the ſubſtance of this memorial, expreſſed

" before

1712. before by the deputies in their diſcourſe with the duke, he could only anſwer, 'that, before he entered upon action, 'he ſhould be glad to receive letters from England, which 'he expected every moment.' And this was all the ſatisfaction he was then at liberty to give to their demands, bound up as he was, by his laſt inſtructions. The duke immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to England, with an account of what had paſſed, hoping, That, before they came to any extremities, he ſhould have his final orders, and recommending it as a matter of the greateſt importance, both to the public and himſelf, that he ſhould know her majeſty's pleaſure as ſoon as might be.

In the mean time, prince Eugene and the ſtates deputies preſſed the duke continually for a poſitive anſwer, repreſenting, at the ſame time, the goodneſs and ſuperiority of the confederate troops, which could not be contradicted; and concluding, 'that the duke muſt have orders not to do any 'thing, though he would not own them; ſince they knew, 'he could not otherwiſe anſwer for his inaction.' In debating this matter, one of the deputies took, as the duke thought, too much liberty in cenſuring the proceedings of England; which he was deſired to forbear, as being no way agreeable to that good underſtanding, which was ſo neceſſary to be kept up between the queen and the ſtates. While the duke was under this uneaſineſs, on the 7th of June, N. S. a letter came from Mr. St. John, dated the 17th of May, O. S. which expreſſed "the impatience her majeſty was in to hear, "whether the orders ſent on the 10th of May, came ſafely "and early to his hands, and the aſſurance ſhe had of his "punctual obedience to her commands in ſo nice and im-"portant a conjuncture." The duke returned an anſwer the next day, repreſenting, "That things were now come to "great extremity: that he could not avoid ſeeing every day "freſh marks of the ill blood and diſſatisfaction cauſed a-"mong the allies, by the meaſures he was obliged to ob-"ſerve: that many of them did not ſcruple to ſay, We were "betraying them; and this ferment ſeemed rather likely to "increaſe, than diminiſh; and, conſidering the circumſtances "we were in, it was hard to ſay, what might be the conſe-"quences of it: that, let the peace, which he was in daily "expectation to hear of, be never ſo advantageous, he was "apprehenſive, that, if the allies ſhould pretend to diſlike "it, he could not depend upon any troops, but thoſe com-"poſed of her majeſty's own ſubjects. And what confirmed "him in this opinion was, that he was well informed, that

"if,

" if, the elector of Hanover did not approve of the peace, 1712.
" his troops would have orders to ſerve with the Dutch, and
" would likewiſe be augmented by all that prince could ſpare
" from other parts; and he was not without ſuſpicion, that
" endeavours were likewiſe uſing to gain the Danes." The cloſe of his letter was in theſe words: " By this and my former you may gueſs, how uneaſy a ſituation I am in; and, " If there be no proſpect of action, I do not ſee of what uſe " I am here; and, if it ſuit with her majeſty's ſervice, I " ſhould be glad, I might have leave to return to England. " But in this, and all other matters, I ſhall readily ſubmit " to her majeſty's pleaſure. I am impatient to hear from " you what I am to depend upon."

Prince Eugene and the Deputies having reſolved to beſiege Queſnoy (x), the town was inveſted on the 8th of June, by a detachment from the two armies, conſiſting of thirty battalions, and as many ſquadrons, under the command of general Fagel. The duke, though he had no part in carrying on the ſiege, yet could not refuſe furniſhing ſeven battalions and nine ſquadrons of the troops in the joint pay of England and the ſtates, but avoided ſending any of thoſe, which were in the queen's whole pay. Queſnoy beſieged.

On the 10th, a letter came from marſhal Villars, wherein he let the duke know, " He had received ſeveral advices, " that Queſnoy was inveſted; and that part of the troops in " his grace's army was employed in that ſervice: that, by " order of his maſter, he deſires to know of him, if any " troops under his command have a ſhare in undertaking or " forming that ſiege; for he could not think, prince Eugene " would venture to attempt it with thoſe forces alone, which " he commands. He therefore begs his grace would explain " this matter to him, that he may know how to act, and " take his meaſures, according as prince Eugene perſeveres " in, or deſiſts from, this enterprize. He adds, that a cou- " rier went from Paris the morning before, with the anſwer " of Spain to the queen, which, it was ſuppoſed, would be " ſatisfactory." The duke's anſwer was, " That, as the " marſhal obſerved himſelf, of what conſequence it was to " keep this affair ſecret, he would leave him to judge, whe-

(x) Queſnoy, a ſmall, but ſtrong town of the Low-Countries, in the earldom of Hainault, and territory of Valenciennes, ſubject to the French. It ſtands ſeven miles ſouth-eaſt of Valenciennes, 18 ſouth-weſt of Mons, and 18 almoſt north-eaſt of Cambray.

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1712. "ther he could have done it better, than by the conduct he "had obſerved. That it was true, that for the ſiege of "Queſnoy, which it was not in his power to prevent, he "had furniſhed ſome troops, which were paid in part by the "ſtates, but not one ſingle man ſolely in the queen's pay. "That he thought, ſince the trenches were not opened, the "ſiege would have no effect to break the meaſures concerted "between their ſovereigns, before they could receive their "final inſtructions." He concludes, "He was ſurprized, "upon the duke of Wirtemberg's informing him, that the "marſhal had ſaid to one of that duke's trumpets, that the "Engliſh would do the French no hurt, nor the French "them: that himſelf had ſuch orders, and did not doubt, "but the duke of Ormond had the ſame." The marſhal, in another letter the next day, denied, "That he had ever "ſeen or heard of any trumpet from the duke of Wirtem-"berg: that this was a mere invention of thoſe, who had a "mind to give a reputation to the Dutch Gazettes, in "which it had been affirmed, that his grace had ſhewed "prince Eugene his orders, not to engage in any attempt. "He deſires to be informed by his grace, whether the army "under his command would oppoſe any attempt, which the "king's forces would certainly make upon prince Eugene's, "if he continued the ſiege: and adds, that the king, while "he ſees prince Eugene undertaking a ſiege, and knows the "army under his grace ought not to act, directly or indi-"rectly, againſt his, would be very much diſpleaſed with "him, if he ſhould continue unactive."

Biſhop of Briſtol's declaration to the Dutch miniſters, June 2.

By this time the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht having, by order of the ſtates, expoſtulated with the biſhop of Briſtol, about the duke of Ormond's refuſing to aſſiſt the confederates in any undertaking againſt the enemy: the biſhop anſwered, "That he knew nothing of the matter, and would "repreſent it to the queen:" But, at the ſame time, he took occaſion to let them know, "That, two days before, he had "received an expreſs, with a letter from her majeſty, in "which ſhe complained, that, notwithſtanding all the ad-"vances ſhe had made from time to time to the ſtates, in "order to engage them to enter with her upon a plan of "peace, their high mightineſſes had not anſwered her as "they ought; and as her majeſty hoped they would. That "therefore they ought not to be ſurprized, if her majeſty "did not think herſelf at liberty to enter into ſeparate mea-"ſures, in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency." Upon this, the plenipotentiaries of the ſtates repreſented to

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the biſhop, "That ſuch a ſtep would be contrary to all the "alliances and treaties betwixt their high mightineſſes and "the queen: that they had merited otherwiſe by the defer- "ence, which, on all occaſions, they had ſhewed to her "majeſty; and that they knew nothing of the advances, "which the biſhop ſaid her majeſty had made towards the "ſtates, on the ſubject of a plan of peace." The biſhop re- plied, "That he muſt not forget to tell them, his inſtructi- "ons did further bear, that, conſidering the conduct of the "ſtates towards her majeſty, ſhe thought herſelf diſengaged "from all alliances and engagements with their high mighti- "neſſes." The biſhop did not, in expreſs words, name the Barrier Treaty; but he did not except it: ſo they reckoned it was included in the general words he had uſed. 1712.

The lord biſhop's anſwer and declaration, being, by expreſs, brought to the Hague the night between the 2d and 3d of June, was, the next morning, communicated to the miniſters of the allies; ſeveral conferences were held, and private meaſures concerted between the ſtates, the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and ſome other princes of the empire, for the ſubſiſting and maintaining the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain; ſo that the confederate army ſhould ſuffer no other diminution, than by the troops of Great-Britain, which did not amount to above twelve thouſand men. In the mean time, the ſtates-general wrote a long letter to the queen, which, on the 5th of June, they ſent, by an expreſs to their envoy in London, with orders to deliver it into her own hands. And count Zinzendorf, who had likewiſe received an account of what had paſſed in the army, went from Utrecht to the Hague, on the 1ſt of June, N. S. and diſpatched the next day three expreſſes, one to the emperor, another to prince Eugene, and the third to the imperial miniſter in London. And the baron de Hohendorf, adjutant-general to prince Eugene, who came over with a commiſſion from Vienna, to ſollicit the payment of the ſubſidy voted by the houſe of commons for the war in Spain, being on his departure for London, count Zinzendorf gave him likewiſe freſh inſtructions about the preſent juncture of affairs.

The Britiſh court having, on the 25th of May, O. S. received an expreſs from Holland, the queen did not come, as uſual, to St. James's chapel, but held a council at Kenſington. Two days after the baron de Hohendorf arrived in London, and in the afternoon was in conference with the lord-treaſurer, who gave him fair hopes. The ſame after-

noon

1712. noon Van Borſelen, envoy from the ſtates, was alſo in conference with the treaſurer on the ſubject of what he had repreſented the evening before in a private audience (y); upon which orders were ſent to the duke of Ormond to concur with the general of the allies in a ſiege. In the mean time the news of what had happened in the army being ſpread abroad, and having occaſioned a general ſurprize, the lord Hallifax acquainted the houſe of peers, "That he had mat-
May 27, O. S. "ters of great importance to lay before them;" and deſired, that the members might be ſummoned to attend the ſervice of the houſe the next day. The peers being in a full houſe on the 28th of May, the lord Hallifax made a ſpeech, wherein he firſt took notice of the ſtrange declaration made in the army by the duke of Ormond: then ſhewed the ill conſequences of ſuch a proceeding, and the neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigour; and concluded with a motion for an addreſs, "humbly to deſire her majeſty to lay before the "houſe the orders ſhe had ſent to the general, and to order "him to act offenſively in concert with the allies." When he had done ſpeaking, ſome objections were raiſed as to the matter of fact; but though the lord Hallifax did not want proofs, having among others, a copy of prince Eugene's letter, yet he did not think proper to produce it; and ſome other whig lords contented themſelves with preſſing thoſe in the miniſtry to acquaint the houſe, Whether any orders of reſtraint had been ſent to the duke of Ormond? The treaſurer, who was moſt concerned in this affair, anſwered, "That they, who "had the honour to ſerve the queen, could not reveal the "orders ſhe gave to her general, without a particular di-"rection from her majeſty; and that, in his opinion, thoſe "orders were not fit to be divulged. That however, he would "adventure to ſay, that, if the duke of Ormond had refuſed "to act offenſively, he did not doubt, but he had followed "his inſtructions: and it was prudence not to hazard a bat-"tle upon the point of concluding a good peace, eſpecially "conſidering they had to deal with an enemy ſo apt to "break his word." The earl of Wharton ſaid, "He was "extremely glad to find that noble lord ſo candid, as to ac-"knowledge the inſincerity of France: But that, in his opi-"nion, this was a ſtrong reaſon for keeping no meaſures with

Debate about the duke of Ormond's declining to act. Pr. H. L.

(y) The treaſurer, among other things, ſaid to him, when he complained of the biſhop of Briſtol's declarations, "The biſhop "was certainly in a very bad hu-"mour, when he talked at that "rate." Burnet, Vol. II. 608.

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" ſuch an enemy, but rather for puſhing him with the ut- 1712.
" moſt vigour, till he was reduced to the neceſſity of dealing
" honeſtly." The treaſurer replied, " Tho' the duke of
" Ormond might have refuſed to hazard a general action,
" yet he could be poſitive, he would not decline joining with
" the allies in a ſiege, orders having been ſent him for that
" purpoſe." The duke of Marlborough ſaid, " He did not
" know how to reconcile the orders, not to hazard a battle,
" and to join in a ſiege, to the rules of war; ſince it was
" impoſſible to make a ſiege, without either hazarding a bat-
" tle, in caſe the enemy attempted to relieve the place, or
" ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege." The duke of Argyle, on
" the other hand, excuſed the orders given to the duke of
" Ormond, and, among other things, ſaid, " That, in his
" opinion, ſince the time of Julius Cæſar, there had not been
" a greater captain than prince Eugene of Savoy: but that,
" nevertheleſs, conſidering the different intereſts of the houſe
" of Auſtria and of Great-Britain, it might not conſiſt with
" prudence to truſt him with the management of the war,
" becauſe a battle, won or loſt, might intirely break off a
" negociation of peace, which, in all probability, was near
" being concluded. That, according to his knowledge, no-
" thing was more uncertain than the iſſue of a battle, where
" victory was ſtill wavering, and ſo often changed ſides, that
" they, who, after five or ſix ſucceſsful charges, thought
" themſelves ſure of gaining the day, had at laſt been routed
" and put to flight. Adding, that two years before the con-
" federates might have taken Arras or Cambray, inſtead of
" amuſing themſelves, with the inſignificant conqueſts of
" Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant." The earl of Notting-
ham declared on the other ſide, " That he could not com-
" prehend why orders had been given to our general not to
" fight, unleſs certain perſons were apprehenſive of weaken-
" ing the French, ſo far as to diſable them to aſſiſt them in
" bringing about deſigns, which they durſt not yet own."
The duke of Devonſhire ſaid on the ſame ſide, " That, by
" the proximity of blood, he was more concerned for
" the duke of Ormond's reputation than any other; and
" therefore he could not forbear declaring, he was ſurprized
" to ſee any one dare to make a nobleman of the firſt rank,
" and of ſo diſtinguiſhed a character, the inſtrument of ſuch
" a proceeding." The earl Pawlet anſwered, " That no
" body could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage and
" bravery; but that he was not like a certain general, who
" led troops to the ſlaughter, to cauſe a great number of

" officers

1712. " officers to be knocked on the head in a battle, or againſt " ſtone walls, in order to fill his pockets, by diſpoſing of " their commiſſions." This reflection, ſo viſibly levelled at the duke of Marlborough, could not but very ſenſibly affect him; but he reſtrained his reſentment for a while, and remained ſilent (z). On the other hand, the lord Cowper made a long ſpeech, wherein he complained of their being kept ſo long in the dark about the progreſs of a negotiation of peace; and ſome other whig lords having preſſed the earl of Strafford to give the houſe an account of it, he excuſed himſelf, as not having the queen's orders for it. But the treaſurer aſſured them, " That, in a few days, her majeſty, according to her " promiſe, would lay before her parliament the conditions, " he doubted not would give intire ſatisfaction to every mem- " ber of that houſe, and to all true Engliſhmen." Some lords having declared their apprehenſions of a ſeparate peace; the treaſurer aſſured them, " that nothing of that nature was

(z) As ſoon as the houſe was up, the lord Mohun went to the earl Pawlet, and told him, that the duke of Marlborough deſired to have an eclairciſment with his lordſhip, about ſome expreſſions he had uſed in that day's debate; and therefore deſired him to go and take the air in the country. The earl, who readily underſtood the meaning of ſuch an eclairciſment, aſked my lord Mohun, Whether he brought him a challenge? To which he anſwered, That his meſſage wanted no explanation, and that he would accompany the duke of Marlborough. The earl Pawlet being returned home, with ſome emotion, and having given his lady a hint of what had paſſed, the earl of Dartmouth, ſecretary of ſtate, was ſoon acquainted with it; and went immediately to the duke of Marlborough, and deſired him not to ſtir abroad. At the ſame time, his lordſhip cauſed two centries to be placed at the earl Pawlet's houſe; and, having informed the queen of the whole affair, her majeſty ſent him back to the duke of Marlborough, to deſire him, that this might go no further. His grace gave his word of honour, that he would comply with her majeſty's commands: but, though this quarrel ended without bloodſhed, yet many began to apprehend the conſequences of the heats and animoſities of the two parties, which daily increaſed. The duke of Marlborough was afterwards ſeverely cenſured, 'for ſetting the 'example of party-duels:' but, on the other hand, the tongues of moſt people were very free with the duke of Ormond: and, to this purpoſe, we may take notice, that, an alehouſe-keeper in Weſtminſter, having, either for a jeſt-ſake, or out of mere ſimplicity, ſet up for his ſign his grace's head, with this inſcription, the 'General of Peace,' the government ordered the ſame to be taken down.

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ever intended; and that such a peace would be so base, 1712.
so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one, who
served the queen, knew, they must answer it with their
heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a safe
and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest
of the nation, than the preliminaries, that were agreed to
three years before. He also affirmed, that the allies knew
of it, and were satisfied with it." The lord Halifax, observing the disposition of the house, would have dropped his motion, without dividing; but the court-party, being sure of a majority, insisted to have the question for adjourning the debate, which being carried in the affirmative by sixty-eight voices against forty, twenty-five of the latter entered their protests against the orders given to the duke of Ormond (a). This point being gained, the earl of Strafford suggested, "That, before the house entered upon the negotiation

(a) They were to this purpose: 1. That their lordships conceived such an order, as was proposed in the question, to be absolutely necessary, because they were convinced, that the duke of Ormond lay under some order of restraint from acting offensively, not only from the accounts, which were public both here and in Holland, of his declaring it, to prince Eugene, and to the deputies of the states at their late consultations, when both prince Eugene and those deputies earnestly pressed him to join in attacking the French army, which was then known to be much inferior to that of the allies, both in the number and condition of their troops; but also, for that nothing of this whole matter was denied by those lords, who had the means of knowing these facts, as undoubtedly would have been without scruple, had not the facts been true; since no scruple was made of acquainting the house with a subsequent order very lately sent to the duke of Ormond, allowing him to join in a siege: which was a further evidence, that he had before some order of restraint; for otherwise this last order would be unnecessary and absurd; it being a general and a constant, and a standing instruction to every commander in chief by land or sea, to do his utmost endeavour to annoy the enemy. And it is manifest by this last order, that, even in the opinion of the ministers, it was expedient to take off this restraint by some degree; and the leaving the duke of Ormond still under a restraint from giving battle to the French, seemed most unaccountable and inconsistent with the liberty indulged to him, of joining in a siege, and rendering it altogether useless. For no place, when taken, could be of such advantage to the allies as Cambray, which opens a free passage for our army into the heart of France; and it was impossible to besiege that place, without dislodging the French from their incampments; and this also was impossible, if the French would

1712. "tiation of Utrecht, they would do well to examine into "those of the Hague and Gertruydenberg; upon which he

keep their ground. Other attempts ſeemed to be of little uſe, but might ſerve to give the French time, which they did not want ſkill to improve.

2. That they conceived it would be derogatory to her majeſty's honour, to public faith, and that juſtice, which was due to her allies; and that it was a ſort of impoſing upon our allies a ceſſation of arms, without their conſent, and in the moſt prejudicial manner, becauſe they were not ſo much as acquainted with it, and ſo might have been led into great difficulties: beſides, that it fruſtrates all eſſential advantages againſt the common enemy, which might be of fatal conſequence to this nation and all Europe.

3. Becauſe it was acknowledged, that a general peace was not concluded, as indeed it was very unlikely it ſhould, there having been no anſwers in writing given by the French to the ſpecific demands of the allies, though the ſame were delivered to the French three months ago. And it was further declared, 'That there 'was no ſeparate peace; nay that 'ſuch a peace would be fooliſh, 'knaviſh, and villainous.' And therefore, while we were in war, and having no ſecurity of a peace, their lordſhips conceived, that ſuch an order of reſtraint was a plain neglect of all thoſe happy opportunities, which providence might, and lately did put into our hands, of ſubduing our enemy, and forcing him to a juſt and honourable peace. And ſurely it was imprudent and dangerous to rely on the promiſes of France, which were ſo far from being any ſecurity, that even a peace would not be ſafe in their opinion, unleſs it be ſuch, as gave ſo full ſatisfaction to the allies, that they ſhould be willing to join with us in a mutual guaranty of it.

That her majeſty having with great wiſdom declared to this parliament, 'that the beſt means of 'obtaining a good peace was to 'make early preparations for 'war, and a vigorous proſecu'tion of it:' And ſince the parliament has with great duty and deference to her majeſty, and a juſt zeal for the intereſts of their country, and of Europe, given very great ſupplies for that purpoſe; their lordſhips conceived, that ſuch an order of reſtraint, being very different from that declaration of her majeſty, muſt be the effect of very ill advice; by which the parliament's good intentions would be defeated, and all thoſe heavy loads of taxes, which they have ſo good purpoſes chearfully given, rendered fruitleſs and unneceſſary, and might, in concluſion, after having thus triſled away our wealth and time, bring us into a neceſſity of accepting ſuch a peace, as it ſhould pleaſe an inſolent and domineering enemy to give us.

This proteſt was publiſhed likewiſe abroad in French and other languages; and the peers, who ſigned it, were the dukes of Devonſhire, Marlborough, Rutland, Bolton, Mountague, and Somerſet; the marquis of Dorcheſter; the

"he would communicate to them two obſervations he had 1712.
"made during his reſidence in Holland: Firſt, that, at the
"Hague, the French miniſters conferred only with the pen-
"ſionary, who, having made his report to the ſtates-gene-
"ral, communicated no more of it to the miniſters of the
"allies, than what was judged proper to let them know; ſo
"that the Dutch were abſolute maſters of the ſecret of that
"negotiation, as they were afterwards of that of Gertruy-
"denberg (b). Secondly, that the ſtates-general had con-
"ſented to give Naples and Sicily to king Philip; which
"ſhewed, even at that time, that the recovery of the whole
"monarchy of Spain was looked upon as impracticable."
He ſaid, he had his information from one of the two, who
had been employed in thoſe conferences; by which it was
plain, that he meant Prior. He concluded with a motion
for addreſſing her majeſty, "That ſhe would be pleaſed to
"cauſe the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague
"and Gertruydenberg to be laid before the houſe;" which
was carried without dividing. But nothing followed upon
this; for it was ſaid to be deſigned only to amuſe the
houſe.

The ſame day the lords were on this debate, there was another on the ſame ſubject in the houſe of commons, where Mr. Pulteney moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to her "majeſty, to acquaint her, that her faithful commons were "juſtly alarmed at the intelligences received from abroad, "that her general in Flanders had declined to act offenſively "againſt France, in concurrence with her allies. And, be-"ing under the deepeſt concern for the dangerous conſe-"quences, which muſt ariſe from thence to the common "cauſe, they beſought her majeſty, that ſpeedy inſtructions "might be given to her general, to proſecute the war with "the utmoſt vigour, in conjunction with her allies, as the

Debate on the ſame ſubject in the houſe of commons. Pr. H. C.

the earls of Wharton, Derby, Nottingham, Bridgewater, Godolphin, Carliſle, Orford, and Scarborough; the lord viſcount Townſhend; the lords biſhops of Oxford, Sarum, Bangor, and St. Aſaph; and the lords Rockingham, Cowper, Haverſham, Mohun, and Halifax.

(b) The lord Townſhend had informed the houſe, that thoſe who treated with the French at Gertruydenberg, did, at their return, give an account of their negotiation to the miniſters of the allies, in the penſioner's preſence, before they reported it to the ſtates themſelves: but upon this, the earl of Stra[illegible]ord ſaid, they had been firſt ſecretly with the penſioner, who directed them both what to ſay, and what to ſuppreſs. Burn. Vol. II. 607.

1712. "beſt means to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace for her "majeſty, and all of them, and to quiet the minds of the "people, who could not but be extremely apprehenſive of "the fatal conſequence of ſuch a diviſion." Upon this motion, Mr. St. John gave the commons much the ſame aſſurances the treaſurer had given the lords; and in anſwer to what was ſuggeſted by a member, "That the preſent ne"gotiation had been carried on in a clandeſtine and trea"cherous manner," he ſaid, "He hoped, it would not be "accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of "Great-Britain: that he gloried in the ſmall ſhare he had "in this negotiation; and, whatever cenſure he might un"dergo for it, the bare ſatisfaction of acting in that view "would be a ſufficient recompence and comfort to him all "his life-time." After ſome other ſpeeches on both ſides, Mr. Pulteney's motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and three voices againſt ſeventy-three; and it was reſolved, "That the commons had an intire confidence in "her majeſty's promiſe to communicate to her parliament "the terms of the peace, before the ſame ſhould be con"cluded; and that they would ſupport her againſt all ſuch "perſons, either at home or abroad, who ſhould endeavour
May 30. "to obſtruct it." This reſolution having been laid before the queen by the whole houſe, "her majeſty thanked the "commons moſt heartily for it, as being dutiful to her, "honeſt to their country, and very ſeaſonable at this time; "when ſo many artifices were uſed to obſtruct a good peace, "or to force one diſadvantageous to Britain." On the ſecond of June they alſo reſolved, in imitation of the lords, to addreſs the queen, "for an account of the negotiations and "tranſactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and who "were then employed as her majeſty's plenipotentiaries."

Negotiations about the renunciation and ceſſation of arms.

While the diſputes, that had been raiſed at Utrecht, were induſtriouſly kept on foot, the negotiations were carrying on directly between England and France; and the two great points upon the anvil were the renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy, and the ceſſation of arms.

The firſt mention, made of the renunciation in order to be treated of, is found in a memorial dated March 28, 1712, intitled, The anſwer to the Memorial brought by Mr. Gaultier the 23d of March 1711-12. This memorial, which was received in France the 23d of March, was ſuppreſſed, but the contents of it may in great meaſure be collected from the anſwer that was given to it. As the general propoſal, that the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united, aroſe

first,

first from England, and was made an article in the private propoſitions ſent over by Mr. Prior; ſo the expedient for preventing that union, namely, a renunciation, was alſo firſt propoſed by England (c). In the anſwer to Gaultier's memorial, Torcy declares in the ſtrongeſt terms, "That the "renunciation deſired would be null and invalid by the fundamental laws of France, according to which the neareſt "prince to the crown is of neceſſity the heir thereto. It is "an inheritance, that he receives neither from the king his "predeceſſor, nor from the people, but from the benefit of "the law; ſo that, when one king dies, the other ſucceeds "him forthwith, without aſking the conſent of any perſon "whatſoever. He ſucceeds not as heir, but as the maſter "of the kingdom, the ſeignory whereof belongs unto him, "not by choice, but by right of birth only. He is not be-"holden for his crown either to the will of his predeceſſor, "or to any edict, nor to any decree, nor to the liberality "of any perſon, but to the law. This law is looked upon as the work of him, who hath eſtabliſhed all monarchies; and we are perſuaded in France, that God only "can aboliſh it. No renunciation therefore can deſtroy it; "and, if the king of Spain ſhould renounce for the ſake of "peace, and in obedience to the king his grandfather, they "would deceive themſelves, who received it as a ſufficient "expedient to prevent the miſchief we propoſe to avoid." He then gives an account of the diſpoſition made of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain by king Philip, and regiſtered in the councils of Spain; which diſpoſition he propoſed might be confirmed by the preſent treaty of peace, and ratified by the Cortes or ſtates of the kingdom of Spain. Mr. St. John in his anſwer rejected this propoſal, and not at all convinced by what Torcy had ſo ſtrongly urged, concerning the nullity of the renunciation, inſiſted ſtill upon it. "We "are ready," ſays he, "to believe you are perſuaded in

1712.

(c) It is obſerved here, in the report of the committee of ſecrecy in 1715, The ſenſe of France and Spain upon that important article was not known, nor ſo much as aſked, although in every ſtep France had given plain indications, that the crown of Spain was to remain to king Philip. And it is ſurprizing, that the Britiſh miniſtry had gone ſuch lengths in promoting the meaſures of France, without taking the leaſt precaution, or having any ſatisfaction concerning the monarchy of Spain, wherein the intereſt of Great-Britain was, by their own confeſſion, more immediately concerned, than in all their other articles of peace.

1712. "France, that God alone can aboliſh that law, upon which "your right of ſucceſſion is founded; but you will give us "leave to be perſuaded in Great-Britain, that a prince may "depart from his right by a voluntary ceſſion; and that "he, in favour of whom that renunciation is made, may "be juſtly ſupported in his pretenſions by the powers, that "become guarantees of the treaty. In ſhort, ſir, the queen "commands me to tell you, that this article is of ſo great "conſequence, as well for herſelf as the reſt of Europe, "for this preſent age as for poſterity, that ſhe will never "agree to continue the negotiations of peace, unleſs the "expedient ſhe has propoſed be accepted, or ſome other e-"qually ſolid." Torcy, in his anſwer to this letter, begins to think it not impoſſible to find an expedient, to ſettle this grand affair; and propoſes, that, when the king of Spain ſhall become either immediate ſucceſſor, or preſumptive heir to the crown of France, he ſhall then declare the choice he intends to make; either to maintain his right to the crown of France, or to keep that of Spain: that king Philip ſhall become party to the treaty, wherein the ſucceſſion to the two crowns ſhall be likewiſe ſettled; and that all the powers of Europe ſhall enter into an engagement with France to maintain it. Mr. St. John reaſons againſt this propoſal, and inſiſts, that no expedient can effectually ſecure Europe from the dangers, wherewith it is threatened by the union of the two monarchies, unleſs the prince, who is at preſent in poſſeſſion of Spain, makes his choice at this very inſtant; and, upon a ſuppoſition, that the crown of Spain would be his choice, that this declaration ſhould be made during the congreſs at Utrecht. Torcy, ſeeming always to comply with what was deſired, agrees, that the catholic king muſt calm the uneaſineſs of Europe, in declaring, from the preſent time, what part he will take, if ever the ſucceſſion of France is open in his favour. That the inconveniencies ariſing from hence muſt ſubmit to the public good. "Thus, ſir, (ſays "Torcy to Mr. St. John) the king, approving your propoſiti-"on, diſpatches a courier to Spain, and writes to the king his "grandſon, to let him know the neceſſity of reſolving on "the choice he ſhall make, and to declare it; to the end it "may be inſerted in the treaty of the general peace, and "be made a condition of it, whereof all Europe ſhall be "guaranty." And he promiſes to uſe all poſſible means, even force, if it were neceſſary, to make the king of Spain agree to it. He hopes this propoſition will, in a great meaſure, remove all difficulties; and, as they muſt expect new ob-

obſtructions from thoſe, who would willingly break the con- 1712.
ferences, he believes the beſt way to diſappoint their deſigns would be, for the queen of Great-Britain to propoſe immediately a ſuſpenſion of arms; for they grounded their hopes upon the events of a campaign. Mr. St. John, in his anſwer to this letter, treats this propoſal as liable to all the objections of the former, and argues thus upon it: "Although "the king of Spain ſhould at this inſtant declare his choice, "What greater ſecurity will Europe have, if the execution "of that choice be deferred to another time? In offering, "that he ſhall be obliged to declare his choice at this preſent "time, you agree; that neither the ſtipulations of a treaty, "nor the guaranty of the powers engaged in the preſent "war, would be ſufficient to ſecure that the choice ſhall be "made. How then can we conclude, that they will be ſuf- "ficient to ſecure, that when the caſe ſhall happen, he ſhall "quit one crown to accept of the other, according to the choice "which he ſhall now make? The queen has often declared, "that it will be impoſſible for her to be content with any ex- "pedient, which ſhall not be very ſolid, upon an article of "ſo great an importance as the union of the two monarchies. "This would be to loſe the fruit of all the blood, which "the allies had ſpilt in the courſe of this war. This "would be to betray the common cauſe of Europe, and to "expoſe both the preſent age and poſterity to greater dan- "gers, than it is poſſible to imagine." In ſhort, he inſiſts, that they muſt take care, that the time ſhall never be, when the ſame prince ſhall have the crown of Spain upon his head, and the ſucceſſion to the crown of France open to him. He at laſt propoſes, "That, if the king of Spain "prefers the expectation of the crown of France to the pre- "ſent poſſeſſion of Spain, in ſuch caſe he ſhall withdraw "forthwith with his family out of Spain, the poſſeſſion of "which, and the Indies, ſhall be given to the duke of Sa- "voy; that king Philip ſhould have the kingdom of Sicily "and the hereditary dominions of the duke of Savoy, to- "gether with the Montferrat and Mantua, all which domi- "nions he ſhould remain poſſeſſed of, tho' he became king "of France, excepting Sicily; which, in that caſe, ſhould "return to the houſe of Auſtria."

Monſieur de Torcy, ſtill ſeeming to comply with the May, 18. N. S.
meaſures of England, ſhews the great hardſhip, which the king of Spain muſt undergo, in ſacrificing his own and the intereſt of his family for the eſtabliſhing a general peace. However, the king of France would ſend to him to know his mind upon the two alternatives. In the mean time, the

1712. king of France promiſes, that the treaty of peace ſhall be made upon the foundation of one of theſe two propoſitions; either that the king of Spain ſhall renounce his right to the crown of France, and keep Spain and the Indies; or, if he prefers his expectation upon France, he ſhall quit Spain and the Indies to the duke of Savoy, in exchange for the preſent dominions of the duke of Savoy, &c. as propoſed by Mr. St. John. He hopes, by this promiſe of the king of France, all uncertainties are removed; and ſubmits to the queen's wiſdom, to conſider what method will be moſt conducive to the general good. "It will (ſays he) be very unhappy, if "any event, during the campaign, ſhall fall out to diſturb "the good diſpoſitions, that are ſeen at preſent, for eſta-"bliſhing the public repoſe."

Remarks on this negotiation.

This correſpondence between the two ſecretaries, for preventing the union of the two kingdoms, carried on from about the middle of March to the 18th of May, 1712, ended at laſt, juſt as it began; and king Philip choſe to make the renunciation. Torcy giving the Britiſh miniſters ſuch early notice, and telling them ſo very plainly, that what they aſked was utterly inſufficient, and would be for ever deemed, by the unalterable laws of France, null and void, is very remarkable. His dexterity in managing that part of the negotiation, in ſeeming always to comply, and deſirous to come as near as poſſible to the propoſals made from hence, and ſubmitting at laſt, ſince Great-Britain would have it ſo, to the renunciation ſo peremptorily inſiſted on, is no leſs obſervable. But it is unaccountable, how the Engliſh miniſtry, when they were expreſsly told, thoſe would deceive themſelves, who ſhould accept of a renunciation, as a ſufficient expedient to prevent the union of the two monarchies; when they laid it down as a principle never to be departed from, that the union of the two monarchies would be the greateſt miſchief, that could poſſibly happen to all Europe, and to Great-Britain in particular; ſhould ſtill perſevere in relying upon this expedient of a renunciation. Beſides, no care was taken to render effectual the two only expedients, that were ever propoſed for adding any degree of real ſecurity to the renunciation; which were, to have it ſolemnly accepted by the ſtates of France; and to have it confirmed by a general guaranty of all the powers of Europe engaged in the preſent war. The firſt was aſked indeed; but, upon the refuſal of France, was intirely given up by the Britiſh miniſtry. The ſecond, by their method of negotiating, and their treatment of the allies, was from that very time rendered impracticable,

practicable, as the French could not but foresee. It must be remembered, that, a few days after this answer of monsieur de Torcy was received, Mr. St. John sent orders to the British plenipotentiaries to declare to the states-general, that the queen was now under no farther obligations whatsoever to them, who, with the rest of the allies, were to be guarantees of this treaty. To this may be added a passage, in a letter from the plenipotentiaries to Mr. St. John, acquainting him, that in some discourse with the marshal d'Uxelles, upon occasion of the death of the dauphin, they desired to know of him, what those measures are, which France offers to take, in order to prevent the union of the two kingdoms; and whether they were to consist in real or verbal securities; upon which the French minister pretended to know of no other but verbal. The then suggested to Mr. St. John, that an obligation upon king Philip to renounce the regency as well as the crown of France, for himself and his posterity, would amount to some degree of real security. But no endeavours were used to obtain this, nor any mention made of it, as far as appears. 1712.

Torcy's letter of the 18th of May, N. S. was received by Mr. St. John the 9th of May, O. S. and the promise of the king of France, to oblige his grandson to accept the alternative of the two kingdoms, had so good and sudden an effect, that the day following, without waiting the return of the courier from Madrid, to know whether king Philip did consent or not to the proposal, orders were sent, on the 10th of May, to the duke of Ormond, by Mr. St. John, to avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle till further order. And, the same day, that these orders were sent, with directions to disguise them, which was to conceal them from the confederates, they were communicated to the queen's enemies. "Abbot Gaultier will give you an account (says "Mr. St. John to Torcy) of the orders I have just now "dispatched to the duke of Ormond." What Mr. St. John himself thought of the importance of this order, is to be learned from his letter to Mr. Prior, September 19, 1712; "The moment I read the queen a letter from monsieur de "Torcy, by which it appeared, that the king of France "would oblige his grandson to accept of the alternative of "quitting one of the two monarchies, her orders were dis-"patched to the duke, to engage in neither siege nor bat-"tle; and she prevented the French from even making the "demand. I will not say, that this order saved their army "from being beat; but I think, in my conscience, that it did."

On

1712. On the 24th of May, 1712, Mr. St. John writes again to Torcy, that although they had yet received no answer from Madrid concerning the renunciation, but being preſſed in time, and finding it neceſſary for the queen to make the communication ſhe had promiſed, to the parliament, of the terms, on which a peace might be made, he acquaints him with the ſteps, which the queen was reſolved to take, provided the moſt chriſtian king would render them practicable for her. And in a memorial of the ſame date, he ſpecifies the conditions, upon which the queen conſents to make ſuch important ſteps and deciſive declarations to her parliament: "First, That ſhe had ſettled with France the intereſt of "Great-Britain. Secondly, That ſhe looks upon the in-"tereſts of the other powers engaged with her in the war, "as eaſy to be adjuſted, ſince the king offers to the greateſt "part of them very near what they have demanded, and "to all a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. Thirdly, That "ſhe will ſet about accommodating the affairs of her allies; "and, that to prevent all the obſtructions which the events of "the campaign might occaſion to the negotiations of peace, "ſhe agreed with the king to a ſuſpenſion of arms." The conditions ſpecified in the memorial were demands relating to North-America, to commerce, and the ſuſpenſion of arms. In the article concerning commerce, it is ſaid, "That ſeveral points relating to trade requiring a longer "diſcuſſion than the preſent criſis would admit; and the "queen being much more intent upon ſecuring the general "peace, than any particular advantages, demands at pre-"ſent only the two following conditions: Firſt, That com-"miſſaries ſhould be named on both ſides to meet at Lon-"don, there to examine and ſettle the duties and impoſiti-"ons to be paid reſpectively in each kingdom. Secondly, "That no privileges or advantages, relating to commerce "with France, ſhall be yielded to any foreign nation, which "ſhall not at the ſame time be granted to the ſubjects of "her Britannic majeſty; as likewiſe no privilege or advan-"tage, in relation to the trade of Great-Britain, ſhall be "yielded to any foreign nation, which ſhall not at the ſame "time be granted to the ſubjects of France." As to the ſuſpenſion of arms, "her majeſty will conſent, it ſhall be "made for two months, provided, firſt, that within the "ſaid term the king of Spain ſhall either make the renun-"ciation demanded, or ſhall yield Spain to the duke of "Savoy, upon the conditions mentioned in Mr. St. John's "letter. Secondly, That the French garriſon ſhall evacuate "Dun-

" Dunkirk, and the queen's troops be admitted the ſame 1712.
" day that the ſuſpenſion of arms ſhall commence. Thirdly,
" That, in caſe the ſtates-general ſhall at the ſame time
" conſent to the ſuſpenſion of arms, it ſeems reaſonable they
" ſhould have the liberty of putting a garriſon into Cam-
" bray." It may be remarked upon theſe conditions, that although it was daily inſtilled into the minds of the people, that the great advantages in trade and commerce ſecured to Great-Britain were the chief inducements to the miniſtry to engage in theſe meaſures with France, it is here declared, that they were more intent upon the general peace than any particular advantages. And whereas it was laid down as a principle, from which the queen would never depart, that the intereſts of Great-Britain ſhould in the firſt place be adjuſted, and the great advantages ſtipulated for theſe nations before the concluſion of the peace, were to juſtify the peace, and all the ſteps that were taken to procure it; it is now evident, that no mention was made of our trade in Spain; and, as for our commerce in general, the ſettling of that was poſtponed, and all points in diſpute betwixt Great-Britain and France were to be referred to commiſſaries; which propoſition was not demanded, but voluntarily offered by Mr. St. John. On the 8th of June, 1712, N. S. Torcy ſent an account, " That the king of Spain, of the two pro-
" poſitions, had choſen to keep Spain and the Indies, and
" to renounce for himſelf and his deſcendants the right to
" the crown of France. That, this principal obſtacle to
" the peace being removed, the king of France expected,
" that the queen would now clear on her ſide the reſt of the
" difficulties, which might obſtruct this great work, by
" making ſuch declarations, as had been promiſed upon the
" return of the courier from Madrid, and were neceſſary
" for this end. That the king thought the firſt and moſt
" urgent was to ſettle a ſuſpenſion of arms, either general,
" or at leaſt between the two armies in the Low-Countries,
" which may continue till the concluſion of the peace."
On the 10th of June, N. S. Torcy acknowledges the receipt of Mr. St. John's letter of the 24th of May, O. S. together with the memorial; and ſends another memorial in anſwer to it, containing the king of France's anſwer to theſe laſt demands of the queen. He takes notice, " That the let-
" ters from the army mention a deſign to inveſt Queſnoy,
" in order to beſiege it; but, that the king could not think,
" that the queen approved of ſuch an undertaking, much
" leſs that her troops ſhould be employed to render it ſuc-
" ceſsful.

1712. "ceſsful. He concludes, that, if the ſuſpenſion be not "immediately made, we may find ourſelves indiſpenſably "drawn into ſome great event, which he hopes the ſecre- "ry's prudence and care will prevent." And altho' in the anſwer to the queen's demands, nothing material, that was aſked for our trade in North-America, was granted, the evacuating of Dunkirk, and admitting an Engliſh garriſon was not agreed to, and the receiving a Dutch garriſon into Cambray was abſolutely refuſed, which were propoſed as conditions of the ſuſpenſion of arms; Torcy hopes, "that this return to the queen's demands will occaſion no "new trouble; but as the beginning and whole courſe of "this negotiation was carried on upon a mutual confidence, "of which they had ſeen the good effects; it is neceſſary "to baniſh all diſtruſt, and the queen to repoſe an intire "confidence in his majeſty, without inſiſting on demands, "which may ſerve only to create jealouſies."

On the 6th of June, O. S. Mr. St. John owns the receipt of Torcy's two letters of the 8th and 18th of June, N. S. and ſays, though the king of France had not anſwered the queen's demands according to expectation, which were the conditions, on which the queen was to make ſuch peremptory and deciſive declarations; yet the queen would not defer going that day to parliament, and making all the declarations, that were neceſſary to render the nation unanimouſly inclined to the peace. That ſhe had not indeed mentioned to the parliamen the ſuſpenſion of arms, but had commanded him to acquaint monſieur de Torcy with the reſolutions ſhe had taken in relation to it; and inſiſting upon the renunciation as the capital point of the negotiation; and for which her majeſty would rather depart from almoſt all the points that had been agreed upon, than leave that to any uncertainty. Upon this foundation the queen hopes, that the moſt chriſtian king will not find any thing offenſive in the demands, which ſhe found herſelf obliged to renew, being conditions for a ſuſpenſion of arms between the two armies in the Nertherlands; which, if the king conſents to (ſays Mr. St. John to Torcy) "you have only to ſign and ſend to "the duke of Ormond, who, at the ſame time that he "takes poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, will declare to the allies, "that he has orders to act no further againſt France. He "acquaints him, lord Strafford is going back to Utrecht; "the inſtructions he is to carry, will, according to your "wiſhes, put the queen's plenipotentiaries in a condition to "keep no longer thoſe meaſures, to which they have been

" hitherto obliged to ſubmit; but from henceforth they may 1712.
" openly join with France, and give law to thoſe, who will
" not ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable conditions; and promiſes,
" when lord Strafford is gone, he will diſpatch another
" courier to inform him of the orders he carries." The articles for a ſuſpenſion were ſigned by Mr. St. John, June 6, O. S. and the next day Mr. St. John writes a private letter to Torcy, expreſſing the utmoſt confidence in the good faith of the moſt chriſtian king; thinks it neceſſary to haſten the peace; tells him, it will frighten the Dutch, to be told, the queen will act no longer againſt France; and that, if they do not haſten to make their agreements, they will have a burden upon their backs, which they are not able to bear. On the ſame day, Mr. St. John ſends to the duke of Ormond copies of theſe two laſt letters, and of the memorial ſent to Torcy. " They have been (ſays he) prepared
" by the queen's order, in anſwer to the laſt expreſs, which
" came from France; and you will perceive by them, my
" lord, that the queen inſiſts on the execution of the article
" relating to Spain, and on the delivery of Dunkirk, as
" points, without which ſhe will not declare for a ceſſation
" of arms in the Netherlands: but, if theſe conditions are
" accepted, and ſent ſigned by the marquis de Torcy to
" your grace, and Dunkirk put into your poſſeſſion, you
" are publicly to own, that you can act no longer againſt
" the French. If they are not conſented to, you are in-
" tirely free from reſtraint, and at liberty to take all reaſona-
" ble meaſures, that are in your power for annoying the
" enemy. It is probable marſhal Villars may receive the
" orders, which will be ſent him from Verſailles, within a
" day after this letter will come to your hands. Your grace
" will therefore loſe no time in acquainting him, that you
" are in expectation of hearing from his court that, which
" muſt determine your proceedings: and that according
" to the king's reſolution, you are either to look upon your-
" ſelves on both ſides as freed from any reſtrictive orders, and
" in full liberty of acting againſt each other; or that you
" are openly to declare for a ceſſation." This order was in itſelf of a very extraordinary nature, though conditional and the Britiſh miniſtry ſeemed in very great haſte to give all up into the hands of France, when the queen's general, at the head of a confederate army in the field, at that time covering a ſiege, which the allies were engaged in, ſhould be ordered to govern himſelf according to ſuch ſignifications, as ſhould come from the court of France, and

1712. those transmitted to him by the general commanding the enemy's army, whose duty it was by force or stratagem to raise the siege, or gain any advantage he could over the allies.

On the 22d of June, N. S. an answer to the proposals last sent over was transmitted to Mr. St. John, signed by Torcy, with two alterations; one no less material, than whereas it was demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of France, which had been mentioned before as one of the chief securities to make it as effectual as any thing could, it is here substituted, that it shall be registered in the several parliaments: and to the article of Dunkirk is added, 'that all 'the king's officers, both land and sea-officers, shall have 'liberty to stay at Dunkirk, and to execute their several 'offices. And on the same day Torcy writes two letters, the one a public letter, explaining at large the alterations; the other a private letter to prevail with him to consent to these alterations: of which private correspondence carried on between the two secretaries there are several instances.

The queen's speech to both houses, containing the plan of peace. Pr. H. C.

Upon the foundation of these preliminaries, though not then fully settled, the queen, on Friday the 6th of June, came to the house of peers with the usual solemnity, and made the following speech to both houses:

My lords and gentlemen,

"THE making peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown; yet, such is the just confidence "I place in you, that at the opening of this session I acquainted you, that a negotiation for a general peace was "begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace, before the same "should be concluded.

"In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you "know upon what terms a general peace may be made.

"I need not mention the difficulties, which arise from the "very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that "these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, "artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

"Nothing however has moved me from steadily pursuing, "in the first place, the true interest of my own kingdoms, "and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to "our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is "necessary for their security.

"The

1712.

" The aſſuring of the proteſtant ſucceſſion as by law eſta-
" bliſhed in the houſe of Hanover to theſe kingdoms, being
" what I have neareſt at heart, particular care is taken,
" not only to have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms,
" but to have an additional ſecurity by the removal of that
" perſon out of the dominions of France, who has pretended
" to diſturb this ſettlement.

" The apprehenſion, that Spain and the Weſt-Indies
" might be united to France, was the chief inducement to
" begin this war; and the effectual preventing of ſuch
" an union was the principle I laid down at the commence-
" ment of this treaty.

" Former examples, and the late negotiations, ſufficient-
" ly ſhew how difficult it is to find means to accompliſh this
" work. I would not content myſelf with ſuch as are ſpe-
" culative, or depend on treaties only. I inſiſted on what
" is ſolid, and to have at hand the power of executing
" what ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, that France at laſt is
" brought to offer, that the duke of Anjou ſhall, for him-
" ſelf and his deſcendants, renounce for ever all claim to
" the crown of France. And, that this important article
" may be expoſed to no hazard, the performance is to ac-
" company the promiſe.

" At the ſame time the ſucceſſion to the crown of France
" is to be declared, after the death of the preſent dauphin
" and his ſons, to be in the duke of Berry and his ſons,
" in the duke of Orleans and his ſons, and ſo on the reſt of
" the houſe of Bourbon. As to Spain and the Indies, the
" ſucceſſion to thoſe dominions, after the duke of Anjou
" and his children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince, as ſhall be
" agreed upon at the treaty, for ever excluding the reſt of
" the houſe of Bourbon.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſettlements before
" mentioned, it is further offered, that they ſhall be ratified
" in the moſt ſtrong and ſolemn manner, both in France and
" Spain; and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other
" powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be guarantees to
" the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it executes it-
" ſelf. The intereſt of Spain is to ſupport it; and in France
" the perſons, to whom that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be
" ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

" France and Spain are now more effectually divided than
" ever. And thus, by the bleſſing of God, will a real ba-
" lance

1712. "lance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as "few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

"A treaty of commerce between theſe kingdoms and "France has been entered upon; but the exceſſive duties "laid on ſome goods, and the prohibitions of others, "make it impoſſible to finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to "be deſired. Care is however taken to eſtabliſh a method "of ſettling this matter; and in the mean time proviſion is "made, that the ſame privileges and advantages, as ſhall "be granted to any other nation by France, ſhall be grant-"ed in like manner to us.

"The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher between "us and the French, having been the cauſe of great incon-"venience and damage to my ſubjects, I have demanded to "have an abſolute ceſſion made to me of that whole iſland; "and France agrees to this demand.

"Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the trade of "North-America, that I have uſed my utmoſt endeavours "to adjuſt that article in the moſt beneficial manner. "France conſents to reſtore to us the whole bay and ſtraits "of Hudſon; to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland, "with Placentia; and to make an abſolute ceſſion of An-"napolis with the reſt of Nova Scotia or Acadia.

"The ſafety of our home-trade will be better provided "for by the demolition of Dunkirk.

"Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh intereſt and "influence in thoſe parts, will be ſecured by the poſſeſſion "of Gibraltar, and Port-Mahon, with the whole iſland of "Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

"The trade to Spain, and to the Weſt-Indies, may in "general be ſettled as it was in the time of the late king of "Spain, Charles II, and a particular proviſion be made that "all advantages, rights, and privileges, which have been "granted, or which may hereafter be granted, by Spain to "any other nation, ſhall be in like manner granted to the "ſubjects of Great Britain.

"But the part, which we have borne in the proſecution "of this war, intitling us to ſome diſtinction in the terms "of peace, I have inſiſted and obtained, that the Aſſiento "or contract for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies with "negroes, ſhall be made with us for the term of thirty years, "in the ſame manner as it has been enjoyed by the French "for theſe ten years paſt.

"I have not taken upon me to determine the intereſts of "our confederates. Theſe muſt be adjuſted in the congreſs at

" at Utrecht, where my beſt endeavours ſhall be employed, 1712.
" as they have hitherto been, to procure to every one of
" them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. In the mean
" time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France of-
" fers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield
" Briſac, the fort of Kehl; and Landau; and to raiſe all
" fortreſſes, both on the other ſide of the Rhine, and in
" that river.

" As to the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, there will be,
" on the part of France, no objection to the reſettling there-
" of, on the foot of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

" The Spaniſh Low-Countries may go to his imperial
" majeſty: the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy
" of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coaſt
" of Tuſcany, may likewiſe be yielded by the treaty of peace
" to the emperor.

" As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remains no
" diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it by the duke of Anjou,
" yet the diſpoſition thereof is not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the ſtates-general with reſpect to com-
" merce are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their
" own miniſters, with the exception only of ſome very few
" ſpecies of merchandize, and the intire barrier, as de-
" manded by the ſtates in 1709 from France, except two or
" three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients are pro-
" poſed; and I make no doubt, but this barrier may be ſo
" ſettled, as to render that republic perfectly ſecure againſt
" any enterprize on the part of France, which is the foun-
" dation of all my engagements upon this head with the
" ſtates.

" The demands of Portugal depending on the diſpoſition
" of Spain, and that article having been long in diſpute, it
" has not yet been poſſible to make any conſiderable pro-
" greſs therein; but my plenipotentiaries will now have an
" opportunity to aſſiſt that king in his pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the king of Pruſſia are ſuch, as, I hope, will
" admit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my
" endeavours ſhall not be wanting to procure all I am able
" to ſo good an ally.

" The difference between the barrier demanded for the
" duke of Savoy in 1709, and the offers now made by
" France, is very inconſiderable. But that prince having
" ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the com-

1712. "mon cauſe, I am endeavouring to procure for him ſtill
"further advantages.

"France has conſented that the elector Palatine ſhall
"continue his preſent rank among the electors, and remain
"in poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate.

"The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowledged in the
"houſe of Hanover, according to the articles inſerted, at
"that prince's deſire, in my demands.

"And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no doubt of
"being able to ſecure their ſeveral intereſts.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I have now communicated to you not only the terms
"of peace, which may by the future treaty be obtained for
"my own ſubjects, but likewiſe the propoſals of France for
"ſatisfying our allies.

"The former are ſuch, as I have reaſon to expect to
"make my people ſome amends for that great and unequal
"burden, which they have lain under through the whole
"courſe of this war; and I am willing to hope, that none
"of our confederates, and eſpecially thoſe, to whom ſo
"great acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue by
"this peace, will envy Great-Britain her ſhare in the glory
"and advantage of it.

"The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted, as a little
"more time might have rendered them; but the ſeaſon of
"the year making it neceſſary to put an end to this ſeſſion,
"I reſolved no longer to defer communicating theſe matters
"to you.

"I can make no doubt but you are all fully perſuaded,
"that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progreſs
"of this negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and
"ſpeedy iſſue; and I depend on your intire confidence in
"me, and your chearful concurrence with me."

The public ſurprized at the terms of peace in the queen's ſpeech.

This ſpeech occaſioned a general ſurprize, ſo that the public funds, which, upon the expectation of better conditions of peace, had that morning riſen four or five per cent. fell immediately to their former value. It was now eaſy to diſcern what reaſons induced ſome perſons to keep ſecret the reſult of the negotiation between Great-Britain and France; for, if ſuch a plan had been communicated to the parliament, before a majority had been ſecured in both houſes, and the minds of the people prepared by a long train of artful and plauſible

plausible insinuations, it would, in all probability, have been exploded with indignation. But, by the dexterity of the prime managers, things were brought to such a pass, that, though, in the house of commons, one or two members proposed the taking the important matters, mentioned in her majesty's speech, into consideration, they were presently silenced by a general cry for an address of thanks. It was unanimously resolved, "That an address be made to her majesty, acknowledging her great condescension in communicating the terms, upon which a general peace might be made; expressing the satisfaction of this house in what she had already done, and their intire confidence in her steady pursuing the true interest of her kingdoms, and in her endeavours to procure for all her allies what is due to them by treaties, and necessary for their security; and humbly to desire that she would be pleased to proceed in the present negotiation for the obtaining a speedy peace." A committee was appointed immediately to draw up that address, which Mr. Freeman, their chairman, soon after reported, and which, with some amendments, being agreed to, was presented by the whole house to the queen, who returned the following answer: 1712.

An address of thanks voted by the commons.

"I have the safety and interest of all my people so much at heart, that I cannot but take a great deal of pleasure in this your dutiful and prudent address; and I thank you most kindly for it.

"I have studied your welfare, and by this you will find the good effects of that confidence, which you place in me, and which ought always to remain between so affectionate a prince and such faithful subjects."

Things went not so smoothly in the house of peers. As soon as the queen was withdrawn, a motion being made for an address of thanks, the earl of Wharton said, "They had all the reason in the world to do it, especially for that part of her majesty's speech, wherein she was pleased to declare, That the assuring the protestant succession in the house of Hanover to these kingdoms, was what she had nearest at heart. But that her majesty's speech, containing many other particulars of the greatest consequence, he was of opinion, the house would do well to take it into serious consideration the next day;" which was readily agreed to. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, the earl of Wharton proposed, that the letter from the states-gene-

Proceedings of the peers on the queen's speech. Pr. H. L.

ral to the queen, inſerted in the ſupplement to the Amſterdam French Gazette, which arrived that very morning, might be read. But this was oppoſed, it being ſuggeſted, that the houſe ought not to take notice of a writing, that carried no authority with it. After this, the lords took the queen's ſpeech into conſideration, which occaſioned a warm debate. Among the reſt, the duke of Marlborough repreſented, "That the meaſures purſued in England, for a year "paſt, were directly contrary to her majeſty's engagements "with the allies, ſullied the triumphs and glories of her "reign, and would render the Engliſh name odious to all "other nations." The earl of Strafford ſaid, "That "ſome of the allies [meaning the Dutch] would not "ſhew ſuch backwardneſs to a peace, as they had hi-"therto done, but, for a member of that illuſtrious aſſem-"bly [meaning the duke of Marlborough] who maintain-"ed a ſecret correſpondence with, and endeavoured to "perſuade them to carry on the war; feeding them with "hopes, that they ſhould be ſupported by a ſtrong party "here." The lord Cowper anſwered this ſpeech; and, becauſe the earl of Strafford had not expreſſed himſelf with all the purity of the Engliſh tongue, he took occaſion to ſay, "That noble lord had been ſo long abroad, that he had "almoſt forgot, not only the language, but the conſtitu-"tion of his own country." That, according to our laws, "it could never be ſuggeſted as a crime in the meaneſt ſub-"ject, much leſs in any member of that auguſt aſſembly, "to hold correſpondence with our allies; ſuch allies eſpe-"cially, whoſe intereſt her majeſty had declared to be in-"ſeparable from her own, in her ſpeech at the opening of "this ſeſſion; whereas it would be a hard matter to juſtify "and reconcile, either with our laws, or the laws of ho-"nour and juſtice, the conduct of ſome perſons, in treating "clandeſtinely with the common enemy, without the par-"ticipation of the allies." The lords took afterwards into conſideration the advantages offered by France to Great Britain, particularly in ſettling 'the trade to Spain, and to 'the Weſt-Indies, as it was in the time of the late king of 'Spain, Charles II.' To this purpoſe the earl of Godolphin ſaid, "That he did not pretend to any great know-"ledge in trade; but that, during the time he had the ho-"nour to be in the adminiſtration of affairs, he had ob-"ſerved, and he could eaſily make it out by the books of "the Cuſtom-houſe, that the ſingle trade to Portugal "brought to England, in times of war, double the wealth

"of

" of the trade to Spain, in times of peace: ſo that, what- 1712.
" ever might be ſuggeſted, to caſt a miſt before the eyes of
" the people, it was to be preſumed that the trade to Spain
" would ſtill yield leſs for the future, becauſe the French
" had made themſelves abſolute maſters of it." After ſome other ſpeeches a motion was made, " That an addreſs be
" preſented to her majeſty, to return her the thanks of this
" houſe for her moſt gracious ſpeech, and for her extraor-
" dinary condeſcenſion in communicating to her parliament
" the terms, upon which a general peace might be made;
" and to expreſs the intire ſatisfaction of that houſe in her
" great care for ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the
" houſe of Hanover; and for her ſteady purſuing the true
" intereſt of her own kingdoms; and for endeavouring to
" procure to her allies what was due to them by treaties;
" and to aſſure her, that this houſe did intirely rely on her
" wiſdom to finiſh this great and good work." Some exceptions were made to the words 'intirely rely;' and the houſe was moved, as the houſe of commons had likewiſe been upon the ſame occaſion, that theſe words might be added, " And in order to that, that her majeſty would take
" ſuch meaſures, in concert with her allies, as might induce
" them to join with her majeſty in a mutual guaranty."
This occaſioned a debate, in which the lord-treaſurer and earl Pawlet ſpoke againſt that addition, and the earl of Nottingham and the lord Cowper for it. It was urged in oppoſition to this clauſe, that it would ſubject the queen and the whole treaty to the pleaſure of the allies, who might prove backward and intractable: and, ſince England had borne the greateſt ſhare of the burthen of the war, it was reaſonable that the queen ſhould be the arbiter of the peace. On the other hand it was ſaid, that if the allies did not enter into a guaranty, we muſt depend on the faith of the French, and be at their mercy, and ſo have nothing to truſt to, but the promiſes of a court, noted, in a courſe of years, for a train of perfidy. But many had formed an obſtinate reſolution to get out of the war on any terms; and therefore nothing, that ſeemed to obſtruct the arriving ſpeedily at that end, was heard with patience, and no regard was had to the faith of treaties. The queſtion being at laſt put, Whether the clauſe ſhould be added? It was reſolved in the negative by eighty-one voices againſt thirty-ſix. On the 10th of June, the lords preſented their addreſs to the queen, who told them, " That the ſatisfaction they had expreſſed in what ſhe had
" laid before them, would contribute very much to remove

1712. "the difficulties which had arisen in the course of this ne-
"gotiation; and that the confidence they placed in her
"would enable her better to finish this great work, for the
"advantage of her own people, and the safety and interest
"of her allies." Several lords entered a protest against the rejecting the guaranty clause, and signed their reasons for it, which were soon after published in print (d). But this gave so

(d) The protest was in these terms:

We think it necessary to have the security proposed of a general guaranty; and the rather, because we conceive the terms of peace, that are offered, have proceeded from a separate negotiation, carried on by the ministers with France, without any communication thereof to the principal allies, particularly the states-general, as they say in their letter to her majesty (whose interest, her majesty was pleased to declare to this parliament, she looked upon as inseparable from her own); and we conceive this negotiation to be contrary to those orders, which her majesty declared to this house, in answer to their address, that she had given to her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, 'to concert with those 'of her allies;' and the resolution expressed in her message of January the 17th, of a strict union, in which 'she proposed 'to join with them, in order to 'obtain a good peace, and to 'guaranty and support the same,' as she had before declared in her speech at the opening of the session, 'that she would unite with 'them in the strictest engage-'ments for continuing the alli-'ance, in order to render the ge-'neral peace secure and lasting;' and, contrary to the eighth article of the grand alliance, which expressly obliges all the allies not to treat, unless jointly, and with the common advice of the other parties.

And we conceive, that the refusal of these words, proposed to be added, may be looked upon by the allies, as if this house approved this method of transacting with France, which may seem to them to tend to a separate peace, of which her majesty has declared her dislike, and which was acknowledged in this house to be foolish and knavish, and would be of pernicious consequence to this kingdom, by preventing that guaranty of peace by the allies, which is so absolutely necessary for their mutual security, and leave us exposed to the power of France, there being little reason to expect their future help, after such a gross breach of trust.

And we further conceive, that such a separate proceeding may create in the allies so great a distrust, as may tempt them to take the like measures, and so give the French opportunity to break that union, which has hitherto been so useful to us, and formidable to them; any appearance whereof must encourage France, either to delay the conclusion of a peace, or to impose upon the allies in the further progress of the treaty.

A perfect

ſo great offence to the majority of the peers, that, on the 13th of June, the queſtion being put, "Whether the pro- 1712.
"teſt

A perfect union among the allies ſeems to us to be more neceſſary in the preſent caſe, becauſe the foundation, upon which all the offers of France, relating to Great-Britain as well as to the allies, are built, viz. 'A renunciation of the duke of Anjou to that kingdom,' is, in our opinion, ſo fallacious, that no reaſonable man, much leſs whole nations, can ever look upon it as any ſecurity. Experience may ſufficiently convince us, how little we ought to rely upon the renunciation of the houſe of Bourbon: and though the preſent duke of Anjou ſhould happen to think himſelf bound by his own act, which his grandfather did not; yet will his deſcendants be at liberty to ſay, 'That no act 'of his could deprive them of 'their birth-right;' and eſpecially when it is ſuch a right, as, in the opinion of all Frenchmen, ought inviolably to be maintained by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom of France. And we humbly think it unſafe to depend upon this principal part of the treaty's executing itſelf, by ſuppoſing it will be the intereſt of France to ſupport it, ſince, on the contrary, it is manifeſt by the French endeavours, ever ſince the Pyrenean treaty, to unite the monarchies of France and Spain, they look upon that union to be their greateſt intereſt, and the moſt effectual means of eſtabliſhing the univerſal monarchy in the houſe of Bourbon.

And if it were reaſonable to imagine, that the two crowns of France and Spain ſhould remain in diſtinct branches of the houſe of Bourbon; yet this is contrary to the grand alliance itſelf, which recites the uſurpation of the Spaniſh monarchy by the French king for the duke of Anjou, as the principal cauſe of this war.

As to Port-Mahon, Gibraltar, the Aſſiento, and the other advantages to Britain propoſed by France (beſides that they are all precarious, and in the power of France and Spain, to take from us when they pleaſe) conſidering the ſituation of thoſe kingdoms, and the vaſt wealth and ſtrength, which will be left to them, we conceive it impoſſible for any man to look on thoſe as a compenſation to Britain in any degree; for the leaving Spain and the Indies in the poſſeſſion of the houſe of Bourbon, beſides other manifeſtly fatal conſequences, muſt be extremely prejudicial to our woollen manufacture, if it does not intirely ruin it.

As to the demolition of Dunkirk, though we own it will be a great ſafety to our home-trade, yet we have reaſon to apprehend by what was ſaid in the debate, that it is not yet agreed to be demoliſhed, without an equivalent for it to the French king's ſatisfaction.

And in all the particulars relating to the allies, though they are not perfectly adjuſted, yet, by what does appear concerning them, the allies are likely to be left in ſuch a ſtate of inſecurity, as is abſolutely inconſiſtent with our own ſafety.

1712. "teſt be expunged out of the books of the houſe?" It was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-ſix voices

The Rhine is propoſed for a barrier of the empire, which leaves Straſburg and Hunningben in the hands of the French; the former of which has always been looked upon as the key of the empire.

The propoſals of France, relating to the barrier for the ſtates-general, not only deprive them of all the places taken ſince the year 1709, but alſo of two or three places more, included in the demand made by the ſtates in that year; which will render their barrier wholly inſufficient, and conſequently very much weaken the ſecurity of Britain.

Portugal ſeems to be wholly abandoned to the power of Spain; notwithſtanding the great advantage we have received during this war by our trade with that kingdom, which might ſtill be extremely beneficial to us.

Upon the whole, there is ſo very little and inconſiderable a difference between theſe offers of France and thoſe made at Utrecht, February the 11th, N. S. and ſigned d'Uxelles (as appears to us upon comparing them together) that both ſeem to be the effect of a ſecret and particular negotiation with France; and, this houſe having unanimouſly concurred in expreſſing to her majeſty their utmoſt reſentment at thoſe terms offered to her majeſty and her allies, by the plenipotentiaries of France; and her majeſty having graciouſly accepted that our addreſs, and rewarded that duty and zeal with her hearty thanks, we cannot, in reſpect to her majeſty, or juſtice to our country, retract that opinion, nor think the terms now good for us or the allies, or giving any ſeeming approbation of them, which then were received by this houſe, and all the allies, with ſcorn and deteſtation.

For theſe reaſons we are of opinion, that the offers of France are fallacious and inſnaring, no way proportioned to the advantages, which her majeſty (from the great ſucceſſes with which it has pleaſed God to bleſs her and her allies during the whole courſe of this war) might juſtly expect for her own kingdoms and for them; very inſufficient for preſerving a balance of power in Europe, for the future ſecurity of her majeſty and her allies, though they ſhould be never ſo exactly performed; and yet even ſuch as they are, there is no effectual ſecurity offered for the performance of them; which makes it abſolutely neceſſary, as we conceive, that ſuch meaſures ſhould be taken, in concert with the allies, as may induce them to join with her majeſty in a mutual guaranty,

Somerſet,	Dorcheſter,
Godolphin,	J. Bangor,
Devonſhire,	Rutland,
Berkley,	Nottingham,
W. Oxon,	Carliſle,
J. Ely,	Bridgwater,
Haverſham,	Mohun,
Suffolk,	Townſhend,
W. Aſaph,	Cowper,
Bolton,	Montague,
Wharton,	Lincoln,
Marlborough,	Bedford.

againſt

againſt thirty-one preſent, and of ninety voices againſt ſixty four, proxies included. The next day, upon a complaint made in the houſe of lords, that both this proteſt, and the former concerning the orders produced by the duke of Ormond, were in print, a committee was appointed to inquire who were the printers and publiſhers of the ſame; but, this committee not having been able to make any diſcovery in that matter, the lords applied themſelves by addreſs to the queen for that purpoſe. But neither an order of the queen in council, nor a hundred pounds reward, had any effect. 1712.

The commons were no leſs offended than the lords at ſeveral papers publiſhed about this time, particularly biſhop Fleetwood's preface to four ſermons which he had formerly preached, and now reprinted (e). The biſhop concludes this Biſhop Fleetwood's preface ordered to be burnt. Pr. H. C.

(e) The four ſermons were, I. On the death of queen Mary, 1694. II. On the death of the duke of Glouceſter, 1700. III. On the death of king William, 1701. IV. On the queen's acceſſion.

Among the reaſons alledged by the biſhop for publiſhing thoſe ſermons, he gives the following:

'Another reaſon of my publiſhing theſe ſermons, at this time, is, that I have a mind to do myſelf ſome honour, by doing what honour I could to the memory of two moſt excellent princes, and who have very highly deſerved at the hands of all the people of theſe dominions, who have a true value for the proteſtant religion, and the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, of which they were the great deliverers and defenders. I have lived to ſee their illuſtrious names very rudely handled, and the great benefits they did this nation, treated ſlightly and contemptuouſly. I have lived to ſee our deliverance from arbitrary power and popery, traduced and vilified by ſome, who formerly thought it was their greateſt merit, and made it part of their boaſt and glory to have had a little hand and ſhare in bringing it about: and others, who, without it, muſt have lived in exile, poverty, and miſery, meanly diſclaiming it, and uſing ill the glorious inſtrument thereof. Who could expect ſuch a requital of ſuch merit? I have, I own it, an ambition of exempting myſelf from the number of unthankful people; and, as I loved and honoured thoſe great princes living, and lamented over them when dead; ſo I would gladly raiſe them up a monument of praiſe as laſting as any thing of mine can be; and I chuſe to do it at this time, when it is ſo unfaſhionable a thing to ſpeak honourably of them.

'The fourth ſermon was preached upon the queen's acceſſion

1712. this preface with ſaying, 'Never did ſeven ſuch years toge-
'ther paſs over the head of any Engliſh monarch, nor
'cover it with ſo much honour. The crown and ſcepter
'ſeemed to be the queen's leaſt ornaments. Thoſe other
'princes wore in common with her; and her great perſonal
'virtues were the ſame before and ſince. But ſuch was the
'fame of her adminiſtration of affairs at home; ſuch was
'the reputation of her wiſdom and felicity in chuſing mini-
'ſters; and ſuch was then eſteemed their faithfulneſs and
'zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her
'commands; to ſuch a height of military glory did her great
'general and her armies carry the Britiſh name abroad;
'ſuch was the harmony and concord betwixt her and her
'allies; and ſuch was the bleſſing of God upon all her coun-
'ſels and undertakings, that I am as ſure as hiſtory can
'make me, no prince of our's was ever yet ſo proſperous
'and ſucceſsful, ſo loved, eſteemed, and honoured by their
'ſubjects and their friends, nor near ſo formidable to their
'enemies. We were, as all the world imagined then, juſt
'entered on the ways that promiſed to lead to ſuch a peace,
'as would have anſwered all the prayers of our religious
'queen, the care and vigilance of a moſt able miniſtry, the
'payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all
'the glorious toils and hazards of the ſoldiery: when God,
'for our ſins, permitted the ſpirit of diſcord to go forth, and
'by troubling ſore the camp, the city, and the country
'(and oh! that it had altogether ſpared the places ſacred to
'his worſhip!) to ſpoil, for a time, this beautiful and
'pleaſing proſpect; and give, in its ſtead, I know not what
'——— Our enemies will tell the reſt with pleaſure.'

The complaint againſt this preface was made by Mr. Hungerford, ſeconded by Mr. Manley, and ſupported by the court-party. But Sir Peter king, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr. Lechmere, and other gentlemen, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf, but to no purpoſe; for the commons, by

'ceſſion to the throne, and in
'the firſt year, in which that
'day was ſolemnly obſerved;
'(for, by ſome accident or other
'it had been overlooked the
'year before) and every one will
'know, without the date of it,
'that it was preached very early
'in this reign, ſince I was able
'to promiſe and preſage its fu-
'ture glories and ſucceſſes, from
'the good appearance of things,
'and the happy turn our affairs
'began to take; and could not
'then count up the victories and
'triumphs, that for ſeven years
'after made it, in the prophet's
'language, "a name and a
'praiſe among all the people of
'the earth."

a majority

a majority of a hundred and nineteen againſt fifty-four; voted the preface to be malicious and fictious, highly reflecting upon the preſent adminiſtration of public affairs under her majeſty, and tending to create diſcord and ſedition amongſt her ſubjects, and condemned it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. It was obſerved, that, when the biſhop's friends brought him the news of the Vote, far from appearing diſturbed at it, he ſaid, 'That he eſteemed himſelf very happy to ſuffer with the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Godolphin, and ſo many other illuſtrious patriots, whoſe reputation their enviers endeavoured to blaſt (f). On the other hand, this treatment of a prelate 1712.

ſo

(f) The biſhop wrote the following letter, to biſhop Burnet, upon this occaſion:

My lord, June 17, 1712.

I received the favour of your lordſhip's letter, and took it, as I knew it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my Preface was neither like a chriſtian, nor philoſopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole proceſs, and knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themſelves ſorely ſtung; and it affected me accordingly, i. e. very little. I am not one, that love to be the talk of the town; and in this part, I confeſs, I was uneaſy, although I think the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by Hungerford, and ſeconded by Manley (people that ſhould indeed have been ordered to have burnt it) and thirded by what we call the court, and carried by numbers, without a wiſe word ſaid againſt it. Sir Peter King, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr. Lechmere, and others of the robe, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf; and ſo were other gentlemen, but to no great purpoſe; for the court divided one-hundred and nineteen, and my friends but fifty-four. If their deſign was to intimidate me, they loſt it utterly; or, if to ſuppreſs the book, it happened much otherwiſe; for every body's curioſity is awakened by the uſage, and the bookſeller finds his account in it above any one elſe. The Spectator has conveyed above four thouſand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwiſe have never ſeen nor heard of it. In a word, my lord, when I conſider, that theſe gentlemen have uſed me no worſe, than, I think, they have uſed their own country, the emperor, the ſtates, the houſe of Hanover, and all our allies abroad, as well as all the braveſt, and wiſeſt, and the honeſteſt men we have at home; I am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depreſſed at what has befallen me, and intend to ſet up for a man of merit upon this very ſtock. But, pleaſantries apart, my heart is wounded within me, when I conſider ſeriouſly whereabouts we are, and whither we are tending. The court party do now own publicly, that, except the

allies

1712. so universally esteemed, particularly by the queen herself, who was used to call him 'her bishop,' was highly resented even by many zealous churchmen. But the commons carried still further their obsequiousness to the ministry; for, the same day, the letter from the states to the queen, in vindication of their conduct, being complained of and read, it was resolved, 'To address her majesty, to assure her of the 'just sense this house had of the indignity offered to her, by 'printing and publishing a letter from the states-general 'to her majesty; and to desire her, that she would so far re-'sent such indignities, as to give no answer for the future 'to any letters or memorials that should be printed and pub-'lished.' But, the day before, the queen had thought fit to answer this letter. And it was observed, that a censure was passed upon it merely to gratify Mr. secretary St. John; though, on the other hand, several speeches were made, particularly by Mr. Lechmere, to justify the states-general; which gave occasion to some people to say, 'That a vote of 'the commons was the only answer, that could be returned 'to their high mightinesses letter.'

Resolution against the letter from the states. Pr. H. C.

On

allies accept of the conditions, that are offered them, king Philip is not to make any renunciation: and certainly the allies cannot accept of these conditions, unless they are distressed to the last Degree, We must, and shall have a separate peace in spite of all that can be said; and that must be without a renunciation on the part of France, and without a guaranty from the allies: and what a peace is that like to be? it is now said, that England is to constrain the king of France to content the states with a barrier to their liking; and the rest will come in, or stand out, without any danger. But I am afraid England has lost all her constraining power, and that France thinks she has us in her hands, and may use us as she pleases, which, I dare say, will be as scurvely as we deserve.

What a change has two years made? your lordship may now imagine you are growing young again; for we are fallen, methinks, into the very dregs of Charles the second's politics; saying, that then they were more reasonable, because our enemy was then in so full power and lustre, as might both terrify and dazzle a poor luxurious prince, that would not be disturbed, nor seemed to care much what became of England after he was gone. The present Times may put you in mind of those, with this bad difference still, that now the ruinous effects of those advices seem to be taking place after an interval of five or six and twenty years; and after such an interruption, as one would have thought should have quite baffled and destroyed them.

On the 17th of June, Mr. Hampden made a motion, 1712.
'That an addreſs be made to the queen, that ſhe would be
'pleaſed to give particular inſtructions to her plenipoten-
'tiaries, that in the concluſion of the treaty of peace, the
'ſeveral powers in alliance with her majeſty might be gua-
'rantees for the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe
'realms, as ſettled by act of parliament in the illuſtrious
'houſe of Hanover.' Endeavours were uſed to have this
motion dropped; but, Mr. Hampden and ſome of his friends
inſiſting to have the queſtion put, it was carried in the ne-
gative by a majority of one hundred and thirty-three voices
againſt thirty-eight. After which it was reſolved, &c. That
'this houſe had ſuch an intire confidence, in the repeated
'declarations her majeſty had been pleaſed to make of her
'concern for aſſuring to theſe kingdoms the proteſtant ſuc-
'ceſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, that they could never doubt
'her taking the proper meaſures for the ſecurity thereof: and
'that this houſe would ſupport her majeſty againſt faction
'at home, and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beſeech
'her, that ſhe would be pleaſed to diſcountenance all thoſe,
'who ſhould endeavour to raiſe jealouſies between her ma-
'jeſty and her ſubjects, eſpecially by miſrepreſenting her
'good intentions for the welfare of her people.' The com-
mons having attended the queen on the 19th of June with
this reſolution, ſhe returned the following anſwer:

Hampden's motion for the allies to guarantee the proteſtant ſucceſſion rejected. Pr. H. C.

Gentlemen,

"I return you my hearty thanks for this reſolution, which
"is very becoming you, who truly repreſent all my com-
"mons.

"You have ſhewn yourſelves honeſt aſſertors of the mo-
"narchy, zealous defenders of the conſtitution, and real
"friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

"What I have ſaid and done, is ſufficient to ſatisfy any
"perſon, who is in earneſt for the ſucceſſion, as by law e-
"ſtabliſhed, in the houſe of Hanover, that I need not be
"put in mind of doing any thing, which may contribute to
"render that ſucceſſion ſecure."

Two days after, the queen came to the houſe of lords, and made the following ſpeech to both houſes:

My lords and gentlemen,

'THE laſt time I was here, I ſpoke ſo fully, and af-
'terwards received from both houſes ſuch ſatisfactory
'addreſſes

The queen's ſpeech to both houſes.

1712. addreſſes, that there remains little more for me to ſay at the cloſe of this meeting of parliament, but to repeat my hearty thanks for your late ſolemn aſſurances. They will give me ſtrength to ſtruggle with any difficulties, which may yet be raiſed; and I hope, that neither they, who envy the making a good peace, nor who think it their intereſt to continue the war, will be able to defeat our joint endeavours for the honour and advantage of Great-Britain, and the ſecurity of all our allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'At the ſame time that I thank you moſt kindly for the ſupplies you have chearfully granted, I cannot but let you know my ſatisfaction in the near view I have of a peace, ſince it will in ſome meaſure recompenſe my ſubjects for their vaſt expences, and alſo lighten that heavy burthen they have borne during the war.

My lords and gentlemen,

'You have expreſſed how ſenſible you are of the advantage and ſecurity, which accrue to Great-Britain and our allies, by the terms propoſed for a peace. And I need not mention to you the miſchiefs, which muſt follow from the breaking off this treaty. Our burthens would be at leaſt continued, if not increaſed; the preſent opportunity would be irrecoverably loſt to Britain, eſtabliſhing a real balance of power in Europe, and improving our own commerce; and, if any of our allies ſhould gain ſomething by ſuch a proceeding, the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity. But I hope, by God's bleſſing, ſuch fatal deſigns will be diſappointed.

'You are now returning into your reſpective countries; and I perſuade myſelf you will not be wanting in your endeavours to obviate the deſigns of any ill-minded perſons, who may attempt to ſow ſedition amongſt my ſubjects, and, under ſpecious pretences, carry on deſigns they dare not own.

'I hope, at your next meeting, there will be an opportunity of perfecting what I recommended to you, which you have left unfiniſhed in this ſeſſion.

'I cannot conclude without aſſuring you that nothing ſhall move me from ſteadily purſuing the true intereſt of ſo dutiful and affectionate a people.'

After

After this ſpeech, both houſes were adjourned to the 8th of July. This adjournment, inſtead of a prorogation, occaſioned various diſcourſes, ſome ſurmiſing, it was intended as a further mortification to Mr. Walpole, who rather choſe to continue priſoner in the Tower, than to make his ſubmiſſion. Others imagined, it was intended, that, at the expiration of the adjournment, the houſe ſhould ſit again for the diſpatch of buſineſs. But, whatever ground there was for the firſt of theſe conjectures, it appeared there was none for the latter; for at their next meeting, on the 8th of July, the parliament was prorogued to the 31ſt of the ſame month. Upon which Mr. Walpole, and the other perſons, who were under confinement by order of the commons, were of courſe ſet at liberty. 1712.

Though the queen in her ſpeech ſaid, they approved of her ſcheme of peace, yet that was not in any of the addreſſes; many indeed, who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had magnified it in their ſpeeches, but both houſes had obſerved one caution, not to expreſs their being ſatisfied with the plan of the peace, tho'. it was covertly inſinuated.

On the 12th of June, at an aſſembly of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, a motion was made for addreſſing the queen about the peace; againſt which ſome objections were made by Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Sir Charles Peers, who alledged 'that, 'the 'making peace or war being the prerogative of the crown, 'they ought not to meddle with it.' But, the majority, who knew, that ſuch a ſtep would be very acceptable to the court, being of a contrary opinion, it was carried for an addreſs; which being, two days after, preſented, with another from the lieutenancy, the queen knighted John Caſs and William Stuart, the ſheriffs, and Samuel Clarke. Upon this a new ſet of addreſſes were promoted every where, full of groſs flattery, magnifying the preſent conduct, with ſevere reflections on the former miniſtry, which ſome carried back to king William's reign. Some of thoſe addreſſes mentioned the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the houſe of Hanover, with zeal; others did it more coldly, and ſome made no mention at all of it. And it was univerſally believed, that no addreſſes were ſo acceptable to the miniſters, as thoſe of the laſt ſort. Addreſs of the city of London.

But neither the number, nor the noiſe of addreſſes, which, during the remaining part of the year, were preſented to the queen, were able to ſuppreſs the murmurings of the Whigs,

1712. whigs, and even of many tories, who did not like the terms of peace contained in the queen's ſpeech. On the other hand, the aſtoniſhment, not to ſay indignation with which the queen's ſpeech was received in Holland, is ſcarce to be expreſſed; and exceptions againſt it were publiſhed both by the Dutch and Imperialiſts (g).

(g) In a letter from a gentleman at Amſterdam, it is ſaid, 'We are at laſt at full certainty as to the good intentions of Great-Britain towards this ſtate, ſet forth at large, in the queen's ſpeech to her parliament. The emperor finds likewiſe in it very ſenſible proofs of affection for him, ſince he may be left in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, Naples, Sardinia, and the Low-Countries. But it unluckily falls out, that neither the imperialiſts, nor the Dutch, will put a favourable conſtruction on theſe good intentions.' On the contrary, they ſay, that it is very hard for a prince, who begins his reign ſo glorious as the emperor, to ſee himſelf abandoned, and reduced to give up Catalonia without any equivalent; ſince he is not to have even Sicily, which, it ſeems, is to be kept in Petto, the better to allure the duke of Savoy, in caſe he ſhould ſtand out: beſides the ſecuring to him the ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh monarchy, after the duke of Anjou, and his iſſue, by excluding for ever the houſe of Auſtria from its rights to Spain. As for the Dutch, they complain, that they are not allowed even the barrier agreed on, between them and the queen, in 1709. That by the two or three places, which are to be excepted from that barrier, Liſle and Tournay may be meant; beſides the towns they have taken ſince 1708; which will reduce that barrier almoſt to nothing: and that the exception of ſome ſpecies of merchandize, from the tariff of 1664, which they inſiſt upon, may reach their fiſh, linen, and ſpices, whereby they may be excluded from all their profitable trade, the other branches being more advantageous to France, than to Holland. Theſe are the chief exceptions of the imperialiſts and Dutch; nor is it altogether without reaſon, that the latter take it ill, that the duke of Savoy's, and king of Pruſſia's ſervices to the common cauſe, are only mentioned and extolled in the queen's ſpeech; and that no manner of notice is taken of this ſtate, which hitherto has ſignalized its reſolution and conſtancy, and never offered to break either its promiſes or engagements, by treating ſeparately with France, though powerful ſollicitations have not been wanting to induce them to it.' The exceptions of the imperialiſts, againſt the ſcheme of peace propoſed in the queen's ſpeech, were afterwards fully expreſſed in a book, intituled, 'The ſighs of Europe,' which was publiſhed in Holland by count Zinzendorf's direction. Boyer.

The

The ſtates having rightly concluded from the declarations of the Britiſh general in the army, and of the biſhop of Briſtol at Utrecht, that the miniſters of Great-Britain had agreed upon a ſuſpenſion of arms with France, and would impoſe it upon the allies, by withdrawing from the confederate army, not only their national troops, but alſo the auxiliaries in their pay, which would make them abſolute maſters of the negotiation of peace; they took early meaſures to prevent it. Meſſieurs Van Welderen and Hop were ſent to the army, to concert with prince Eugene of Savoy proper methods to engage the generals of thoſe auxiliaries, and to provide for their ſubſiſtence, which commiſſion was executed with ſucceſs. The duke of Ormond having cauſed bread for ſix days to be diſtributed to the army under his command (which ſhewed he deſigned to make ſome motion) prince Eugene aſked the generals of the auxiliaries, 'whether they had any orders from their 'ſovereigns to regulate themſelves by, in caſe the Engliſh 'ſhould withdraw.' It appeared by their anſwer, that they had received ſecret inſtructions, for, two only excepted, they unanimouſly aſſured the prince, 'that they would not march 'with the Britiſh general, without communicating the or-'ders they ſhould receive from him to his highneſs: and, in 'caſe the ſame were not agreeable to the intentions and in-'tereſt of the allies, they would not follow the duke, but 'look upon themſelves as diſengaged from his command.' On the other hand, the ſtates having reſolved to proſecute the operations of the war, the trenches were opened before Queſnoy, and the ſiege carried on with all imaginable vigour under the command of general Fagel.

1712.

The Dutch refuſe to entertain the auxiliaries in Britiſh pay.

Queſnoy beſieged, Jan. 29, N. S.

The next day the duke of Ormond was invited to a conference, held between the ſtate deputies, prince Eugene, and count Tilly; but he excuſed himſelf on pretence of a ſmall indiſpoſition, that he might avoid concerting any further meaſures with them. And having received a copy of the articles ſigned by the marquis de Torcy (though not entirely as the queen had demanded) he immediately directed the earl of Orkney) to prepare himſelf to march with ten battalions, in order to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk: and the ſame morning he wrote to the marſhal de Villars, 'that he wiſhed 'the marquis de Torcy would have given himſelf the trou-'ble to have ſigned the copy of the articles, which would 'have been more regular and more agreeable to the duke's 'inſtructions. However, he would not obſtruct the accom-'pliſhing ſo good a work, by raiſing difficulties and ſcruples,

The duke of Ormond declares his orders about a ceſſation.

Cond. of the duke of Ormond. Jan. 25.

1712. 'and inſiſting too much upon the want of formality. That 'he was juſt going to make prince Eugene and the ſtates de- 'puties a viſit, with whom he was to keep meaſures to the 'laſt; and that he ſhould endeavour to perſuade them to de- 'ſiſt from the ſiege of Queſnoy, and declare to them, that, 'in caſe of their refuſal, he ſhould be obliged to withdraw 'the army of the queen. That he ſhould ſend away a de- 'tachment the next day, to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; but 'was of opinion, that the marſhal ſhould have given him an 'order in form for its ſurrender; and deſired he would loſe no 'time in a matter of ſo great importance: concluding, that, 'as ſoon as he knew the reſolutions of the prince and the 'deputies, he would not fail to let him have notice of it.' The ſame day, the duke viſited prince Eugene, and the ſtates deputies, in purſuance of his promiſe to acquaint them with any freſh orders he ſhould receive from England, incompatible with his covering the ſiege of Queſnoy; and told them, 'that the French king had agreed to ſeveral ar- 'ticles demanded by the queen, as a foundation for a ſuſpen- 'ſion of arms; and, among others, the giving up imme- 'diately into our poſſeſſion the town of Dunkirk. That 'the duke therefore could no longer cover the ſiege of Queſ- 'noy, being obliged by his inſtructions to march with the 'queen's troops, and thoſe in her pay, and to declare a ceſ- 'ſation of arms, as ſoon as Dunkirk was delivered up: and 'he hoped, they would readily concur therein, which would 'be the moſt powerful motive to induce the queen to take 'all poſſible care of their intereſts at the peace.' He like- 'wiſe endeavoured to ſhew them, that Dunkirk, as a cau- 'tionary town, was a place of greater conſequence to the 'allies than Queſnoy.'

The deputies deſired five days to conſult their maſters upon ſo important a matter; which the duke would have allowed them, if, in the mean time, they would have agreed to deſiſt from the proſecutiou of the ſiege, or at leaſt to make ſome delay in it; which, they ſaid, was not in their power. However, he at laſt conſented to give them three days; that being no hindrance to the execution of his orders, becauſe he could not expect to have an account before that time from the French court, how Dunkirk ſhould be delivered up to him. The deputies refuſed to let a detachment go through any of their towns in the way to Dunkirk, and both they and prince Eugene told the duke, 'that 'his marching away with the queen's troops and the 'foreigners in her pay would leave them to the mercy of

'the

the French; but that they were ſure the foreigners would not march.' The duke having taken the firſt opportunity to ſound the generals of the foreign troops in the queen's pay, they ſeemed at firſt well inclined to continue ſteady to her intereſt; and particularly general Bulau, who commanded the Hanoverians, who came to the duke, ſeemingly with great joy and ſatisfaction, as ſoon as he had read the queen's ſpeech, and told him, he was ready, with his maſter's troops, to follow all ſuch orders, as he ſhould think fit to give him. But, upon diſcourſing with him now, the duke found, that means had been uſed to prevail upon him, as well as the reſt; who agreed in making excuſes, and pretended they could not ſeparate from the confederacy, without expreſs directions from their maſters, to whom they had ſent couriers. They alledged, 'that neither the grand alliance, nor the particular conventions, admitted of any parties treating of, or making peace, or even a ſuſpenſion of arms, without the conſent of the others.' The duke thought it belonged not to him to enter into theſe particulars; but inſiſted on the commands he had received from the queen, and on the engagements they were under to aſſiſt him, their general, in an effectual compliance with them; repreſenting, at the ſame, the juſt reaſons the queen had to reſent, and the ill conſequences, that would attend their refuſal. However, the duke finding, that the foreign troops would obey no orders, but what they themſelves, in conjunction with prince Eugene and the deputies, ſhould approve, countermanded the detachment deſigned for Dunkirk; and in the afternoon ſent to marſhal Villars an account of the reſult of his viſit, and deſired to know of him more particularly, in what manner Dunkirk was to be put into our hands, in caſe the Engliſh troops marched alone, without the auxiliaries; which he had reaſon to ſuſpect might ſcruple to go along with him: adding, he hoped he would not defer ſending the neceſſary orders for the delivery of that town, which would be a means to make every thing relating to the peace go on the more eaſily, and the ceſſation of arms take effect the ſooner. 1712.

It is obſervable, Villars having at this juncture, cauſed ſeveral bridges to be laid over the Senſet, it occaſioned a ſurmiſe, that he might intend to attack the confederate army, in caſe the auxiliaries in Britiſh pay had marched off with the duke of Ormond. On the other hand, it was apprehended, that the Britiſh general might have a deſign upon ſome of the ſtrong towns garriſoned by the Dutch; and

1712. therefore prince Eugene ſent for general Hompeſch, governor of Doway, and deſired him to take care, that the Engliſh troops deſigned for Dunkirk might not go through Doway. And the like caution was given to other Dutch governors in relation to the Britiſh forces.

June 27, N. S. Upon the arrival of two expreſſes from the confederate army at the Hague, with an account of the duke of Ormond's declaration about a ceſſation of arms, the ſtates were immediately aſſembled; and the ſame evening invitations were ſent to the miniſters of the allies at Utrecht, to concert meaſures on the preſent poſture of affairs; and meſſengers diſpatched with circular letters to the ſeveral towns of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland, to ſummon an extraordinary meeting of the ſtates of that province on the firſt of July, N. S. The city of Amſterdam ſent an unprecedented deputation to the Hague, conſiſting of three burgomaſters, and as many principal magiſtrates. Before their departure, the regent burgomaſters held an aſſembly, in which monſieur Corver, their ſenior, a perſon no leſs venerable for his age, being eighty-four years old, than for his integrity and wiſdom, made a memorable ſpeech; wherein he pathetically laid before them the neceſſity of carrying on the war, without which their commonwealth was like to be irrecoverably ruined. He ſaid, 'I am an old man, upwards of fourſcore, and have 'ſeen far more difficult times, even the French at the very 'gates; but, by the bleſſing of God on our firmneſs and re'ſolution, we have hitherto preſerved our ſtate. I have no 'private intereſt in trade, nor any other concern but the 'good of my country, and the common cauſe; yet I would 'give the half of what I have in the world, nay all, rather 'than ſuffer the loſs of our liberties. But, if at laſt we are 'overpowered, then let us lay our cities under water, be'take ourſelves to our ſhips, and ſail to the Eaſt-Indies; 'and let thoſe, who ſee our country laid waſte, ſay, "There lived a people, who choſe to loſe their country "rather than their liberty." Theſe words had not only an effect upon the aſſembly at Amſterdam, but alſo on that of the ſtates to whom they were reported. However, though the majority of the cities had given their deputies inſtructions to reject the propoſal of a ceſſation of arms; yet the ſtates thought fit not to come to any reſolution about that important affair, but rather to gain time, at leaſt till the reduction of Queſnoy; for which delay the earl of Strafford's abſence from the Hague, and the expectation of his ſudden return, gave them a very plauſible pretence. Mean while the ſtates

received

received assurances from the princes, who had troops in British pay, 'That they would maintain them wholly at their 'own expence under prince Eugene's command, for one 'month; and afterwards continue them in the service, and 'pay half the charges, provided the emperor and the states 'would pay the other half.' To which the Dutch were ready enough to consent. 1712.

In the mean time the bishop of Bristol executed his instructions at Utrecht with the same punctuality as the duke of Ormond in the army; and, a conference being held between the ministers of the allies, that prelate in a solemn manner communicated to them the concession, which the queen had prevailed on France to make to the allies, and proposed to them a suspension of arms for two months, in order to treat with the French, and, in a friendly manner, adjust the demands of all the confederates. None of the ministers there present having thought fit to return him an answer, all of them looking on one another with surprize, the bishop left them to consult together; upon which some of them spoke very severely against the proposal. In the afternoon he was in conference with the rest of those ministers, and urged to them the necessity of a cessation of arms; but he found them unanimous in their answers, that they had no instructions about that matter, and must wait for fresh orders from their principals. The next day the plenipotentiaries of the allies met at the deputies of the states, and having concerted some measures, most of them repaired afterwards to the Hague, to assist at the consultations, that were held in that place. The bishop of Bristol proposes a suspension of arms. July 27. Hist. of Eur.

The duke of Savoy's ministers were so highly offended at the report, which had been industriously spread, that their master had agreed to a suspension of arms, and to the terms of peace concerted between Great-Britain and France, that they publicly disowned it as false and scandalous, declaring, 'that his royal highness, their master, would remain firm 'in the grand alliance, being sensible, he had been imposed 'upon by the insinuations of a certain minister.' On the other hand, count Zinzendorf, the first imperial plenipotentiary, on the 28th of June, N. S. presented to the states-general a memorial, which he called his 'sentiments 'upon the affairs of the present conjuncture;' wherein having shewed, 'the tendency of the queen of Great-Britain's 'speech to her parliament, and touched upon the declara- 'tions of the duke of Ormond and the bishop of Bristol, 'he insisted on the danger, that would result to the common Zinzendorf's memorial to the states. Lamberti. Vol. VII.

1712. cauſe from a ceſſation of arms; commended their high-mightineſſes for approving what prince Eugene of Savoy and their deputies had done in the army, and in particular their having furniſhed bread to the foreign troops in Engliſh pay; exhorted them to perſevere in theſe generous and vigorous reſolutions; and, in order to maintain a ſtrict union among the allies, he propoſed theſe five points: 1. That the alliance ought to be renewed, in order to compaſs theſe ends, the recovery of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; the ſecurity of that ſtate by a barrier in the Netherlands, and of their trade in Spain and the Weſt-Indies; the procuring a tariff with France; the performance of the treaties with the king of Portugal and duke of Savoy, with relation to the Spaniſh monarchy; as alſo thoſe with the king of Pruſſia, the elector Palatine, the elector of Hanover, and all the other confederate princes; and that likewiſe for the ſecurity of the aſſociated circles. 2. That all the allies ſhould be invited to join in it. 3. That it was neceſſary to form a plan of the war, ſo as it might be carried on with moſt ſucceſs and leaſt expence. 4. That they ſhould come to ſome reſolution about the war in the North, ſo as they might be ſure of the aſſiſtance of the princes engaged in it, moſt of whom furniſhed troops againſt France. And, 5, that, after theſe meaſures were concerted, repreſentations ſhould be made to the queen of Great-Britain, requeſting her to perform her engagements, and to perſuade her, that it was the intention of the other allies to maintain the common cauſe with inviolable firmneſs; and that they deſired nothing ſo much, as that ſhe would be pleaſed to perſiſt in what ſhe had hitherto done ſo gloriouſly for that end. He afterwards aſſured the ſtates, that the emperor would continue to furniſh 20,000 men in Savoy, 30,000 in Spain, 14,000 on the Rhine, 24,000 in the Netherlands, 8,000 in Lombardy, 8,000 in Naples, and 4,000 in Bavaria, in all 108,000 men: That he would furniſh the third of four millions of crowns for the war in Catalonia. That he would endeavour to bring more of his troops into the field againſt France than hitherto, and do his utmoſt to engage the empire in general, and all the princes and ſtates in particular, to make new efforts.'

An irruption into France. Brodrick.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Holland, a remarkable action was performed in the beginning of the campaign, which greatly alarmed the court of France. Prince Eugene of Savoy reſolved to put Champagne and other countries under contribution; and the deputies of the ſtates having approved

his

his reſolution, he detached fifteen hundred horſe, dragoons, and huſſars, under the command of major-general Groveſtein, with orders to penetrate into France as far as poſſible. Thoſe troops were detached with the utmoſt privacy from the camp at Haſpre on the 10th of June. The next day they met at night at Grouſelle, within three leagues of Neufchatel, on the river Aiſne, which they paſſed the 12th; and advanced at night to Suipe in Champagne. The 13th, they paſſed the river Noire near St. Menehold. The next day, they paſſed the Maeſe at Seneri, and got into Lorrain; and, the 15th, paſſed the Moſelle at Pont-a-Mouſon. The 16th, they came before Metz; and, the 17th, paſſed the Saar, and retired leiſurely towards Traarbach, carrying off with them a vaſt booty, and a great number of hoſtages for the payment of the contributions, they had demanded from the countries, through which they paſſed, amounting to ſome millions. They burnt ſeveral villages and little towns; and at Metz, Groveſtein ſent a letter to the marquis de Refuge, the governor, and another to the Intendant to ſummon them to ſend deputies to agree about contributions. The governor anſwered him, that he had nothing to ſend but fire and ball; and that, inſtead of contributions and hoſtages, he would only ſend him ſome guides, to conduct him whither he deſerved to go. Groveſtein, being incenſed at this anſwer, cauſed about thirty or forty villages, and about twenty caſtles or ſeats, to be burnt in ſight of Metz, after having plundered them, and retired ſafe with his booty; for, Villars not being informed of this detachment till twenty-four hours after they were marched, the troops, which he ſent after them, could not overtake them. It is impoſſible to expreſs the great ſurprize, this expedition cauſed in the adjacent parts, and even in the ſuburbs of Paris; it being reported, the detachment were advancing to that city. The king himſelf was not thought ſafe at Verſailles with his uſual guards; and therefore all the troops quartered in and about Paris were ordered to repair immediately to the king's palace. But Groveſtein, making his retreat, ſoon put an end to the alarm. 1712.

The French were reſolved to revenge this excurſion, and intruſted major-general Paſteur, a famous Partizan, with the execution of their deſign, which he managed with great diligence and diſpatch. For, though he had fifteen or ſixteen hundred men with him, the allies had not the leaſt notice of his march, till he was advanced further than Bergen-op-Zoom, and had plundered Tortole, an iſland belonging

to Zealand, with the town of that name, and ſeveral other places. Thirty ſquadrons were detached from the confederate army, and all the garriſons were drawn out, to intercept the enemy in their retreat. But Paſteur took ſo well his meaſures, that he returned ſafe to Namur with a great booty, and ſeveral hoſtages for contributions.

Prince Eugene refuſes to give over the ſiege of Queſnoy.

The ſiege of Queſnoy being carried on with great vigour and ſucceſs, and the duke of Ormond foreſeeing the reduction of that place might increaſe the hopes of the allies, and obſtruct the Britiſh meaſures for a general peace, ſent to acquaint prince Eugene, 'That his troops ſhould continue in 'the army, provided he would give over the ſiege of Queſ'noy.' But the prince anſwered, 'That, inſtead of re'linquiſhing the ſiege, he would cauſe it to be proſecuted 'with all imaginable vigour, and would let his grace be eye'witneſs of another expedition, immediately after the taking 'of that town.' From this time all correſpondence ceaſed between the prince and the duke; and the prince perceiving that frequent expreſſes went between the duke and the French army, which might prove detrimental to the confederate cauſe, held private conferences with the other generals, in order to ſeparate their forces from the Engliſh, and inſinuated, 'That he ſhould be glad if the Engliſh would march 'off, they being now only a burden to the Netherlands, 'ſince they had declared they would not fight againſt France.'

The auxiliary generals refuſe again to march.

Theſe paſſages were not wholly unknown to the duke of Ormond, who, on the 28th of June, N. S. ſent his adjutant with a written order to the generals of the foreign troops in Britiſh pay, commanding them to hold themſelves and the forces under their command, in a readineſs to march; but, excepting major-general Berner, who commanded four ſquadrons and one battalion of the troops of Holſtein-Gottorp, and major-general Waleſ, colonel of a regiment of dragoons of the troops of Liege, who had the queen's commiſſion, all thoſe generals unanimouſly anſwered, as they had done before, 'That they could not follow him, nor 'ſeparate from prince Eugene, without expreſs orders from 'their reſpective princes.' Among the reſt, the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel bid the adjutant tell the duke, 'That 'the Heſſians deſired nothing more than to march, provided 'it were to fight the French; and that he would wait upon 'the duke the next day, to give him his reaſons for not 'obeying his orders at that time.'

Queſnoy ſurrendered. Brodrick.

In the mean time the ſiege of Queſnoy was proſecuted with ſuch ſucceſs, that on the 1ſt of July, N. S. the confederates

deſates ſtormed and carried the counterſcarp in four places; and on the fourth, monſieur Labadie, the governor, ſurrendered the place, and the garriſon priſoners of war, which conſiſted of 2,662 private men; beſides ſeveral perſons of a ſuperior rank. The confederates put a good garriſon into the place, under major-general Ivoy; and all poſſible expedition was uſed to repair the breaches, and level the works. 1712.

The earl of Strafford, ſoon after the prorogation of the parliament, was again ſent over to induce the ſtates to accept the offers the French were making, and to conſent to a ceſſation of arms. Accordingly, at his arrival at the Hague (h), he deſired they would name deputies to confer with him about matters of the laſt importance, which he had to lay before them. The ſtates made a ſolemn deputation from their own body, to whom the earl of Strafford propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months, and the entering into the negotiations for a peace upon the offers of France. After a long conference, the deputies returned to the aſſembly of the ſtates, and made their report. The biſhop of Briſtol being alſo come to the Hague, ſeveral conferences were held, in all which there were great debates about a ceſſation of arms, and the conditions, which France might be brought to grant to the ſtates, if they would treat of a general peace. As to the ceſſation, the Britiſh miniſters urged, that Dunkirk would be delivered up to the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for the performance of what the French had promiſed; to which it was anſwered, "That "there ought to be a ſecurity for the ſtates, and other al- "lies, as well as for the Engliſh;" and, to that purpoſe, mention was made of Straſburg to the Germans; and Namur, Charleroy, and Ypres to the Dutch. It was replied, that Maubeuge and Condé might be put into the hands of the ſtates-general. But this was rejected, becauſe it was ſuggeſted in the other part of the debate, that the ſtates ſhould ſurrender to the French Doway, Liſle, and Tournay. The Dutch deputies being ſtartled at this propoſal, which, they ſaid, was more in favour of France, than of the allies, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries anſwered, 'They hoped France 'might be prevailed with to be contented with Liſle and 'Doway, as an equivalent for Dunkirk; and, upon that 'condition, to grant to the ſtates the barrier, which they de-

Conferences with the ſtates.

July 6. N. S.

July 8.

The reſult of them.

(h) He came there in the midſt of the rejoicings for the ſurrender of Queſnoy, and, being told the reaſon, he ſaid, 'They made 'a great noiſe for a paltry town.'

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1712. 'manded in 1709, and the tariff of 1664, excepting only 'the following ſpecies of merchandize, which the Dutch 'ſhould not be permitted to import into France: whale-oil, 'ſoap, ſugar, and dry fiſh; as alſo the duty of fifty ſols per 'tun, which the French king would not remit.' The earl of Strafford likewiſe inſiſted, that the ſtates ſhould withdraw their forces from Spain and Portugal, and forthwith return a categorical anſwer to their propoſals. During the debate, the ſtates ſent to the miniſters of Pruſſia and Hanover, to know what they might depend upon as to the troops of their maſters; to which they returned not only a favourable anſwer, but, at the deſire of the ſtates, wrote letters to the generals of thoſe forces, to act according as thoſe miniſters had promiſed they ſhould. On the other hand, the emperor's miniſters, ſuſpecting what would be propoſed, ſignified to the ſtates, that, if they agreed to a ceſſation of arms, prince Eugene had orders immediately to march off, with all the emperor's forces into the empire, and leave the Dutch to the mercy both of their old and new enemies. This, together with the remonſtrance of the penſionary, the regiſter Fagel, and monſieur Slingerland, inclined the ſtates of the province of Holland and Weſt-Friſeland, to come to an unanimous reſolution on the 9th of July, N. S. 'That they were intirely diſpoſed to put an end to this 'bloody and expenſive war by a good peace: that, in order 'to that, they were ready to liſten to ſuch propoſals, as 'France ſhould be willing to make in writing, in anſwer to 'the ſpecific demands of the allies: that, if the ſame were 'juſt and reaſonable, in ſuch a caſe their high mightineſſes 'would readily conſent to a general peace; but that they 'would never depart from their engagements with their allies, without whoſe conſent they could not agree to a ceſſation of arms.' This reſolution was ſo great a mortification to the Britiſh miniſters, that the earl of Strafford ſaid, with ſome vehemence, 'That he would go to the army, 'and execute his orders.' He was prayed to defer his journey for one day, which he refuſed, unleſs prince Eugene were deſired to forbear hoſtilities. After ſome deliberation, he was told, an expreſs ſhould be ſent to prince Eugene, to deſire that he would undertake nothing till forty-eight hours after the earl of Strafford's arrival in the army.

Sir Thomas Hanmer's conduct in Flanders.

About this time a report was ſpread in Holland, that the Engliſh had formed a deſign to ſeize Oſtend, which was occaſioned by Sir Thomas Hanmer's repairing to that town towards the end of June, N. S. his cauſing the depth of the harbour

harbour to be founded; and his viewing the fortifications with the burgomaſter Bawens, who was ſuppoſed to be in the Britiſh intereſt. Sir Thomas having ſpent ſome days at Bruges and Ghent, where his preſence was thought neceſſary to prepare matters for future deſigns; that gentleman, who from this time began to appear with the title of the queen's miniſter, repaired to Bruſſels, where the earl of Strafford arrived the 11th of July, N. S. From thence the earl went the next day to the duke of Ormond's army, then incamped at Chateau Cambreſis, and found it was high time to ſeparate the Britiſh forces from the Germans, between whom there had been frequent quarrels, in which many men, and even ſome officers, had been killed on both ſides. The day before, a council of war was held at prince Eugene's quarters at Haſpre, wherein it was agreed, that the army ſhould make a movement to attack Landrecy; that the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau ſhould command the ſiege of that place; and, if the Engliſh retired from the army, nothing ſhould be omitted to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour, in order to take winter quarters in Picardy. The earl of Strafford, foreſeeing what a martial anſwer he muſt expect, in caſe he ſhould propoſe a ceſſation of arms, continued at the duke of Ormond's quarters, where he conferred with none of the commanders of the auxiliary troops, except the general of the Hanoverians, who was inſtructed to declare, that his maſter, as an elector of the empire, was obliged to follow the reſolutions of the head and members of that great body. Whether the earl of Strafford expected the firſt viſit from prince Eugene and the ſtates deputies, is uncertain; but, if he did, he was diſappointed; and, having notified to them his arrival in the duke of Ormond's camp no ſooner than the 14th of July, the prince and the deputies contented themſelves with returning him a compliment upon it.

1712. The earl of Strafford goes to the army.

The news of the Britiſh auxiliaries refuſing to march with the duke of Ormond, was variouſly entertained in England, according to the different inclinations and views of the ſeveral parties. Thoſe, who had either oppoſed or diſapproved the late meaſures, could not but rejoice at it; openly declaring their hopes, that the confederates would carry on the war without England; others ſpreading reports of the duke of Ormond's having been threatened by ſome German generals; and others again whiſpering about their ſecret wiſhes, under the notion of apprehenſions of a deſign formed by thoſe generals to confine the duke for their arrears, and

The news of the auxiliaries refuſing to obey the duke of Ormond, variouſly received in England.

ever.

1712. even to diſarm the Britiſh troops, leſt they ſhould join the French army. Whether ſuch a thought was entertained by any of thoſe commanders, is very difficult to determine; but it is certain no ſuch thing was ever propoſed to the ſtates-deputies; and it is more than probable, that, if it had, it would have been rejected with indignation. However, it is obſervable, that the friends of the new miniſtry were apt enough to ſuſpect ſuch a deſign, and very induſtrious in infuſing the belief of it, in order to render the allies ſtill more odious to the people.

Cond. of the duke of Ormond.

However this be, the duke of Ormond found himſelf in a very uneaſy poſture. Upon a ſuppoſition, that Villars would ſend him a ſatisfactory anſwer, and the foreign troops perſiſt in their refuſal to obey his orders, he deſigned to march with all the Engliſh troops, and the artillery to Dunkirk, where he thought they would be more ſecure, and would have the ſea open, in caſe the queen ſhould think fit to recall them. But on the 27th of June he received a letter from Villars which imported, 'That the king (of France) 'might very well be aſtoniſhed, that, in caſe of a ceſſation, 'the generals of the auxiliary troops ſhould make any dif-'ficulty to ſeparate from prince Eugene; and that it was 'ſurprizing, the Dutch ſhould have more power over men, 'whom they did not pay, to make them hazard their lives, 'than the queen, who had paid them theſe dozen years, 'ſhould have to perſuade them not to expoſe themſelves to 'any danger.'. The duke received alſo the copy of a letter from the marquis de Torcy to Mr. St. John, wherein the marquis urged, 'That in the articles agreed on it was 'expreſſed, the ceſſation ſhould be between the armies 'which were at preſent in the Netherlands: that it was up-'on this view of a general ceſſation, ſo important a place as 'Dunkirk was to be delivered up: that the chief motive, 'which made England and France agree to a ceſſation, was, 'that nothing might happen between the armies to interrupt 'the meaſures, which were taken for a peace. That, to 'effect this, nothing but a general ceſſation would be 'ſufficient; and, if the enemies of peace had ſtill the 'liberty, the means, and the power of acting left them, 'the condition, upon which the king was to ſurrender Dun-'kirk to the queen, would not be complied with on her part: 'that the king always thought, the queen was intire miſtreſs 'of the troops, which compoſed her army; and that they 'had all orders to follow the duke of Ormond's directions;

and

'and therefore upon a ceſſation were to forbear action, as 1712.
'well as the Engliſh. That in caſe the Engliſh alone left
'the army, prince Eugene, finding himſelf the ſole general
'at the head of great numbers of men, would hazard any
'thing to come to an action, and would not at all ſcru-
'ple to ſacrifice troops, which his maſter did not pay,
'and which were to be under the prince's command only
'during the remainder of the campaign. Therefore ſince
'theſe propoſals for a ceſſation neither anſwer the meaſures,
'which the queen has hitherto taken for a peace, nor a-
'greed to the articles, which had been concerted to be-
'tween her majeſty and the king upon that ſubject, the
'king was perſuaded, that the queen would give the duke of
'Ormond full inſtructions to ſeparate the whole intire army,
'which was in her pay, and actually under the duke's com-
'mand, from that of prince Eugene: and, when this was
'done the king would be ready to deliver up Dunkirk,
'as it had been agreed upon in the articles for the ceſſati-
'on.' This letter gave the duke good reaſon to hope, that the queen would approve of his deferring to ſeparate the troops, and to march towards Dunkirk, till he had ſufficient aſſurance, that the place would be delivered up to him; whereas now the contrary appeared ſo evidently, that he ſhould have thought himſelf immediately at liberty to act in conjunction with the allies, would he have taken upon himſelf to make a ſtep of that conſequence, without the queen's particular orders; but theſe he had further room to expect, ſince the allies were now engaged in the ſiege of Queſnoy, and in no condition therefore at preſent of attacking the enemy. And the duke was the leſs uneaſy under this delay, being ſenſible, that England had not been able, on her part, to make good the condition of a general ceſſation, upon which the immediate delivery of Dunkirk was promiſed: Villars, in his letter, had invited the duke to an interview, which the duke (being no way impowered to agree to it) declined, and excuſed himſelf in a letter to the marſhal. While he was diſpatching an expreſs with an account of all theſe proceedings, a meſſenger brought him a letter of the 14th of June from Mr ſecretary St. John, which gave the duke an account, 'That the courier returned from France
'the night before,' and that her majeſty's demands were
'complied with to her ſatisfaction. If therefore his grace
'had any difficulties, as ſeveral were foreſeen, which might
'ariſe in taking poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, he might keep his
'army intire, and the meaſures were ready in England for

'ſending

1712. 'ſending over troops ſufficient for that ſervice. That nothing could be more dreadful to the Dutch than this 'town in Engliſh hands. That he was therefore to conſider the temper they were in; and, if he were likely to 'have the leaſt diſturbance given him on this account, he 'was to keep the ſecret, ſend his accounts to the queen, 'and in the mean time, the troops ſhould be ready to enter 'the place from England; where means would be found of 'concerting things ſo, that the declaration for a ſuſpenſion 'of arms ſhould be exactly timed with the evacuation of 'Dunkirk. If he had taken poſſeſſion, well; if not, they 'could be able to do it from thence; and perhaps, in the 'preſent ferment, he had better lie ſtill, and let Dunkirk be 'poſſeſſed firſt, and the clamour happen afterwards.' On the 5th of July came another letter, of June 20, from the ſecretary, informing the duke, 'That the queen had ordered lord Strafford to make all poſſible haſte to the army, 'with inſtructions, which were neceſſary in this critical conjuncture: That the foreign miniſters had been told, that 'the queen would look upon herſelf as acquitted from all obligations of arrears or ſubſidies to that prince, whoſe 'troops ſhould refuſe to obey her general's orders without heſitation: that his grace ſhould declare as much 'to thoſe, who commanded them, and require a poſitive 'anſwer from them: that, till lord Strafford came, the beſt 'uſe, his grace could make of the intermediate time, would 'be to continue vigilantly on his guard, and to ſpeak in 'the plaineſt and moſt reſolute manner to them.' In this letter was incloſed the copy of one from the ſecretary to the marquis de Torcy of the ſame date, the ſubject of which was, 'That the queen, having received an account of 'what had paſſed, both from the duke of Ormond and 'from France, commanded him to acquaint the marquis, 'how great a diſſatisfaction it was to her to ſee, that 'the enemies of peace had again found out means to retard its concluſion, by expoſing the methods, by which 'it was to be gained, to new difficulties and dangers. 'But as ſhe had taken a firm and immoveable reſolution, 'not to give the leaſt way to thoſe obſtructions, and to continue her utmoſt endeavours, in concert with the king, 'towards eſtabliſhing a general peace; ſo ſhe did not doubt, 'but ſhe ſhould be able to defeat the laſt efforts of thoſe, who either ſought their own intereſt, or gratified their private reſentments, in prolonging the miſeries of war.' That he, in the queen's name, had declared to the miniſters of

'thoſe

"thoſe princes, who had troops in her pay, that, in this 1712.
"juncture, ſhe would look upon the conduct of the fo-
"reign generals, as a declaration of their Maſters for or
"againſt her, ſince they muſt either follow the plan, which
"ſhe had laid for obtaining a peace, or that, which the
"Emperor and the ſtates had formed for the breaking it off.
"That the queen could not but perſuade herſelf, that thoſe
"generals, after a little reflection, would obey the duke of
"Ormond's orders without the leaſt heſitation; but, if they
"did not, ſhe would pay thoſe troops no longer. That thoſe
"miniſters had writ to their generals by this courier; and the
"duke of Ormond would receive orders, not only to make
"the ſame declarations, but to put them immediately in exe-
"cution, if they refuſed. That the queen thought this me-
"thod could not fail of ſucceeding; but, in caſe any of the
"foreign troops perſiſted in their deſign of ſtaying with prince
"Eugene, the duke of Ormond ſhould retire with the Engliſh
"forces, and all the foreigners, who would march with him
"(which to be ſure would be the greateſt part of them) and
"declare, that her majeſty would no longer act againſt France,
"nor pay thoſe that did. That ſhe, who had hitherto ob-
"ſerved meaſures with her allies, being forced by them to ſuch
"an extremity as this, thought herſelf juſtified before God
"and man, and at liberty to carry on the negotiation at U-
"trecht, or elſewhere, without regarding, whether they con-
"curred with her or no. So that, if the king would ſurrender
"the town and forts of Dunkirk into the queen's hands, tho'
"all the foreign troops, or ſome of them, ſhould refuſe to
"obey the duke of Ormond, ſhe would no longer make any
"ſcruple of concluding her particular peace, and would ſet a
"time for the others to come in upon thoſe conditions, which
"ſhould be agreed upon between her and France. That the
"peace was now in the king's breaſt. If all the army of the
"duke of Ormond ſhould agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, the
"firſt project, which was concerted between them, had its
"effect: if they did not, the duke would withdraw the Eng-
"liſh from the allies, and the foreign troops would be left to
"take ſervice with the Dutch, who were ſo far from being
"able to furniſh this new expence, that they were not in a
"condition to ſupport the charges they were already at. In
"ſhort, that England would retire from the theatre of war,
"and, ſince there would be but a few powers left in a capacity
"to make head againſt France, the peace might be concluded
"between thoſe two kingdoms in a few weeks. Theſe were
"the propoſals her majeſty made; and ſhe believed the king

would

1712. 'would find his account in them, as well upon the latter 'as the former plan; and that, beſides, he would think it for 'both their intereſts, to make immediately a general ceſſation, 'as well by ſea as by land, between the two crowns. That 'every moment of time was precious in ſuch a juncture; and 'that therefore the marquis is deſired to diſpatch a courier to 'the duke at the ſame time he ſent to England. If the duke 'had notice, that the king had given orders to the officer, 'who commanded in Dunkirk, for the ſurrender of it, he 'would immediately execute what the ſecretary had propoſed; 'and in that caſe her majeſty would ſend ſome regiments from 'England to take poſſeſſion of that place, which would be a 'way leſs liable to accidents, than making a detachment from 'the duke's army, as was at firſt deſigned. The letter con-'cludes, that the queen had reſolved to ſend the earl of Straf-'ford directly to the army.' In the poſtſcript of the ſecretary's letter, wherein this to the marquis de Torcy was incloſed, he writes thus: 'I need not caution your grace, that the in-'cloſed for monſieur de Torcy is fit to fall under the eye of 'no perſon whatſoever but your grace.' And he orders the duke to give Villars an account of the endeavours, which the queen had uſed to ſubdue the obſtinacy of thoſe, who refuſed to obey, and of his expectations to hear from him in an expreſs ſent to France; and a ſecond time, according to what was ſaid to the marquis de Torcy, the duke is ordered, 'That, if he received an account from the court of 'France, that her majeſty's laſt propoſals are agreed to, and 'orders diſpatched for the ſurrender of Dunkirk, without 'any more ado to declare the ſuſpenſion of arms between 'Great-Britain and France, and to keep the whole body, 'which ſhall obey his orders, intire, and to withdraw in the 'beſt manner his circumſtances will allow.'

Rep. of the com. of ſecr.

Ibid. This offer was no ſooner received in France, but without the loſs of one moment's time it was accepted and conſented to, as Torcy acquainted Mr. St. John in a letter of the 5th of July, N. S. wherein he mentioned very particularly all the reaſons and engagements, which had been ſo plainly and explicitly propoſed; and upon condition, that the queen immediately made a ſeparate peace, kept no meaſures with her allies, but only left them a time to ſubmit to the conditions, which ſhould be agreed upon for them between France and England, the king of France had determined to ſend his orders to permit the Engliſh troops to enter into Dunkirk. And at the ſame time a courier was diſpatched to Villars

to

ry him theſe orders. And as a general ceſſation from hoſtilities both by land and ſea between the two nations Anne. 1712.
been propoſed by England, till their treaties could be hed, the king of France with the ſame readineſs con- ed to that.

Hereupon Sir John Leake ſet out for Deal, to take upon June 27. O. S.
im the command of the fleet in the Downs; and to pro- ide tranſports for the troops, that were appointed to take oſſeſſion of Dunkirk, under the command of brigadier Hill, rother to the lady Maſham; namely, a battalion of Scots uards, about a thouſand men detached from ſeveral regi- nents of marines, and the regiments of Hill, Defaulny, and Lane. At the ſame time Sir James Abercrombie, a crea- ure of duke Hamilton, and colonel King, were ſent to Dunkirk, to regulate matters with count d'Aumont, the rench governor, who on the 7th of July, N. S. cauſed a oyal order to be publiſhed there, by which the French roops in that town, and in the citadel, Risbank, and other orts, were enjoined to be in a readineſs to march out on the ppearance of the Engliſh. The day the earl of Strafford rrived in the duke of Ormond's camp, the duke received dvice from Dunkirk, that Sir James Abercrombie and co- onel King were come thither from England, whereupon he mmediately ſent colonel Lloyd, who returned the 15th of uly, N. S. in the evening, with an account, that count 'Aumont had received the French king's orders to reſign the own and forts as ſoon as the Engliſh came to demand poſ- eſſion. Brigadier Hill having imbarked, Sir John Leake, July 6. O. S. with the ſquadron under his command, ſailed early the next morning, and at two in the afternoon came to anchor off Dunkirk. The next day the troops were landed, and the keys of the town were delivered to brigadier Hill, who took Dunkirk de- livered up. poſſeſſion, and the French garriſon marched to Winoxberg. Immediately upon this the queen's colours were hoiſted in three ſeveral places of the town; though not only the civil government was continued in the hands of the French, and ſeveral of their ſhips and gallies permitted to ſtay in the har- bour, with two or three battalions of marines in the town, in pretence of guarding the ſtores; but the privateers of that place were indulged the liberty of going in and out, provided they brought no Engliſh prizes into the port.

On the 14th of July, N. S. prince Eugene ſent the duke Cond. of the D. of Or- mond. Rep. of the com. of ſecr. of Ormond word, that he intended to march on the 16th. The next morning the duke ſent to let the prince know, he was ſurprized at his meſſage, there having not been the leaſt pre-

Anne. 1712.

previous concert with him, nor any mention made, [illegible] way, or on what deſign he was to march; and therefore could not reſolve to march with him; much leſs could the prince expect any aſſiſtance from the queen's army, in a deſign thus undertaken. That he thought fit to acquaint him of this beforehand, that he might take his meaſures accordingly, and not attribute to him any misfortune which might happen. The duke likewiſe let him know, that, when he marched, he himſelf ſhould be obliged to take the beſt care he could for the ſecurity of the queen's troops, and, in order to that, to change his camp. The ſame day, marſhal Villars giving the duke of Ormond an account, that he had ſent by colonel Lloyd orders for the delivery of Dunkirk, ſays, 'permit me, Sir, to have the honour to tell you, tho' it be very advantagious not to be obliged to engage the braveſt and boldeſt of our enemies, yet it is very important to know thoſe, that remain ſo; and I take the liberty to deſire you would do me the honour to ſend me word what troops and what generals will obey your orders; becauſe, the firſt attempt the enemy makes, I will not loſe one moment to meet them. The king gives me a liberty to fight, which nothing but the negotiations have hitherto prevented, and which the army under my command has a great deſire to make uſe of. I think the work is finiſhed, if the army, which is under your orders, obeys them. This then, Sir, is no indiſcreet curioſity, that I preſume to deſire you to give me ſome lights upon the doubts which I am in. I ſhall be very much obliged to you, Sir, if, by the return of this trumpet, you will honour me with one word of anſwer upon the lights, which I have deſired of you. You will give me leave to join to this packet, a letter for my lord Strafford.' On the 15th of July, the duke, in anſwer to this letter, wrote: 'I ſhould be glad I were at preſent in a capacity to give you all the inſight you deſire; but it is impoſſible for me. Notwithſtanding, I was unwilling to delay ſending back the trumpet, to let you know, I am well aſſured, I ſhall be capable of telling you to-morrow particularly what troops will remain under my command. As to the ſuſpenſion of arms, you already know, Sir, that according to my orders I cannot declare it in form, till I am aſſured the governor of Dunkirk ſhall have executed all the king's orders for the evacuation of the place. In the mean time, you will agree with me, Sir, that the ſuſpenſion has already its effects on my ſide, ſince I have juſt [illegible] deputies, that,

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all hoſe they ſhould undertake any new operation, I could had give them any aſſiſtance from the queen's army. finii On the 16th of July, N. S. prince Eugene broke up from ſen- camp at Haſpre, and marched off with the troops under nis command; being followed by all the Danes, Pruſſians, Saxons, Hanoverians, and other auxiliaries in Britiſh pay, except four ſquadrons of Vander Nath, and a battalion of Berner, of the troops of Holſtein Gottorp, and baron Walef's regiment of dragoons (i). He incamped at Atre near Landrecy; which place the prince of Anhault-Deſſau inveſted the next day, with thirty-four battalions, and as many ſquadrons; whereupon the duke of Ormond decamped the ſame morning from Chateau-Cambreſis, and came to Aveſne le Secq. The day before, he wrote to the marſhal Villars: 'Your trumpet juſt now put into my hands the honour of your letter of the 15th, and I am now to acquit myſelf of the promiſe I made you yeſterday. Prince Eugene is marched this morning, and all the foreign troops have quitted us, except one battalion and four ſquadrons of Holſtein, and two ſquadrons of Walef. Things having paſſed, as I have the honour to tell you, I thought myſelf obliged to acquaint you of it as ſoon as poſſible; and, as I obſerved to you yeſterday, the ſuſpenſion of arms has already its effect on my part, by the ſeparation I have made of the queen's troops, and all her artillery, from thoſe of prince Eugene, and by my declaring to him, I could give him no aſſiſtance; and that the payment of the foreign troops is ſtopped; and that by conſequence there is fallen upon the emperor and Holland, a burthen they will not be long able to ſupport. I truſt, Sir, to your good faith, and ſhall, to-morrow, make a movement to put myſelf in another ſituation; and, I hope, I ſhall have news from Dunkirk, that will authorize me to declare the ſuſpenſion of arms.' On the ſame day, Villars acquainted the duke, that the governor of Dunkirk was making the neceſſary preparations to evacuate that place; and told him, 'for my part, Sir, as I already reckon you for our ally, I am not at all in haſte to have you further off. You are at your own liberty to come near us, and incamp on the king's territories, wherever you ſhall think proper.' Upon this the

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Prince Eugene marches with the Britiſh auxiliaries.

July 17.

(i) Voltaire obſerves, upon the Hanoverians following prince Eugene, that the elector of Hanover, who was to ſucceed queen Anne, ſhewed plainly by this proceeding, that if his family expected the crown of England, it was not upon her favour that they depended.—Louis XIV. p. 223.

Anne. 1712. duke, the next day, ordered a ceſſation of arms for ſix months to be proclaimed by ſound of trumpet.

Had the firſt deſign taken effect, which was depended upon by France, and ſo far preſumed by England, as to be undertaken for, that all the foreigners in the queen's pay, that compoſed the duke of Ormond's army, ſhould ſeparate and withdraw from the reſt of the allies, it is notorious, that from that inſtant prince Eugene's whole army, unleſs they ſubmitted to the ſame meaſures, had been left at the mercy of the French army to be cut in pieces, or made priſoners at the will of marſhal Villars, which had left the queen's troops in no better a condition than to have the privilege of being laſt deſtroyed. Yet all the allies, whoſe honour and conſcience would not permit them to abandon their confederates, and leave them as a ſacrifice to France, were puniſhed by England with the loſs of their pay and ſubſidies, which was all that was in the power of the miniſtry to do, to ſhew their reſentment at this great diſappointment of the meaſures of France.

This march of prince Eugene, the Earl of Strafford, in a letter to Mr. St. John, thought might be turned upon them; and he prevailed with the duke of Ormond, in a meſſage to prince Eugene, to ſay, 'that his marching without us, and all the queen's auxiliaries marching from us, expoſed us ſo, that we have been obliged to ſend to the French to declare with us a ceſſation of arms: nothing leſs could put the queen's troops in ſafety. For though (ſays the earl) matters fell out ſo pat, that without this we muſt have declared for the ceſſation, yet why ſhould we not turn all this matter upon them?'

Remarks on the ceſſation of arms. Rep. of the com. of ſec.

Upon a thorough conſideration of this fatal ceſſation, it is very evident, that it was of infinite advantage, and abſolutely neceſſary to the affairs of France; and therefore inſiſted upon by them. And it is as certain, that the Engliſh miniſtry gave early into it, if they were not the firſt adviſers of it; for which no other account need be required, but that, as all their meaſures tended to advance the intereſt of the queen's enemies, they could not fail to be zealous in a point, which contributed more to thoſe views than any one occurrence during the whole negotiation; but, as they all along wanted appearances, and conſulted them more than any real advantages to the kingdom, they thought it neceſſary to annex ſome conditions to this important article, that might paſs upon the deluded people, as a juſtification of this unprecedented treachery. The demolition of Dunkirk was always

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popular a point, that nothing could ſtrike the imaginations of the people more, than to be told, that this important place was delivered into the queen's poſſeſſion. This ſtep, they thought, well improved, would recommend the peace itſelf, at leaſt juſtify the ceſſation. And as the nation had nothing more at heart than the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh monarchy, after the renunciation had been induſtriouſly cried up, and the queen had declared from the throne, that France and Spain were thereby more effectually divided than ever, theſe two articles were made the eſſential conditions of granting a ceſſation of arms. For the renunciation, France eaſily conſented to it, having declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France. For the other article, it is evident how unwillingly France was brought to ſurrender Dunkirk; but this the miniſtry were reſolved to purchaſe at any rate, as what would eaſily amuſe and ſenſibly affect the nation; and therefore, to obtain this, they engaged not only to grant a ceſſation of arms, but to conclude a ſeparate peace. The proſpect of concluding a ſeparate peace, and the obtaining immediately a ceſſation of arms, which anſwered all the purpoſes of France almoſt as well as a ſeparate peace, by leaving the whole confederacy in their power, and, at their mercy, were ſo great temptations to France, that the ſurrender of Dunkirk was agreed to. But, when it is conſidered what England gained by granting this fatal ceſſation, it will be found, that the demolition of Dunkirk has by no means anſwered the purpoſes pretended by it; and, for the renunciation, the Engliſh miniſtry were told by France, that they ſhould deceive themſelves, who received it as a ſufficient expedient to prevent the union of the two monarchies (k).

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(k) Burnet obſerves on this occaſion: The withdrawing the Engliſh forces in this manner, from the confederate army, was cenſured, not only as a manifeſt breach of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the higheſt and baſeſt degree. The duke of Ormond had given the States ſuch aſſurances, of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the ſecrets of all their counſels, which by that confidence were all known to the French: And, if the auxiliary German troops had not been prepared to diſobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the French army, would have forced the States to come into the new meaſures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this conduct of our general was applauded at home as great, juſt, and wiſe; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon Dunkirk's

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In the evening of the ſame day, the duke of Ormond declared the ſuſpenſion of arms, Villars ſent him word, he had likewiſe that day declared the ſame, purſuant to the agreement. On the 18th of July, N. S. the Britiſh forces marched from Aveſne le Secq to Flines, being joined in the way by two battalions and two ſquadrons of Great Britain, which made part of the ſeparate body poſted at Denain under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Before the ſeparation of the confederate forces, the deputies of the States ſaid openly, 'That they hoped the duke of Ormond did not intend to march through any of their towns.' But, notwithſtanding this declaration, the earl of Strafford and ſome Engliſh officers having that day offered to paſs through Bouchain, they were refuſed entrance at the gates, and told by the guards, 'That poſitive orders was given to let no Engliſhman into the town.' The officers, not being ſatisfied, ſent to the commandant himſelf, who returned the ſame anſwer. When the Britiſh army came near Doway, they met with the like treatment from the commandant of that place, which was the more ſurprizing, becauſe the Britiſh forces had their hoſpital and great quantities of ſtores in that town. The duke of Ormond, the better to provide for the ſecurity and ſubſiſtence of the troops, that were with him, as well as for thoſe in the town and citadel of Ghent, where part of his artillery and ammunition was kept, made the diſpoſition for marching towards that place. Prince Eugene and the deputies of the States were ſo alarmed at the duke's intention of going towards Ghent, that on the ſame day they ſent count Naſſau Woudenbourg to the duke with a memorial, but not ſigned, 'to repreſent to him, that, after the excuſes made by the lord Albemarle the day before at Bouchain, they were extremely diſſatisfied to hear by public report, that the commandant of Doway had likewiſe refuſed to admit ſome of the Engliſh officers, and to let out the undertakers for the queen's magazines. That they were very much mortified at the extraordinary conduct of thoſe two commandants, and aſſured his grace, they had abſolutely no orders for ſo doing, directly

The Britiſh troops not ſuffered to paſs though Bouchain and Doway. Cond. of the D. of Ormond.

Kirk's being put into our hands; not conſidering, that we had [illegible] ly put ourſelves into the [illegible] of the French, by this open breach of faith; after which, the confederates could no longer truſt or depend on us.' Nor was this only the act of the court and miniſtry, but it became the act of the nation, which by a general voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it. Burnet, Vol. II. 610.

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directly; and that they not only disavowed their proceedings, but would give them such a reprimand, as they deserved.' But this memorial made no impression on the duke, who was persuaded, that the commandants had express orders for what they had done; and that those orders were general, since, after the presenting of the memorial, the same difficulties happened at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle, as had at Bouchain and Doway. But the design of those orders seems to have been, that the British officers should be permitted to pass through the frontier towns, but that the troops should not be suffered to possess themselves of them. The next day, the duke pursued his march to Fleurival near Tournay; and on the 26th received a letter from Mr. St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, acquainting him, 'That, for many reasons, the queen thought it most adviseable, that he should march to Dunkirk, unless some objection, unforeseen in England, might arise: That his grace should withdraw the queen's forces and stores, that were in Ghent; and concert every thing with Villars, and promise him full satisfaction for whatever the queen's forces should take of the subjects of France.' The report was then current *, that, before the duke of Ormond declared the cessation of arms, the earl of Strafford went incognito to the French camp, to concert measures with marshal Villars; and that, amongst other things, it was agreed, that the British troops should make themselves masters of Ghent and Bruges, whereby they should have the command of the navigation of the Lys and Scheld, and be able to put an effectual stop to any further progress of the confederate army under prince Eugene, in case the French generals found it impracticable to relieve Landrecy. That this was the design of the duke of Ormond in bending his march towards Ghent, is highly probable; but, whether or no the same was concerted by the earl of Strafford and marshal Villars, it is certain, that the earl suggested that counsel to the duke of Ormond; nor is it less certain, that the States-general were extremely alarmed at it.

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* See the Flying-Post of July 15, 1712.

On the 21st of July, N. S. the earl of Strafford, accompanied by general Cadogan, having passed through Tournay and Lisle (at both which places he was received with great demonstrations of respect) joined the British forces at their camp at Fleurival. The next day in the afternoon, the British troops moved to Petteghem near Oudenard, and desired passage through that town; but the commandant, having no orders about it, thought fit to keep the gates shut, which occasioned bitter reflections against the Dutch; but their pre-

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caution proceeded from an apprehenſion, that, if the Engliſh were poſſeſſed of any of their ſtrong towns, they ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to the ſcheme of peace concerted between Great-Britain and France. On the 23d in the evening, the duke of Ormond's army purſued their march to Ghent, of which he took poſſeſſion, as he did alſo of Bruges. This done, he detached ſix battalions to reinforce the garriſon of Dunkirk, and ſent thither a train of artillery, with ſome ammunition; the French having drawn off moſt of their cannon from the ramparts of that place; which, together with the force they had ſtill in it, rendered our poſſeſſion for ſome time precarious (l).

(l) That the taking poſſeſſion of Ghent and Bruges was not only the deſire of Tory, but was alſo ſupported by the advice of the earl of Strafford, appears by the earl's letter of July 17, to Mr. St. John, where he ſays: 'I am for having the duke of Ormond ſend ſome party on purpoſe to march through ſome of their towns, to ſee whether or no they would refuſe them paſſage. If they did, that might authorize us the more to do a thing very agreeable to the queen's troops, and what I believe you would approve of.' And, that there might be no doubt of his meaning in what he had adviſed, in another letter of the 21ſt of July, he tells Mr. St. John, 'The meaſure, I mentioned would not be diſagreeable to you, was, that of marching to Ghent, which we have now ſo well executed, that we are within two days march of it, and the Engliſh are intire maſters of the citadel [illegible] wiſe of all the gates of the town. This is a Coup de Partie for the States, who did not expect it, elſe they could not have behaved themſelves with the Hollanders lately did. The thing was ſo well and ſecretly managed, that all preparations were made to march about to Warneton, between Liſle and Ypres, to have lived upon the French country; and, till we marched a day's march on this ſide the Scarpe, the Dutch and their friends did not perceive our deſign, which, as ſoon as they did, their ſurprize and uneaſineſs were equally great.' Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

How agreeable to the queen and her miniſters the duke of Ormond's conduct was, is plain from Mr. St. John's letter to him, acquainting him: That, though the orders, he tranſmitted to his grace in his laſt, did appear to her majeſty, at that time, to be the moſt proper, the methods he had purſued were ſo rightly judged, and ſo well adapted to the preſent conjuncture of affairs, that they anſwered, in every point, what ſhe would have wiſhed. That ſhe was unwilling to reſtrain his grace, by particular and poſitive inſtructions, who made uſe of the diſcretionary power given him, ſo much

It was not long before the allies felt the fatal effects of their being abandoned by the Britiſh forces. Villars having received orders to raiſe the ſiege of Landrecy at any rate (m), and his army being reinforced with part of the garriſons of ſeveral places, he reſolved to attack the ſmall body of the confederate troops incamped at Denain, which kept an open communication between prince Eugene's army and the village of Marchiennes, through which all their artillery, am- Anne. 1712.

Villars forms a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of the camp of Denain. Brodrick.

much to her honour, and the good of her ſubjects. That the news of Dunkirk's being in our hands, could not have been followed by any more agreeable, than that of his grace's having directed his march towards Ghent: For as, by the poſſeſſion of the former place, we ſhould treat with the French under great advantage; ſo, by the ſteps which he had taken for ſecuring the latter, the Dutch and Imperialiſts would be brought to a more decent way of behaviour to the queen, than they had hitherto been in. That her majeſty recommended to his grace the ſecuring to himſelf the poſſeſſion of Ghent, as long as might be thought neceſſary; as alſo the reinforcing the garriſon of Dunkirk, and the furniſhing that place with what ſtores he might ſpare, and the garriſon want.' Cond. of the D. of Ormond.

The lord-treaſurer alſo complimented the duke of Ormond in a very uncommon ſtrain:

Aug. 5, 1712.

My Lord,

'No pen, nor tongue, is able to expreſs the great pleaſure I took in your grace's ſucceſſes. It was a very great ſatisfaction to ſee ſo much done for the public; to ſee ſuch an example of ſteady conduct, in ſo great a nobleman, and ſo couragious a heart, is what has made you envied by ſome, dreaded by your enemies, and applauded by all men of knowledge and underſtanding. Your grace's march to Ghent, &c. is a Coup de Maitre; it is owned to be ſo in France and Holland: And I muſt own, I take a double pleaſure in it, becauſe it is done by the duke of Ormond, to whoſe perſon I have ſo intire a friendſhip, and in whoſe ſucceſs I take ſo particular an intereſt. Monſieur Torcy wrote a very juſt compliment on the affair of Denain, 'That the allies might now ſee, what they had loſt by her majeſty's withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a nation, which every where led victory with it.' I am, with the utmoſt reſpect and attachment, &c.'

OXFORD.

(m) During the ſiege of Landrecy, Voltaire ſays, it was debated at Verſailles, whether the king ſhould retire to Chambort. He told marſhal d'Harcourt, that in caſe of a new diſaſter, he would aſſemble all the nobles of his kingdom, conduct them to the enemy, in ſpite of his age of 74 years, and die at their head. Volt. Lewis XIV. p. 224.

munitions

Anne. munition, and proviſions, muſt neceſſarily paſs; rightly judg-
1712. ing, that, if he could poſſeſs himſelf of theſe ſtores, the allies would not be in a condition to carry on their ſiege. To exe-cute this deſign, he paſſed the Scheld, and, incamping on the Selle towards Chateau-Cambreſis, ordered one thouſand five hundred men to widen and level the roads towards the Sambre, and to lay bridges over that river. Upon theſe motions, prince Eugene cauſed a great intrenchment to be made before his left, and poſted behind it general Fagel with forty battalions, and cauſed his right to move up nearer about three leagues, that he might be in a condition to maintain the ſiege with all his forces. Mean while Villars cauſed the count de Broglio to advance along the Selle with forty ſquadrons, cauſing all the paſſages of that river to be guarded, to that end that none of the parties of the allies might paſs over it, to obſerve the motions of the French army. At the ſame time he ordered the marquis de Vieuxpont to march with thirty battalions of the left, ſome artillery and pontons, and lay bridges at Neufville over the Scheld, between Bouchain and Denain. He cauſed him to be followed by count Albergotti with twenty other battalions, and by all the army, in four columns, and a fifth of artillery; having ſome days before ſent the heavy baggage to St. Quintin. Notwithſtanding the marquis de Vieuxpont made all poſſible expedition, he could not reach Neufville till the 24th of July, at eight in the morning, where he immediately cauſed bridges to be laid over the Scheld. Broglio arrived about nine with his forty ſquadrons; as did likewiſe Villars, who ordered him to paſs over before the infantry, which he did with great difficulty, by reaſon of a moraſs, which was beyond the bridge, which the horſe and dragoons were forced to march through four a-breaſt.

The precautions, which Villars had uſed, to conceal his true deſign, and his march from the confederates, ſucceeded ſo well, that prince Eugene had no intelligence of either till the 24th, at ſeven in the morning; when being informed, that the enemy laid bridges over the Scheld, he haſtened to the camp at Denain, after having given orders to the troops, which he had drawn to ſome diſtance from it, to follow him. The prince viewed the camp and intrenchments at Denain; gave the earl of Albemarle ſuch directions, as he thought neceſſary for the defence of that important poſt; reinforced the eleven battalions, that were there, with ſix more from the army; and judging that fourteen ſquadrons, which were

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alſo in the intrenchments, would be uſeleſs, he cauſed them to retire with the baggage. After which he went away himſelf, to haſten the march of his troops, in order to attempt the ſuccour of the earl of Albemarle, or at leaſt to ſave part of the infantry. The prince was ſcarce got out of the lines, when Broglio attacked thoſe between Neuſville and Denain; and, finding them weakly guarded, he forced them almoſt without any reſiſtance; four battalions of the Palatines, and other German auxiliaries, who were poſted there, throwing down their arms upon the firſt diſcharge. He found within theſe lines five hundred waggons loaden with bread for the confederate army, guarded by five hundred horſe, and the ſame number of foot, who were ſurrounded, and moſt of them were either killed or taken. Upon the firſt appearance of the enemy on that ſide, the earl of Albemarle advanced with part of his forces to defend the convoy, and ſuſtain the four battalions; but finding, they had cowardly left that poſt, and a great body of the French infantry were advancing, he returned into his camp, the approach of which was defended by twelve pieces of cannon. The French infantry having paſſed the Scheld, and the lines, which Broglio had gained, Villars made the diſpoſitions for the attack with thirty-ſix battalions, in three columns, diſtant two hundred paces from each other, with a reſerve of ſix battalions marching in a ſecond line, and the cavalry behind to ſupport them. Villars put himſelf at the right of the infantry, as did the marſhal de Monteſquiou and Albergotti at the left. The ſignal being given, the whoſe line advanced, and marched ſeven or eight hundred paces, towards the intrenchment, without firing once. When they were come within half a muſket-ſhot, the troops of the allies, who lined the rampart, made a diſcharge of their cannon loaded with cartridge ſhot, and three diſcharges of their muſkets, without diſordering any one battalion. The enemy coming up within fifty paces of the intrenchment, the piquets and grenadiers leaped into the ditch, followed by the battalions, and, after a long reſiſtance, they entered the camp, cutting down all, who made head againſt them. The reſt retired into the village and the abbey, where they were forced and purſued ſo cloſe, that intire battalions threw themſelves into the Scheld; ſo that of thoſe ſeventeen battalions hardly three thouſand men eſcaped, all the reſt being killed, taken, or drowned. The action was ſcarce over, when Albergotti and the marquiſs de Nangis marched and poſſeſſed themſelves of the redoubt and bridge, which the confederates,

Anne. 1712.

The action at Denain.

Anne. 1712. federates had built at the village of Provi, by reaſon of a moraſs lying over-againſt Denain, in order to cut off the retreat of the runaways, and hinder their being ſuccoured by prince Eugene's army, which was ſeen advancing in columns on the other ſide of the Scheld. Upon his arrival, the prince cauſed that redoubt to be attacked; but, it being defended by the regiment of Navarre, ſuſtained by part of the French army poſted on the bank of the Scheld with artillery, he was obliged to draw off, and encamp the next day near Queſnoy and Bavory, to ſupport the troops employed in the ſiege of Landrecy. The loſs of the French (if we may credit their own accounts) did not amount to above four hundred men killed and wounded; among whom were no perſons of diſtinction, beſides the marquiſs de Tourville, ſon of the late marſhal of that name, killed; the marquiſs de Meuſe-Choiſeul dangerouſly wounded; the chevalier de Teſſé, colonel of the regiment of Champagne, and monſieur de Gauſſac, wounded. As to the confederates, it was reckoned, they had about one thouſand killed, two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, and near one thouſand five hundred drowned; among which laſt was the brave count Dhona, governor of Mons; and among the ſlain was count Naſſau-Woudenbourg, an officer of great merit, and highly eſteemed by prince Eugene. Among the priſoners were the earl of Albemarle, general, the prince of Anhault (brother of the prince of Anhault-Deſſau) the prince of Naſſau-Seekin, lieutenant-generals; the prince of Holſtein, the baron Dalbergh, and monſieur Zobel, major-generals; the colonels count de la Lippe, Tengnagel, Spaen, Kavanoch, and Greck; and lieutenant-colonels Donelly, Herbſhauſe, Heuſke, Brakel, Munnick, Elz, and Goumoins; and the majors Winkel, Fabrice, Bulome, Till, and Styrum; 50 captains, 121 lieutenants and enſigns; beſides 4 aids de camp, and the commiſſary of the artillery, Taurinus. In the camp were found twelve braſs cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and proviſion, a great number of horſes, and a conſiderable booty, which was given to the ſoldiers.

As it is uſual for the multitude to judge of events, eſpecially thoſe of war, by the ſucceſs, and to cenſure the unfortunate, prince Eugene was blamed, both for ſeeming to deſpiſe the enemy, and leaving the earl of Albemarle expoſed at a great diſtance from the main army: and for ſending him no greater reinforcement than ſix battalions. As to the firſt, it is certain, the prince was not inſenſible of the danger, which the

the earl was in; and therefore he had propoſed the removing the ſtores of artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, from Marchiennes to Bouchain; but it ſeems, the States deputies, through parſimony, were againſt that council. As to the ſecond point, the prince, with ſeveral other experienced generals, having viewed the intrenchments at Denain, could not but think ſeventeen battalions ſufficient to defend that poſt, till he came up to their aſſiſtance with the whole army; which they would infallibly have done, had the battalions, attacked by count Broglio, performed their duty. And, if it had not been for the breaking of the bridge by the weight which was on it, ſo that the reinforcement ſent by the prince could not join the troops under the earl of Albemarle, Villars's attempt might have turned fatally on himſelf, and to the ruin of his whole army. However, the prince's march to Landrecy is thought by ſome to have been the greateſt overſight he ever made, conſidering, that, at this juncture, the French had delivered Dunkirk into the hands of the Engliſh; that Villars was greatly reinforced from the Rhine, and all the garriſons about him; and the duke of Ormond had received his orders for marching off with his troops. It is obſervable likewiſe, that the duke of Ormond, the very evening of the day on which he declared the ceſſation of arms, ſent to Denain for the pontons which he had lent the earl of Albemarle; nor could all, that either the earl, prince Eugene, or the States deputies ſay, prevail with him to leave them but for eight days; and the next day it was reported, that two French engineers in diſguiſe, went with thoſe who took up the pontons, and made ſuch obſervations on the earl of Albemarle's works, as ſerved their purpoſe. However, it does not appear, that the duke knew any thing of it; but his conduct in this affair was very much cenſured, and gave his enemies an handle to ſay, that matters had been concerted between him and thoſe ſent by Villars. And it is certain, that the want of the pontons was the loſs of Denain; for prince Eugene, having ſome notice of the marſhal's deſign, marched the evening before the action, with the greateſt part of the army from Landrecy, and was up time enough to have ſuccoured the earl of Albemarle; but, by the time he got to the Scheld, the bridge was broke by the crowd of baggage that had been ſending over, ſo that he was not able to give the earl the leaſt aſſiſtance, but looked on, and ſaw his fate (n).

Anne, 1712.

Kane's memoirs.

Se-

(n) Voltaire obſerves, that this action was the preſervation of

Anne. 1712.

Severe reflections were likewise made upon the earl of Albemarle; but, the States having appointed some deputies of their own, and the council of state some of their members, to examine his reasons, it was resolved, upon the report of the examination, not only to declare, that the earl had behaved with prudence and bravery in that unfortunate action, but also to return him thanks for his conduct (o).

But though it be hard to determine what errors were committed either in the councils or orders, or in the execution of them, and at whose door these ought to be laid, yet this misfortune served not a little to raise the duke of Marlborough's character, under whose command no such thing had ever happened.

The French take several posts. Brodrick.

The action of Denain being over, Villars ordered Broglio to invest Marchiennes on the Scarpe, where the allies principal stores were lodged, with above an hundred and fifty bilanders laden with artillery, and all sorts of ammunition, and provisions for a whole campaign. At the same time he commanded Albergotti to attack St. Amand, ordering other detachments to possess themselves of the rest of the posts on the Scarpe. Two hundred of the troops of the allies, who were in the abbey of Anchin, and at Pont-a-Roche, yielded themselves prisoners of war. At the same time, count de l'Esparre made himself master of the abbey of Hasnon, where he took a hundred prisoners. Albergotti possessed himself likewise of Mortagne, at the mouth of the Scarpe, where he took an hundred men; and then of St. Amand, which was defended by eight hundred men, who yielded themselves prisoners of war. In the mean time, Broglio invested Marchiennes, and, having viewed it, found the enterprize much more difficult than he at first imagined; that not being

of France; and that if marshal Villars had been as popular as some generals, he would have been publickly called the restorer of his country. He further observes, that victory was the safety of France, even more than the peace of Utrecht. P. 28.

(o) Prince Eugene, in a letter to an eminent minister, says: 'I am surprized and troubled to hear of the injustice people do my lord Albemarle.——He performed all that a courageous, prudent, and vigilant general could do; and, had all the troops done their duty, the affair would not have gone as it did: But, when they run as soon as they have given one fire, and cannot be rallied, no general in the world can help it. And therefore, Sir, I doubt not that you will contribute to the disabusing those of the regency, who may have been misinformed.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016